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A HISTORY OF EUROPEAN PEOPLES

BY
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of North Dakota*

*Illustrated with line drawings by Homer W. Colby
and half tones from photographs*

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THE PREFACE

In the preparation of this book the author's purpose has been to present a narrative of human progress in all branches of civilization from its beginnings in ancient Egypt and the Tigris-Euphrates Valleys to the present day, not too detailed for effective use by students in the second year of high school. An effort has been made to arrange the material in logical fashion and to stress the causes, meaning, and results of the great historical movements. The life of the people has been emphasized but not so much as to necessitate condensing the skeleton of political history to mere hazy generalizations. Without good understanding of the main facts of political and economic history, descriptions of how the people lived are less valuable. Wars have not been emphasized but occasionally a word picture of a decisive battle has been inserted to arouse interest. Grown-ups still like to read about a good fight and certainly high school boys have not yet developed beyond it. It is hoped that the book may prove interesting to readers and students.

To write a book covering so wide a field without falling into an occasional error would be extremely difficult and the writer does not pretend entirely to have escaped. But from the scholarly revision and criticisms of several kind friends he has benefited greatly and hopes errors will be few. The material of the book has been apportioned so as to lay greatest emphasis on modern world history. Starting with a brief survey of the progressive civilization made in the Ancient Orient, giving more detail on that of the Greeks and Romans and somewhat more on that of Medieval Europeans, the treatment becomes fuller as the present time

is approached and greatest emphasis is laid on world history since 1870 and especially since the treaties of peace were made in 1919. An effort has been made to connect up facts in earlier history with present day conditions. Comparisons have been suggested in the questions which follow each main topical division of the text.

The maps have been made by experts in the service of the publishers and the illustrations chosen to bring out salient features of the subject matter. The "Suggested Questions" are intended to stimulate thought and investigation by teachers and pupils. They are followed by references to primary sources and secondary works likely to be used by pupils. No effort has been made to give an exhaustive bibliography. Suggested works of historical fiction are also appended in the hope that teachers will use these to help arouse interest in historical reading. References to various special topics likely to be of interest and value to pupils follow the "References for Reading." At the close of the book there are lists of reference books classified in the hope that teachers who can get only a few books will be helped to choose wisely. For general reference reading several duplicate copies of the best books are better than a far larger number of single copies.

The author is indebted to several friends for their help and encouragement, but most of all to that most inspiring teacher beloved by hosts of graduates of his Alma Mater, Dr. William H. Mace, without whose helpful suggestions and kindly criticisms the book would never have been completed.

CLARENCE PERKINS

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A HISTORY OF EUROPEAN PEOPLES

THE FIRST EMPIRES OF CIVILIZATION

EARLY PROGRESS OF MANKIND

WHAT HISTORY IS

One of our leading historians has defined history as the written record of the human race. Following this definition, historic times are those of which written records exist. Prehistoric times are the countless ages that passed before writing was invented. Notwithstanding the lack of written records of prehistoric times, much can be learned about them from the weapons, tools, bones, drawings, and other remains occasionally found buried under layers of earth that have been accumulating for thousands of years. Such objects, which are few and scattered, are our primary or first-hand sources of information for those early ages.

**Early
primary
sources**

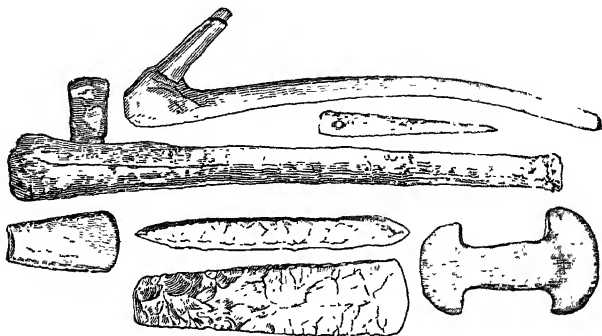
When men learned to write, and so could leave written accounts of their deeds and thoughts, primary sources began to be more complete. The earliest writings were cut in stone or scratched on clay tablets. These methods made writing slow work and such records are not numerous. They need to be pieced out by remains such as forts, temples, tombs, statues, and jewelry, as well as by tools and weapons which have survived in larger quantity from later ages. These and the scanty writings on stone or in clay are all the primary sources we have for early Egyptian and Babylonian history. As time went on, the Egyptians learned

**Later
sources**

to write on a thin material called papyrus, made from a reed that grew along the Nile. Later the Greeks and Romans made a parchment out of sheepskin, and this was used in Europe until about 1200 A.D., when paper slowly began to take its place. It was not until after the invention of printing in the fifteenth century that books became at all common. Up to that time writing had been a highly specialized work, and our primary sources were produced by a small educated class, chiefly monks and priests. After the Renaissance, however, our primary sources are more often the work of men of lower rank and less specialized conditions, and these sources give us a fairly complete record of the times in which they were made.

STEPS IN THE RISE OF MANKIND FROM BARBARISM

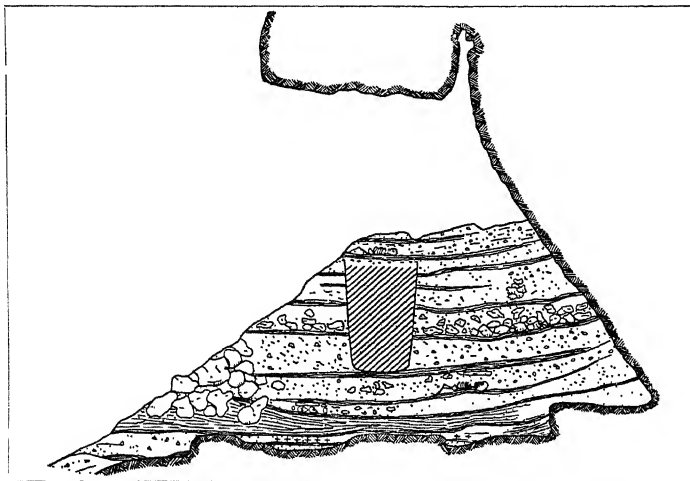
Long ages before men learned to write, human beings lived on this earth in a state of savagery. At first they did not even know how to make a fire. Only very slowly after



WEAPONS AND TOOLS OF PREHISTORIC MEN

many hundred thousands of years of our time did they advance to civilized life. We learn about the lives of these prehistoric men from the bones, tools, and refuse they left in caves, mounds, and graves. Their earliest tools and

weapons were most probably of wood. Gradually they learned to chip hard stones so as to give them sharp edges, and used them for hand axes and weapons. After many



A CROSS SECTION OF THE RUBBISH IN A CAVE OF THE
NORTH MEDITERRANEAN COAST

The diagram shows successive black layers of ashes from fires kept burning constantly by the cave dwellers. The lighter spaces between the lines of ashes are accumulations of stone, dust, and animal bones, in long periods when the cave was not inhabited. Study of the bones and tools found in the layers indicates the coming of different races of men and great changes in climate in the passing of long ages

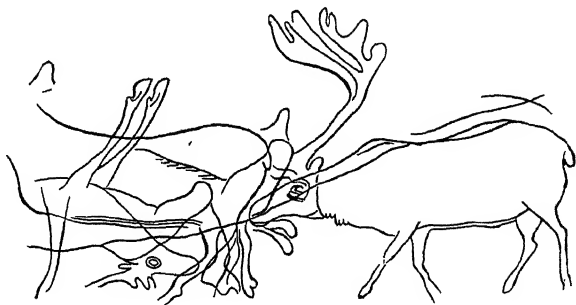
more centuries they learned how to put wooden handles on their stone tools.

The period when stone implements were used is called the Stone Age. It lasted many thousands of years and was followed by the Bronze Age. The discovery of metals and their use made great changes. Without these metals we could hardly live today. Copper, the first metal used, was too soft to keep a sharp edge. A little tin was then added. The resulting bronze was much harder and yet could be fashioned into many shapes. For many centuries no other metal was known. Then at last iron was discovered, a

**Bronze
Age**

**Iron
Age**

harder metal and much better for making tools and weapons. Men who had iron could make stronger scythes and plows and get better crops. They could also defeat their enemies in war. Iron was the most valuable metal at that time.



PICTURES OF REINDEER SCRATCHED ON BONE BY CAVE MEN

**Domesti-
cation of
animals**

Prehistoric man took other important steps upward when he learned to tame the dog, the goat, the cow, the hog, the sheep, and, last of all, the horse, and make them serve man. This domestication of animals enabled men to get their living more securely than by hunting and fishing, and also made them travel widely to find pasture for their herds.

**Nomad
stage of
develop-
ment**

They were still nomads. The next step was to learn to plant seeds of the various grains that grew wild and to raise regular crops for food. To do this they could no longer wander so much. At last they were farmers. Gradually the farmers felt the need for better plows or shoes than they could make themselves. Then some men began devoting themselves to the making of tools, shoes, or clothing, exchanging these articles for the crops of the farmers. Others stored up the extra produce of farmers or shoemakers and later sold it. Thus arose the manufacturing and the merchant classes.

**Speciali-
zation in
industry****Invention
of
writing**

Another great step toward civilization was the evolution of writing. The earliest common way to write was by pictures, one for each object. For example, if a man

A B G D E V Z CHTHI C L M N S O P TSKQ R SH T
 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕
 A B Γ Δ E THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET

Other advances in civilization

In addition to the advances in civilization already mentioned, primitive man was learning cooking, pottery making, spinning and weaving, house building, and many other useful occupations. Counting and crude arithmetic, the making of a calendar, and the making of great, rough-hewn statues and monuments must also be mentioned as evidences of progress.

CIVILIZATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT

REASONS FOR ITS RISE

Beginnings
of civiliza-
tion in the
ancient
Orient

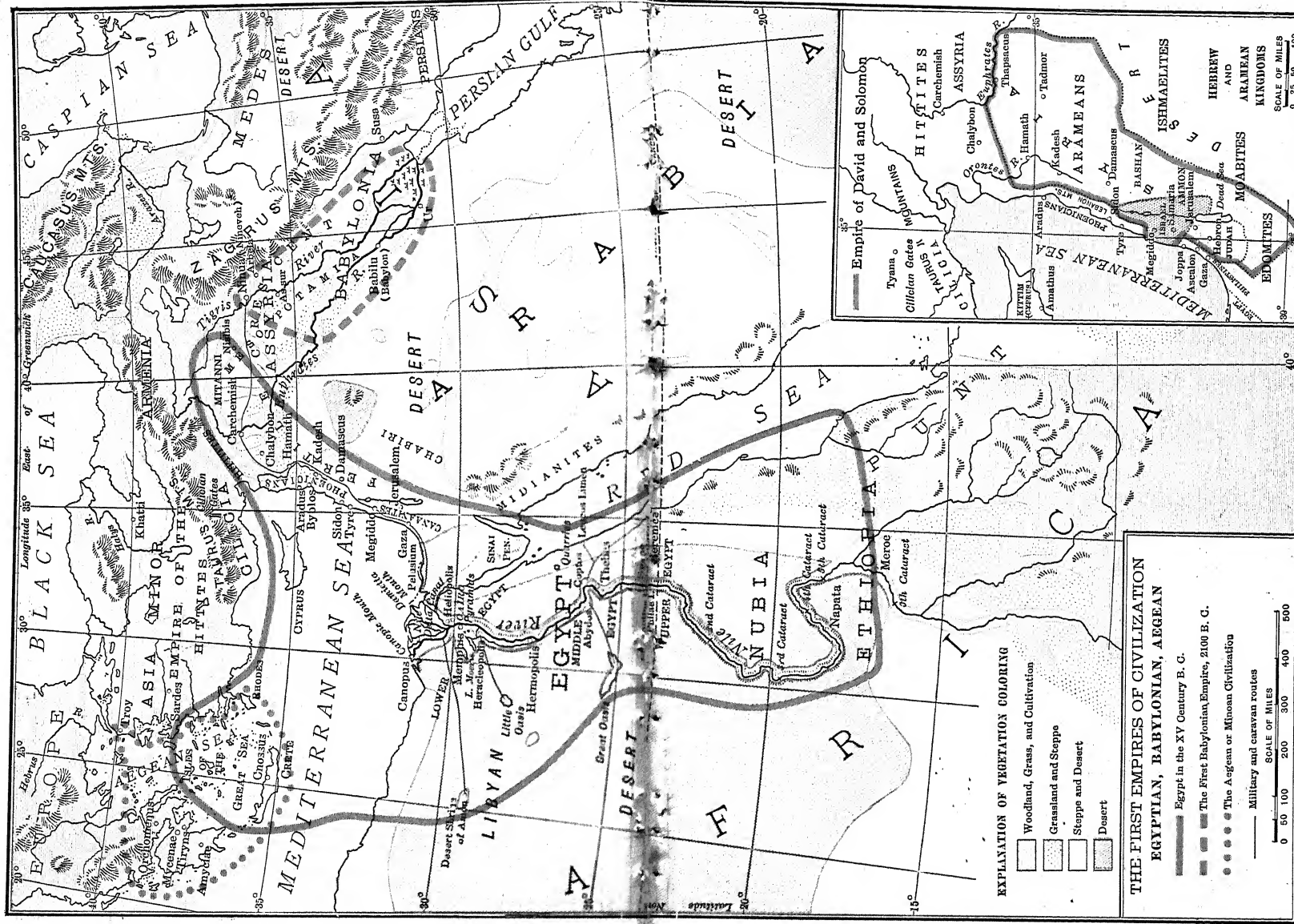
Some of these important steps toward civilization were taken in Europe and America at different times, but the earliest extensive progress was made in a region often spoken of as the Fertile Crescent, as well as in the Nile Valley, a somewhat detached extension of the Crescent toward the southwest. The lands of the Fertile Crescent proper extend along the east end of the Mediterranean and along the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to the Persian Gulf. But it was especially in the Nile Valley and at the east end of the Crescent that people advanced far in the earliest times of which we have written records. In these great river valleys men prospered exceedingly and so had leisure to make great gains in civilization which were not made elsewhere until many centuries later.

Reasons
for the rise
of civili-
zation in
Egypt

Egypt is made by the Nile River. For six hundred miles the stream has cut its path through the hills and fertilized a strip of land about twenty miles wide along its course. Then in the north the river reaches a great delta built up by the mud carried down by its waters. It very seldom rains in Egypt, but each July the Nile overflows and spreads rich soil over the land in the valley. Not until November does the water go down, and so every year the land is given new fertility and a thorough soaking.

Farmers could raise enormous crops on a few acres of Nile Valley land. This fact enabled a large population to live in Egypt, and the farmer who obtained a considerable piece of land had far more produce than he could use. Wanting better houses, better clothes, and better tools than he could make for himself, such a well-to-do farmer traded his extra produce with men who began to specialize in making these articles. This enabled the carpenter and other artisans to earn their living without farming. Gradually other specialists such as merchants and bankers appeared.

THE FIRST EMPIRES OF CIVILIZATION



and also professional men such as doctors, lawyers, and teachers. In early times there was a living for such persons only in rich lands like Egypt. There most of the steps



Relief from an Egyptian tomb

EGYPTIAN FARMERS PLOWING AND SOWING

toward higher civilization already mentioned had been taken before 3000 B.C.

The Egyptians had learned also to measure time and had made a calendar of twelve months of thirty days each, with five extra feast days, to make a year of 365 days. They had learned to make papyrus, an excellent thin and pliable material on which to write, to prepare ink, and to use a sharpened reed with which they wrote a peculiar alphabet of twenty-four letters combined with a number of signs for certain objects and ideas. But they had not yet passed into the Iron Age.

Other
advances
in civil-
ization

THE PYRAMID AGE

The first great civilized age in world history was that period in Egypt, from about 3000 B.C. to 2500 B.C., called the Pyramid Age. Long before this there had been scattered along the Nile little kingdoms which had later combined into two larger kingdoms. These two fought a bitter struggle for control, resulting in their union (about 3400 B.C.). After four centuries the kings of this prosperous state won such power and wealth that they could build the giant monuments called the pyramids. Near the edge of the desert plateau not far from modern Cairo is a line of pyramids over sixty miles long. Each was built of great stones to

Political
history of
Egypt

Pyramid
Age

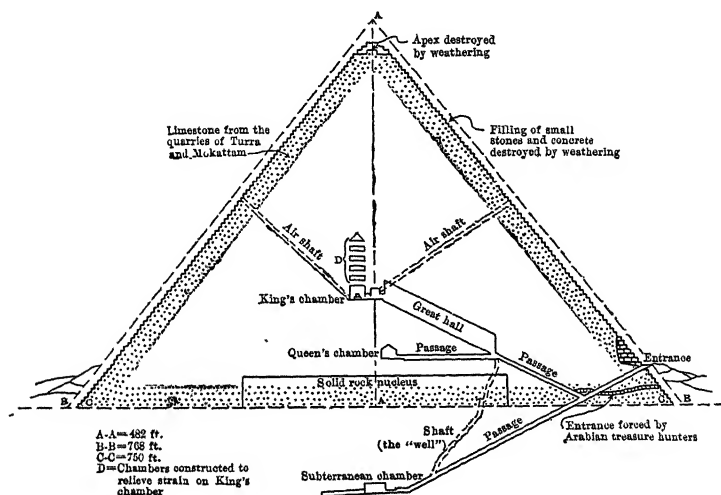


From the Museum at Cairo

EGYPTIAN MUMMY AND MUMMY CASE

The embalmed body with its gorgeously decorated coverings was placed in the mummy case of wood and this in turn in a great stone sarcophagus

cover the tomb of a king. Within this tomb his carefully embalmed body (now called a mummy) was laid to rest in the security of an inner secret chamber. Square blocks of limestone were cut with copper saws and hauled to the site. Then, as the structure grew, inclined slopes of sun-dried brick were built alongside it. Up these slopes the huge stones were dragged and carefully set in place. (The greatest of these pyramids covers thirteen acres and consists of 2,300,000 blocks of limestone, weighing about two and one-half tons apiece, set into a solid mass. At the base

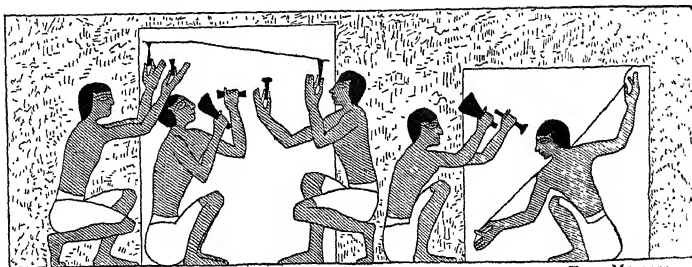


A CROSS SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID AT GHIZEH

each side is 750 feet long, and the peak rises almost 500 feet into the air. It is said that 100,000 laborers worked twenty years to build it. Several other pyramids are almost as large as the one here described.

The building of these pyramids was very costly and must have required heavy taxes. The Pharaoh, as the king was called, must have controlled hosts of laborers and must also have had very shrewd business men in his service in order

to build the pyramids. Undoubtedly the Egyptian people were very prosperous or they could not have paid the necessary taxes in grain, cattle, wine, honey, and the like.

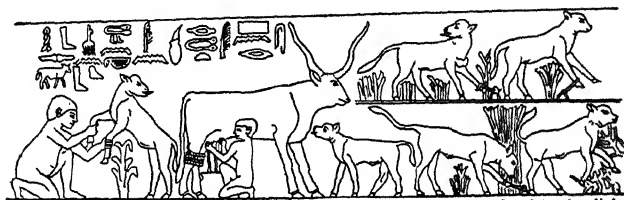


From Maspero

EGYPTIAN STONECUTTERS SMOOTHING LIMESTONE BLOCKS

Egyptian industries

Not only were farming and cattle raising very profitable, but other industries as well. Excellent pottery was made by the use of a wheel. The smiths of the time had great skill in making copper tools that would cut blocks of limestone as large as a wagonload of coal. The Pharaoh had ships that sailed out on the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. Foreign trade had begun. Experts made great



From a colored tomb relief

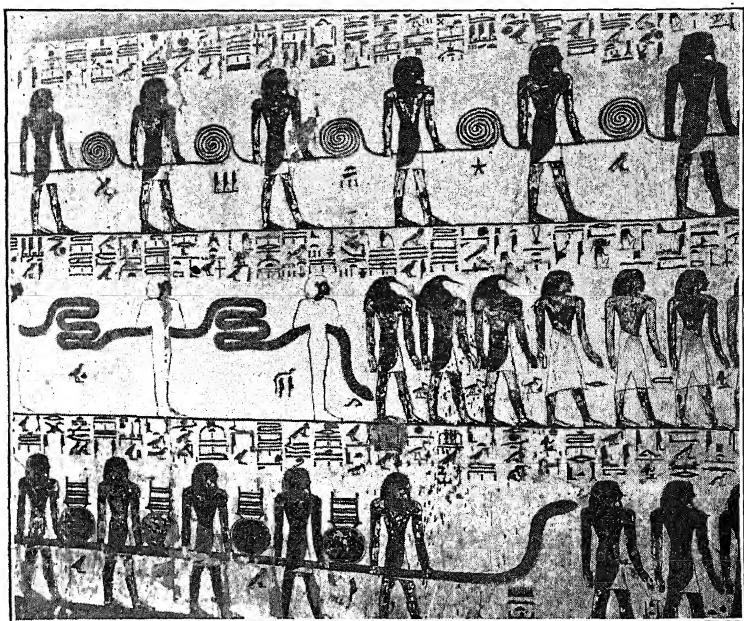
CATTLE RAISING IN ANCIENT EGYPT

quantities of writing material for the army of clerks who kept the king's business records and accounts.

Progress in art

Besides these necessary trades, there were glass makers, expert goldsmiths and men who dealt in precious stones, and weavers of linen so fine it could scarcely be distinguished from silk. Much of our knowledge of this civilization comes

from the beautifully painted scenes carved on the walls and ceilings of the tombs, illustrating all phases of Egyptian life of the time. The artists were extraordinarily skillful.



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TINTED CARVINGS ON THE WALL OF A TOMB IN THEBES

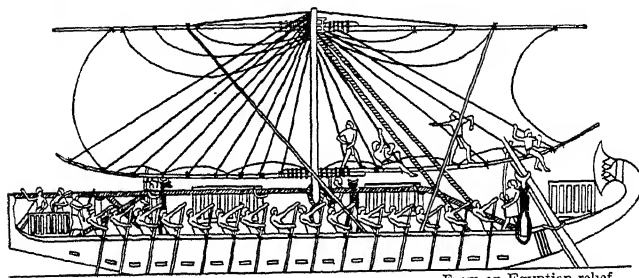
Theirs are among the first pictures on which the colors did not fade, for most early artists did not make fast colors. Much of the skilled work left from that remote age would do credit to the best modern artisans. The Egyptians had made great progress in the arts of civilization.

THE FEUDAL AGE

The great Pyramid Age was ended by struggles between the rich nobles, who divided up the country. Each won control of his own district, leaving the king little more power than any great nobleman had. For nearly a thousand years

The
Feudal
Age

no Pharaoh had such power as those who built the pyramids. This period is called the Feudal Age, or Middle Kingdom, and it lasted from about 2500 B.C. to about 1500 B.C. The later kings of this age were able rulers, and under them considerable advances in civilization were made. They had



From an Egyptian relief
A SHIP OF EGYPT WITH OARS AND SAILS

census lists made for taxation, the earliest in the world. They built great dikes and basins to hold water for irrigation, and so the crops were improved. They dug a canal from the eastern edge of the Nile Delta to the end of the Red Sea, the first Suez Canal. Records left by physicians of that time show an astonishing knowledge of the human body and of medicines. In many other sciences great progress was made.

CIVILIZATION OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

The
Egyptian
Empire

These later Pharaohs formed a strong regular army and again united the whole country under their rule. By this time horses and chariots had been brought in from Asia. The Pharaohs are pictured driving swift steeds harnessed to great war chariots, riding down their enemies.

Pharaoh Thutmose III, whose rule lasted about fifty years, starting about 1500 B.C., was the first great general in history. With his host of archers and many heavy chariots he conquered the lands at the east end of the Mediterranean and even the upper ends of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. His war fleet put the east Mediterranean islands under his

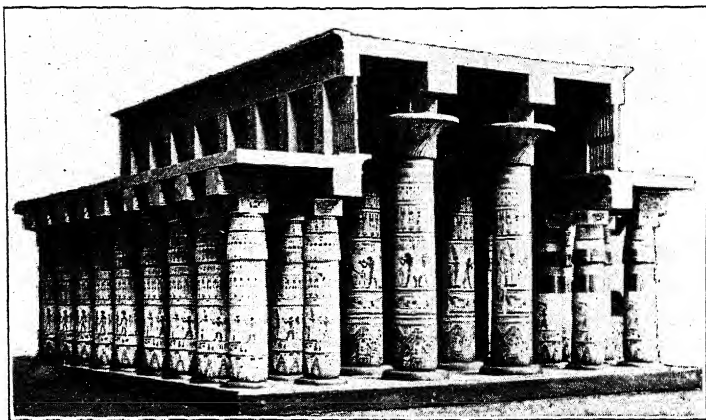


British Museum

TETA-KHART, A QUEEN OF EGYPT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY B.C.

rule. His power reached to the Aegean Sea. Egypt had become a great military empire holding many nations and peoples in subjection, the first in history.

Under the empire there was further progress in civilization, especially in art and religion. The wealth of the



From a restoration in the Metropolitan Museum, New York
THE GREAT HALL OF KARNAK

Civiliza-
tion of the
empire

Pharaohs, won by foreign conquests, enabled them to build splendid temples. That of Karnak near Thebes has a marvelous hall with the roof supported by two rows of columns each sixty-nine feet high. On these columns, as well as on the walls, were magnificent carvings illustrating the victories of the conquering Pharaohs. Many temples were grouped here with great statues of the Pharaohs set up before them and connected by avenues of sphinxes—huge figures with animal bodies and human heads. These statues were made to represent the actual features of the king and were therefore portrait statues. This has been proved by comparing some of them with the actual mummies of the dead Pharaohs preserved for over three thousand years in the dry air of the burial chamber. Other notable works of Egyptian artists and engineers of this time were the obelisks—

comparatively slender, square pillars of great height each consisting of a single piece of stone and covered with records in hieroglyphics carved in the stone.

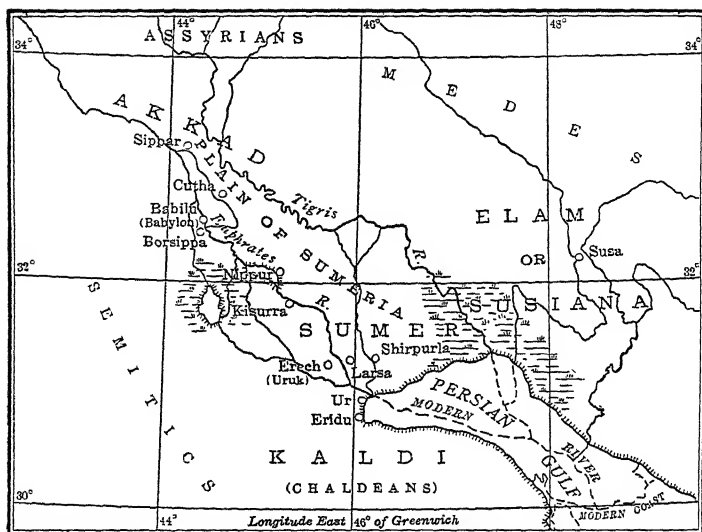
Since the Pyramid Age the Egyptian religion had changed greatly. Men now looked forward to a judgment after death at which the great god Osiris would weigh carefully the good and evil in their lives. Such ideas must have encouraged people to live good lives and to do right. Such a religion was far better than that of most other ancient peoples, who thought chiefly of buying the favor of the gods, and whose priests made little effort to persuade their people to live justly. One Pharaoh of the empire tried to induce his people to worship only one god, the sun god, who, he believed, had created all animals and men, a fatherly god who loved his creatures. In that respect the new faith was like the later Jewish and Christian religions. But it was too advanced to win the common people. The priests of the old religion worked with the soldiers to overthrow Pharaoh, and his foreign subjects were starting to rebel when he died. **Egyptian religion**

A new royal family worked hard to rebuild the empire, but it did not succeed because the Egyptians were losing interest in war. They could not always defeat invaders of the outlying districts of the empire. The Pharaohs had to fill their armies with foreigners, and finally, when these hired soldiers and other peoples from the north and northeast invaded Egypt, the empire was broken up (about 1150 B.C.). Egypt had made wonderful progress in civilization; but it was left to later peoples to continue her work. **Decline of the empire**

CIVILIZATION IN THE FERTILE CRESCENT

THE SUMERIANS

We now pass on to study the rise of a high civilization at the other end of the Fertile Crescent near the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Before 3000 B.C. there was a low plain of fertile soil, not over forty miles wide,



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 THE PLAIN OF SUMERIA AND ITS ANCIENT CITY STATES

Sumerians

starting about one hundred and seventy miles from the Persian Gulf.¹ Long before 3000 B.C. a mountain people from the northeast had settled and drained the marshes near the river mouths. They are now called Sumerians and the fertile plain Sumeria. Here they made wonderful progress in civilization, though somewhat later than the Egyptians. They learned to build dikes to hold back the springtime floods, and dug canals to send flood water where it was needed. This system of irrigation enabled the Sumerians to raise enormous crops on the fertile soil in spite of the scanty rainfall. Their flocks of cattle and sheep were large, and they had wheeled carts and chariots drawn by donkeys. This was the first use of the wheel, and it enabled them easily to haul loads overland. The Egyptians of this age had no wheeled carts.

¹This soil had been brought down and deposited at the head of the gulf by the rivers. The accumulation continued until at the present day the alluvial plain is nearly twice as long as it was in 3000 B.C.

The Sumerians had copper tools but not any of bronze. They had learned to write picture signs on soft clay tablets, which were dried or baked to make them last. Learning to write faster, their pictures looked less and less like the

Star	Dagger	Sun	Fish	Ox	Donkey	Foot

EARLY SUMERIAN PICTURE SYMBOLS AND THEIR CUNEIFORM DEVELOPMENT

objects. The writer used a reed with a square-tipped end. With one corner of this end he pressed a line into the soft clay and slowly raised his reed, thus making a wedge-shaped mark. Then he pressed it down again to make another line. Several of these triangular marks made up a sign. The Sumerians had about three hundred fifty different signs, most of which stood only for words or syllables. Except for the vowels they never had an alphabet of the letter sounds. This writing is called cuneiform or wedge-form.

Develop-
ment of
wedge-
form
writing

In science the Sumerians were less advanced than the Egyptians. Their calendar divided the year into twelve moon months and so was much too short. When the calendar got too far away from the seasons of the year, they put in an extra month. They did not use the decimal system of numerals but took sixty as the unit instead of ten. This was continued by later peoples in that country and led to our division of the hour into sixty minutes each made up of sixty seconds.

Sumerian
scientific
progress

The Sumerians lived in many little cities, each ruled by a high priest who had charge of the irrigation and led the city's soldiers in war. These city kingdoms lasted from about 3050 B.C. to about 2750 B.C. Each of them gradually built up a mound on top of which the people lived. Though

Sumerian
govern-
ment

rainfall was scanty, the brick walls of the houses gradually wore thin or crumbled, for the bricks were only dried in the sun, not baked hard. Even the temples were built of these



From Karpinski, *A History of Arithmetic*
AN EARLY SUMERIAN TABLET

The inscription is a business account. Numbers are indicated by circles and half-circles

City
building

bricks. When a house fell in, the ruins were simply flattened out, more bricks were brought, and a new house was built on the new level. Thus the accumulations rose higher and higher, and the country is now dotted with these mounds on which ancient cities once stood. To learn of the people who first lived there, one must dig to the bottom of the mound. There, layer by layer, imbedded in the rubbish from houses and temples, can be found the tools, the household articles, and the clay tablets on which their accounts were kept and their letters written. They cared little about grand tombs and left no stone buildings, so it is much

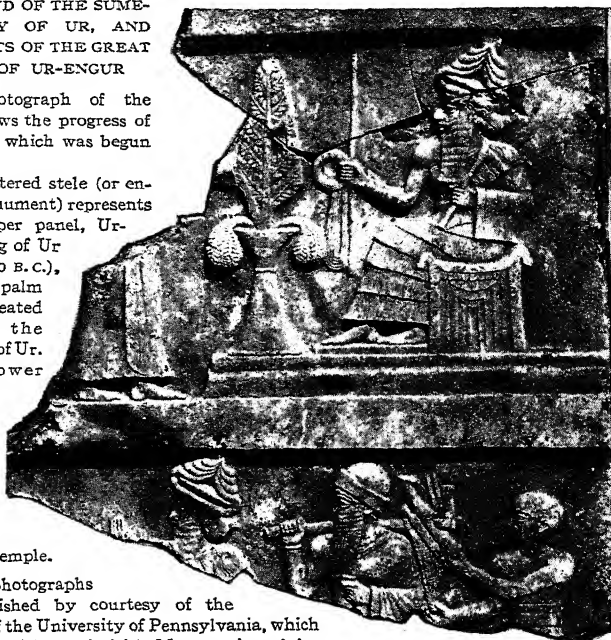


THE MOUND OF THE SUMERIAN CITY OF UR, AND FRAGMENTS OF THE GREAT STELE OF UR-ENGUR

The photograph of the mound shows the progress of excavation which was begun in 1922.

The shattered stele (or engraved monument) represents in the upper panel, Ur-Engur, king of Ur (about 2500 B.C.), watering a palm before the seated figure of the Moon God of Ur. In the lower panel the Moon God leads the king, with builders' tools on his shoulders, to the site of a new temple.

These photographs were furnished by courtesy of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, which is engaged with the British Museum in a joint expedition for archaeological excavation in Mesopotamia



harder to learn anything about the lives and customs of these people than of those in Egypt. It is mainly in the last seventy-five years that some of these relics of the past have been dug out.

**Semitic
and Aryan
invaders
of the
Fertile
Crescent**

The progress and wealth of the Sumerians invited invasion from their neighbors, the tribes of the desert to the south belonging to the Semitic race, and the hardy Indo-European peoples living to the north and northeast. The rich plain along the two rivers was destined to be invaded first by several different Semitic peoples from the south and later by the northerners, their victorious rivals. Each adopted Sumerian civilization, adding something in turn. This progress in civilization we shall now trace.

RULE OF KING HAMMURABI

**How the
king's
letters
were
written**

About 2100 B.C. a great Semite king, Hammurabi, reigned over most of the Fertile Crescent. Under him Babylon became the chief city. Two great sources enable us to know this king at first hand; a collection of fifty-five of his letters and his code of laws. While the king dictated, his clerks, like modern stenographers, wrote his letters on soft clay tablets. When one was dry, powdered clay was scattered over it to fill the marks made by the cuneiform writing, and then another piece of soft clay (like the crust of a pie before baking) was wrapped around it for an envelope. On this the address was written and the whole taken with other letters to be baked hard before sending by messenger. These letters deal with all sorts of things: the business of government, especially orders to the royal governors of various districts and punishment for corrupt or disobedient officers, justice to all the king's subjects, care of his flock of sheep, and changes in the calendar.

**Laws of
Hammu-
rabi**

Hammurabi had all the laws brought together, added new ones, and put all in the form of one set of laws, to be obeyed by all his people. This code was cut on a stone pillar and placed in a great temple in Babylon. It is almost the oldest

code of laws we have. Here we see that business had to be done justly and that proved crime was punished. Any injury must be punished by a like injury to the offender.



SCULPTURE ON THE STELE OF KING HAMMURABI REPRESENTING THE KING RECEIVING THE LAWS FROM THE SUN GOD, WHO IS SHOWN WITH FLAMING SHOULDERS

"If a man destroy the eye of a man, his eye they shall put out." Women held an excellent position in Babylon as well as in ancient Egypt. Elsewhere they were hardly more than slaves of their fathers or husbands.

In Hammurabi's time the people of Babylon sold the products of their farms, grain, dates, and the leather and wool from their stock at good profits. They made much woolen cloth to sell, and their merchants transported their

Industry
in Ham-
murabi's
time



ASSYRIAN BOWMEN ON HORSEBACK CHARGING IN BATTLE, PART OF A RELIEF, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
FROM THE PALACE OF AN ASSYRIAN KING

goods on donkeys to great distances. Clay-tablet bills for these goods have been found in the rubbish of many cities even as far west as the Mediterranean.

To keep the records required many persons who could write and read. Children were busy for years at school learning the different wedge-form signs, of which there were nearly four hundred. Children today learn the twenty-six letters of our alphabet with far less trouble. An ancient Babylonian schoolhouse has actually been dug out of the ruins, and one can see the very tablets on which the pupils wrote. **Education**

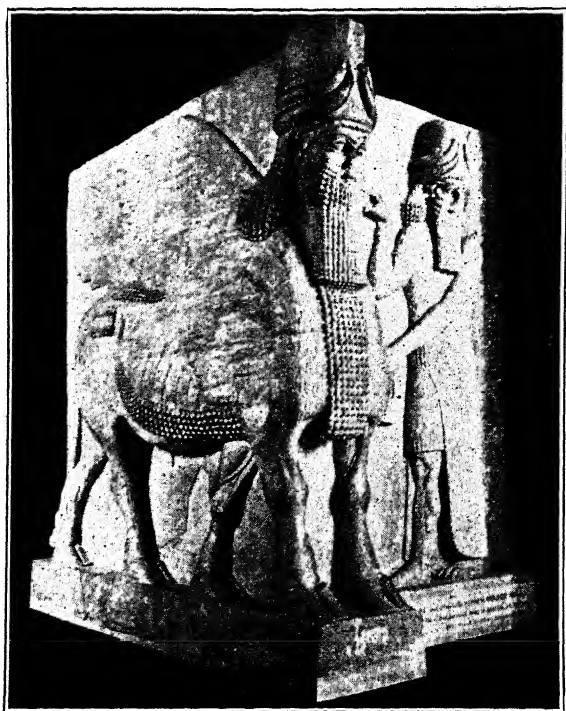
THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

Hammurabi's kingdom was soon conquered by invaders from the east, the Kassites, who brought horses with them. The next people to take up Babylonian civilization were the people of the city of Assur, called Assyrians, located higher up the Tigris Valley. From other peoples to the northwest the people of Assur gained knowledge of a new metal, iron. Sturdy farmers and hard fighters, with iron weapons and horses and chariots, they built up a great empire, reaching from the Persian Gulf to the Aegean Sea and the Nile. **Rise of Assyria**

During most of the period of Assyrian supremacy, the capital was at Nineveh on the Tigris. There vast palaces and temples were built with tribute taken from the conquered peoples. Pay they must or die by torture, for the Assyrians were notorious for their cruelty to rebels. They had the first large armies equipped with iron weapons. In one room of Sargon's palace 200 tons of iron tools and weapons have been found. They had many archers backed by spearmen with heavy armor. Their horsemen and chariots rode down hostile footmen and captured those who tried to flee. Their battering rams broke down the brick walls of enemy towns. Rebellion meant ruin, for no city could long resist the fierce Assyrians. **Assyrian conquests**

**Assyrian
progress
in civili-
zation**

Though the main interest of Assyrian kings was preparation for war, their empire made some progress in civilization. The Assyrians added about two hundred more wedge-form

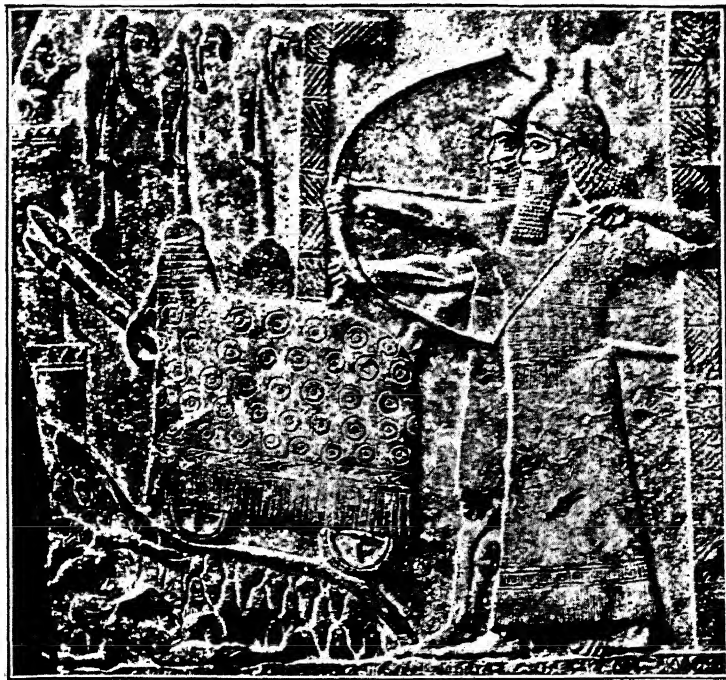


ONE OF THE GREAT HUMAN-HEADED BULLS FROM THE GATES
OF THE PALACE OF SARGON

signs to the system of writing on clay tablets. They learned how to cut pictures on large stone slabs. The walls of the king's palace were lined with such pictures telling of his brave deeds in hunting and war. At the gates were enormous human-headed bulls, cut in white stone, that could be seen at a great distance. The royal palace also had an extensive library of 22,000 clay tablets containing all available information. The king wanted not only scientific

knowledge but books on religion and literature. From his palace he sent his messengers out to all parts of his empire. At each important stopping place on the main routes a royal officer immediately sent forward the king's clay-tablet letters. Through this post system the king obtained reports from his generals and from the governors of distant provinces.

In spite of this the empire was too large to hold. Conquered peoples rebelled again and again. It had been built



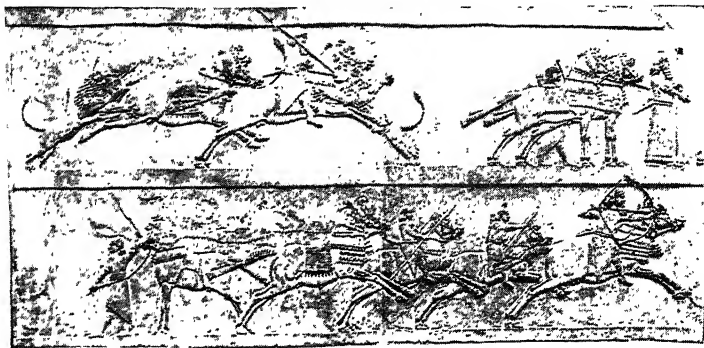
Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

AN ASSYRIAN KING BESIEGING A CITY

by the hard-fighting, sturdy farmers who now had no chance to return to their farms. Agriculture decayed. Business fell into the hands of foreigners, whose speech was heard, even in Nineveh, more often than Assyrian. To crush new

Decline
of the
Assyrian
Empire

revolts more soldiers had to be found. The king forced foreigners to serve, but this made the danger greater. Weakened as it was, the Assyrian Empire had to meet the



From the British Museum

AN ASSYRIAN RELIEF SCULPTURE REPRESENTING
THE KING ON A LION HUNT

attacks of two other invading peoples, the Kaldi (or Chaldeans) from the south and the Medes from the northeast mountains. The Chaldeans took Babylonia and together with the Medes struck at Nineveh. Its fall (606 B.C.) broke the Assyrian Empire, and its subjects hastened to free themselves. The Assyrian capital became a heap of rubbish and the Assyrian language disappeared.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, KING OF THE CHALDEANS

Chaldean
Empire
and its
civilization

Dreams of freedom were vain, for the Chaldeans in turn set up their empire with its capital at Babylon and ruled the whole Fertile Crescent. The mighty King Nebuchadnezzar made of Babylon a vast and splendid city and surrounded it with great walls. On his palace roof he made a garden that became famous as the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, one of the seven wonders of the world. The Chaldeans adopted as their own the civilization they found existing in Babylonia. In one branch of science, astronomy, they made great progress. They gave names to the five great

planets nearest the sun, and calculated the movements of the sun, moon, earth, and stars so closely that they could foretell an eclipse. They were the last Semitic people to govern the Fertile Crescent. Not long after Nebuchadnezzar died, their empire fell before a new rival, Persia.

HITTITES AND PHOENICIANS

Let us now go west to the Mediterranean and trace the history of the peoples living there. The most northerly of these were the Hittites, who at one time held all the land from the Black Sea to Palestine, the land of the Hebrews. They had great cities and made rapid advances in civilization. They probably were the first people to use iron tools. These tools they passed on to other peoples. From the Babylonians the Hittites learned cuneiform writing. They also had a system of picture writing. Unfortunately no one can read this writing today, but considerable progress is

Hittites



A GROUP OF HITTITE FOOT-SOLDIERS

From an Egyptian relief celebrating a victory of Rameses II over the Hittites at Kadesh about 1300 B.C.

being made in reading the cuneiform tablets. As yet we do not know much about the Hittites, though they did a great deal in passing the civilization of the Orient on to the West so that the Greeks could learn it.

South of the Hittites at the east end of the Mediterranean lived three groups, all descended from Semitic nomads of the desert — the Phoenicians, the Arameans, and the Hebrews.

Phoenicians

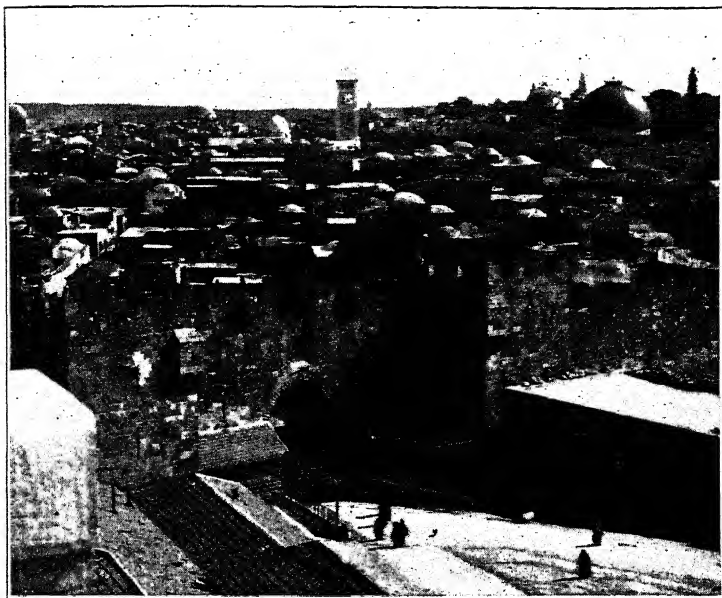
The Phoenicians had a fringe of cities along the coast, chief of which were Tyre and Sidon. There they carried on a profitable trade by sea. They were in contact with the Hittites and the peoples of the Fertile Crescent, and with Egypt. Their ships sailed to the north and west taking the products and the civilization of the Orient to the barbaric peoples along the Mediterranean. Their chief contribution to civilization was the distribution of the alphabet in which each letter stands for a single sound rather than for a syllable or an idea. Such a system of writing was very much easier to learn and use than hieroglyphic or cuneiform writing, and so was a decided advance. The Phoenicians were so located that they could hardly escape conquest by Assyria, but their subjection did not keep them from carrying on their profitable trade.

ARAMEANS AND HEBREWS

Arameans

Later than the Phoenicians, two other Semite masses pushed westward, the Arameans in Syria at the north and the Hebrews in Palestine at the south (about 1400 B.C.). Soon after 1200 B.C. the Arameans set up several city kingdoms, chief of which was Damascus. Although never united under one government, they nevertheless won great power and wealth. They adopted their neighbors' devices, the alphabet of Phoenicia and the ink of Egypt. Throughout Western Asia their caravans went with goods gathered from various lands. Everywhere their alphabet and their language became well known. Their system of writing began to take the place of the cuneiform. In many Assyrian towns more people spoke Aramaic than Assyrian. In fact it later took the place of the old Hebrew language, closely related to it, so that Christ and the Hebrews of his time spoke Aramaic. So strong were the Aramean cities led by Damascus that with Phoenician help they held back the Assyrian advance toward the Mediterranean for over three hundred years (from 1100 to later than 800 B.C.).

The Hebrew people moved westward, from about 1400 B.C. to 1200 B.C., into what we call Palestine. They came into a land without great natural fertility where civilized **Hebrews**



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MODERN JERUSALEM LOOKING TOWARD THE DAMASCUS GATE
IN THE NORTH WALL

Canaanites lived. The land was located in the way of both Egyptian conquest and Assyrian conquest, but fortunately neither great power was then expanding in that direction, and so the Hebrews were free for a time to build their own kingdom. They were shepherds with little civilization. Gradually, however, they learned from their neighbors and were united under the able king David. His reign was long and glorious, and was followed by that of his son, Solomon, who built the great stone temple at Jerusalem. He lived in such luxury that heavy taxes were necessary. The

people of the more prosperous North—the ten tribes—rebelled against his son and set up their own independent kingdom of Israel. The southern kingdom of Judah was



A TATTERED LEAF FROM A BOOK OF BAKED CLAY TELLING IN ASSYRIAN CUNEIFORM AN OLD BABYLONIAN STORY OF THE FLOOD

poor but clung to the old Hebrew God Yahveh (or Jehovah). The northern people sometimes broke away from Yahveh and worshiped the same gods as their neighbors. Prophets or popular leaders from the South tried to win them back to simple life and taught that Yahveh was a kind, fatherly god who insisted that the rich must not oppress the poor. The Hebrews gradually learned the Aramaic system of writing on papyrus, and some of the prophets wrote the early history of the Hebrew people. Much of this writing

still survives, forming the early parts of our noblest and best book, the Bible.

The Assyrian conquest of Damascus (732 B.C.) opened the way to the kingdom of Israel, which fell in 722 B.C., its people being carried away to captivity. Fortunately for Jerusalem a pestilence miraculously destroyed the Assyrian army about to attack the city and so saved it for a time. But later the Chaldean king, Nebuchadnezzar, demanded submission. When this was refused, he destroyed Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and took its people away to Babylon. There in exile the Hebrews came to believe that Yahveh was not merely a god of their nation, but the creator of the world, the father and just ruler of all.

**Exile
of the
Hebrews**

The fall of the Chaldean Empire released the Hebrew captives. King Cyrus of the Persians let them return to Jerusalem and rebuild it, though not as an independent kingdom. The high priest now ruled them. It was not by their empire nor by their civilization that the Hebrews influenced the world, but by their religion. Their idea of one God, ruler of the world, was passed on to Christians and Mohammedans and is now the belief of millions of people all over the world.

RISE AND SPREAD OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS

Most of the peoples whose history we have followed so far were Semites who came from the great desert and its fringes south of the Fertile Crescent. To the north there were other nomad hosts living on the plains extending from the Danube to the great plateau of Central Asia. These people belonged to a different race, which is called Indo-European. All the different groups of people belonging to this race speak languages having like words, showing that their ancestors once spoke the same language. Almost all the people of Europe today are descended from the early Indo-Europeans, and so they are our ancestors too. Before leaving their northern homes they lived as nomad shepherds

caring for their cattle, sheep, and horses. Their migrations began before 2000 B.C. when some groups had already reached Greece and others Italy, where they later built powerful states and became mighty conquerors. Other groups migrated southward in Asia and reached India. Another, the Medes, went westward and located north of the Fertile Crescent.

**Persians
and the
teachings
of
Zoroaster**

Still another group, the Persians, lived as simple farmers in the region just north of the Persian Gulf. They had no writing but handed down from father to son tales of a great prophet, Zoroaster, who had taught their ancestors a pure and good religion. He believed a great struggle was going on in the world between good influences and bad. He thought of the good as a god of light and wisdom, called Mazda or Ahuramazda. The evil spirit he called Ahriman. Zoroaster taught that everyone must choose either to follow the God of Light or live in wickedness. Hereafter each would be judged by his choice. Hence it behooved all to live justly, following the God of Light. This was the religion of the Medes and the Persians.

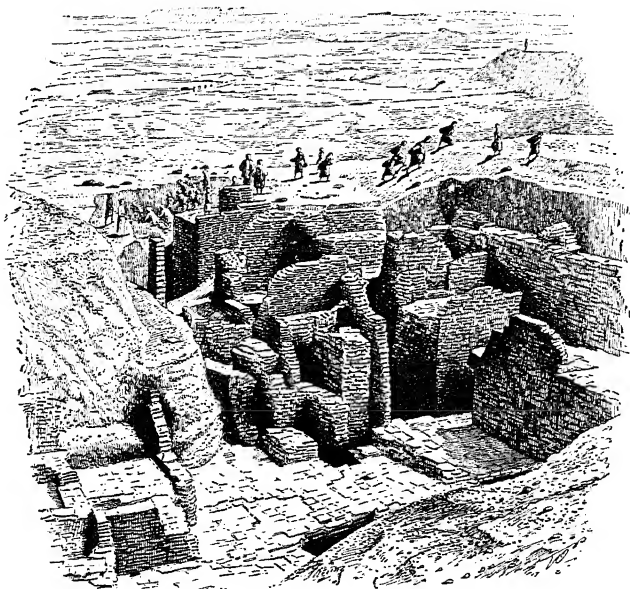
THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

**Conquests
of the
Persians**

Half a century after the fall of Nineveh one of the Persian tribes was ruled by a remarkable king called Cyrus. He built up a wonderful army of bowmen who could shoot down their enemies before they came near. The Persian cavalry then rode down the disorganized foe. After combining all the Persian tribes under his rule, he attacked and conquered the Medes. This was all done so quickly that the neighboring rulers were worried and combined to stop the Persian conquests. But Cyrus kept on, took Babylon (539 B.C.), and ruled far beyond the Fertile Crescent. By 525 B.C. the Persians had conquered Egypt. Their empire now included all the lands from the Nile to the Aegean Sea and thence eastward almost to India. Northward it reached from the Indian Ocean to the Caspian Sea.

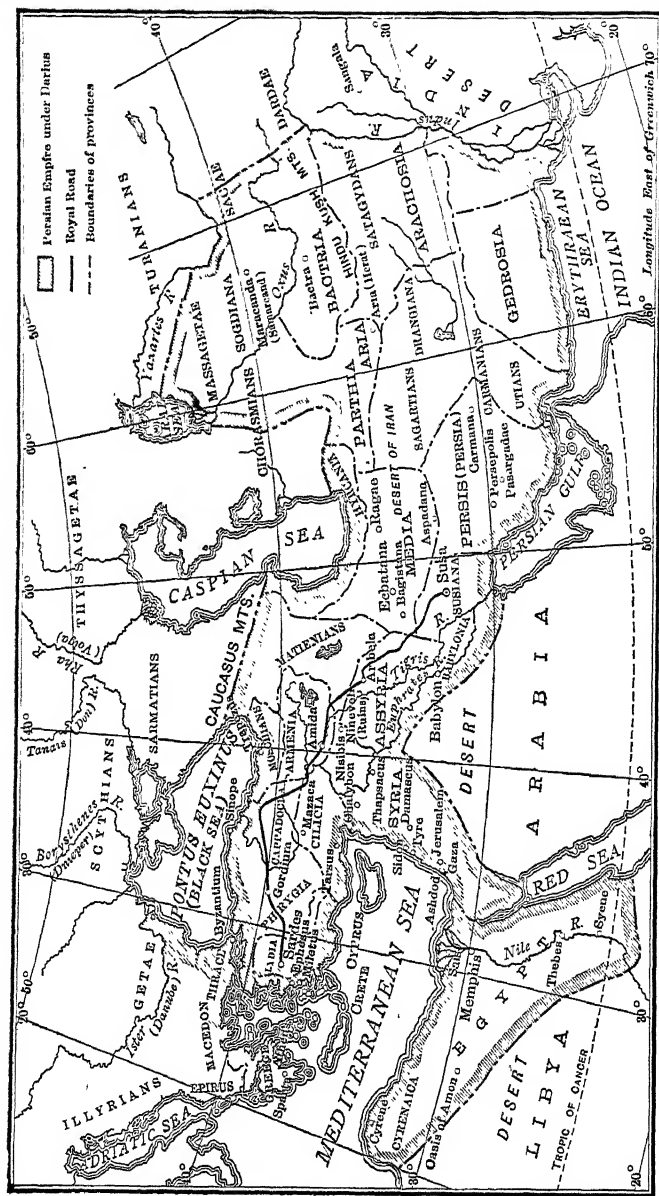
For over two centuries (530-330 B.C.) this vast empire was kept united under the great kings of the Persians. The forms of government were worked out mainly by Darius

Civiliza-
tion of the
Persians



THE MOUND AT BABYLON IN PROCESS OF EXCAVATION

the Great (521-485 B.C.). In Babylonia and Egypt he ruled directly as king. The rest of the empire was divided into twenty provinces each ruled by a "satrap" or governor whom Darius chose. The satrap had much freedom to govern for the best interests of his people but was watched carefully by special officers sent by the king to report any wrongdoing or disobedience to royal orders. Failure to pay regular tribute or to provide soldiers for the army was severely punished. Darius aimed to rule justly and wisely without cruelty, and this Persian rule at its best was far better than that of Assyria and deserved to last longer.



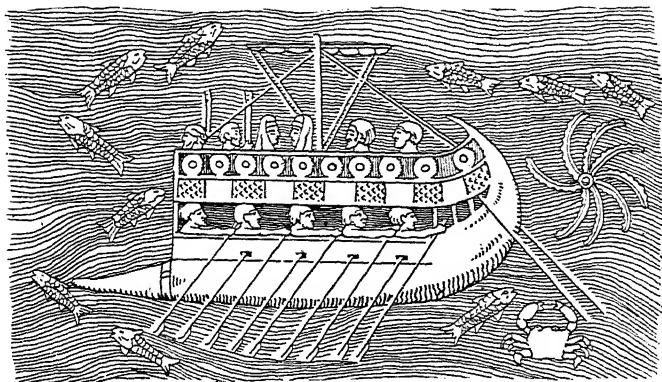
THE EMPIRE OF DARIUS AT ABOUT 500 B.C.

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But of course subject peoples were not allowed to govern themselves.

Throughout his lands the king built good roads so that his messengers could travel rapidly by the excellent post

Economic
progress



A PHOENICIAN SHIP

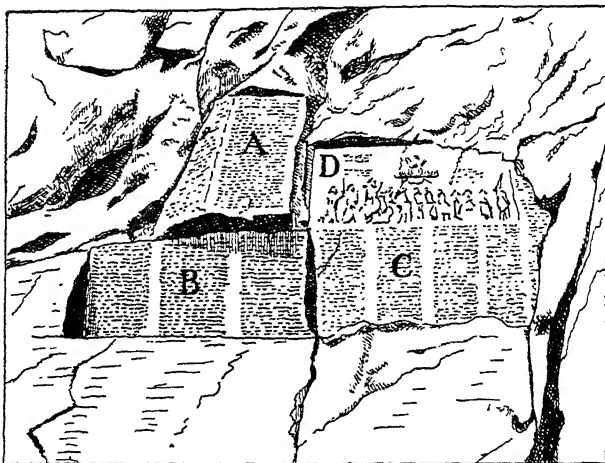
From an Assyrian relief

system. While goods were transported with less speed than the messages, they could now be carried to distances that were impossible before. These roads did much to hold the Persian Empire together. Darius induced the Phoenicians to provide him with a great fleet of warships and one of merchant ships as well. To help sea-borne trade he reconstructed the old canal which had first been dug from the Nile to the Red Sea by the Egyptians. But the Persian people did not take readily to trade. Their small land-owners went into the army, whence few returned. The land fell into the hands of wealthy landlords just as in Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt. This was a great source of weakness.

In their governmental work the Persians used the Aramaic language as well as their own. In writing Persian they at first used the cuneiform system but later made and used an alphabet of thirty-nine cuneiform signs. Our knowledge

Persian
languages
and
writing

of this came first from a giant inscription in columns twelve feet high cut in stone upon the steep side of a mountain overlooking a main road from Babylon to Persia. Alongside the Persian inscription are translations in the old



ROCK SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CLIFFSIDE
AT BAGISTANA (BEHISTUN)

The inscriptions are in three languages, Babylonian, Susian, and Persian. The text celebrates the victories of Darius over pretenders to the Persian throne. A—Babylonian version. B—Susian version. C—Persian text. D—Sculptures representing Darius and his attendants with ten defeated rebels, one, the chief pretender, under the foot of Darius, and nine, their necks bound by a rope and their hands tied behind them

Babylonian cuneiform and in the language of Susa. These inscriptions gave the key by which scholars learned to read the ancient Babylonian cuneiform writing.

Outside of their government and their high type of religion, the Persians made few contributions to world civilization, but they did give the oriental world two centuries of peace and prosperity. Not all their kings lived up to the high ideals of Darius the Great. Some let their satraps do as they pleased, though most of them ruled justly. Nevertheless the empire gradually weakened and at last fell

before the attack of Alexander, king of Macedon and leader of the Greeks.

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS IN THE ANCIENT ORIENT

Our study of the ancient Orient has shown how men learned to use metals, make cloth and paper, build ships as well as wagons to carry their products far away, and provide many things to make life more comfortable. The Orient gave the world writing and the first alphabet. In many branches of learning, art, science, and literature, wonderful progress was made. From the Orient came the first religion that taught belief in one God and the need for right living.

What the
Orient gave
the world

But for some reason, after making these advances, the peoples of the East made little more progress. Tracing the history of great empires that rose and fell, we find little new knowledge added and few if any more inventions made for hundreds of years. The Orient knew no form of government but that of a king who gave his people no share in governing. We shall now turn to Greece and Rome. The rule of the people as it grew up in those countries was not always good. But it did make the citizens learn and think for themselves and it brought to the front men of humble rank who had keen minds. This led to more rapid progress in civilization. The Orient had despotism in religion and learning, as well as in government. Greece and Rome were not free from this but offered far greater freedom and encouragement to make inventions and discoveries. The Greeks were the first people in history to have real freedom and to use it.

Defects
of
oriental
civilization

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

- (1) How do we know what has happened in the past? (2) Make a list of the various stages by which men have attained greater physical comfort, and explain how and why each step was taken.
- (3) Explain how writing was invented. (4) What were the reasons

for the early advances in civilization in Egypt? (5) What evidences now available prove that the ancient Egyptians had a high civilization? Classify these in five great groups: (a) government, (b) religion, (c) economic life (that is, ways of getting a living), (d) social life, (e) intellectual progress. (6) Outline the political history of ancient Egypt (that is, changes in government). (7) Why were great advances in civilization made at an early date in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates? (8) Outline the history of the various peoples that lived there, stating approximate dates and explaining the contributions to higher civilization made by each. (9) Explain how cuneiform writing was invented and how modern men learned to read it. (10) How did the people of Babylonia build their houses and towns? How have modern men learned about their civilization? (11) How did King Hammurabi carry on the business of government? (12) Why did the Assyrian Empire decline? (13) What influence did the Hittites have on their neighbors and successors? (14) Explain the contributions of the Phoenicians and Arameans to world civilization. (15) Explain why the Hebrew kingdoms did not last longer. What was their great contribution to world civilization? (16) Compare the teachings of Zoroaster with those of the Egyptian religion in the time of the empire. Which was better? Why? (17) Why were the Persian kings able to conquer the ancient Orient so quickly? (18) Describe the progress in civilization made by the Persians. (19) Explain why oriental people did not continue to make further progress in civilization.

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HISTORY OF THE GREEKS

BEGINNINGS OF GREEK CIVILIZATION AND RISE OF THE CITY STATES

THE MYCENAEAN AGE

**Geography
of Greece
and its
influence
on history**

The land of Greece is far different from that of Egypt or the Fertile Crescent. There are no great rivers nor any large areas of wonderfully fertile soil. The climate is mild, but the land is broken up into small areas by rugged mountains, and many of these little regions are bordered by the sea. Such conditions made it hard for the Greeks to make a living. Nor could they easily unite under one king. Instead, a host of small city-states grew up, one in each little region. As population grew, many of these regions became too crowded, and the people left them to found new homes. Scattered over the Aegean Sea are many islands easily reached from the mainland. The Greeks took readily to seafaring and to trade. Though at first crude and possessing little civilization, they learned quickly, for Greece faced eastward and the Greeks often came in contact with the higher civilization of the Orient.

**Aegean
civilization**

The Greeks belonged to the Indo-European race and probably came into the peninsula from southern Russia. But before their arrival, another race of people living all around the Aegean Sea and on the island of Crete had developed a high civilization. When the Pyramid Age in Egypt began, civilization in Crete had already made much progress.

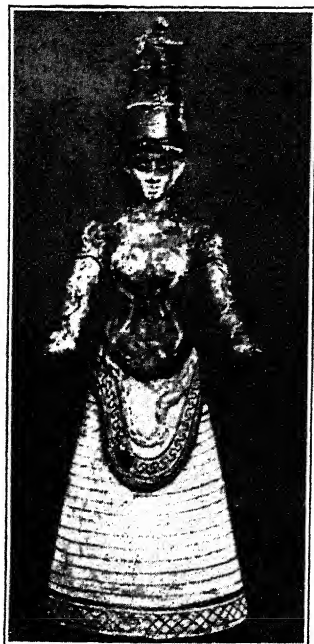
About 1600-1500 B.C., the king at Cnossus had a vast and magnificent palace overlooking a large city, where lived a host of potters, metal workers, and painters, as well as the merchants who sold the Cretan pottery in Egypt and other

countries. The farmers there prospered too. Goldsmiths of Crete made cups with decorations which are ranked with the finest works of art ever made anywhere. Carved figures

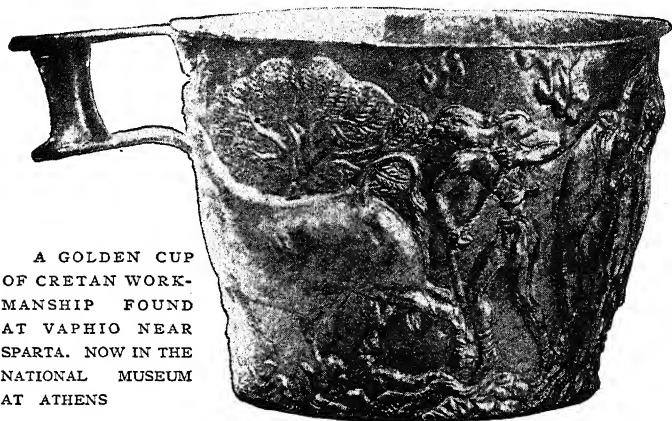


THE LION GATE AT MYCENAE

found at Cnossus show that the well-to-do ladies of that age dressed very much as women do today. Cretans had an elaborate system of writing of which many examples have been preserved, but no one has yet discovered what these writings mean. Gradually this Cretan civilization spread all around the Aegean Sea. Great cities were built at Tiryns and Mycenae on the Greek mainland and at Troy in northwestern Asia Minor. This age is often called the



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 FIGURES OF IVORY AND GOLD FOUND AT CNOSSUS, SHOWING THE
 COSTUMES OF THE LADIES OF THE MYCENAEAN AGE



A GOLDEN CUP
 OF CRETAN WORK-
 MANSHIP FOUND
 AT VAPHIO NEAR
 SPARTA. NOW IN THE
 NATIONAL MUSEUM
 AT ATHENS

Mycenaean Age (1500-1200 B.C.). Our knowledge of the Cretan or Aegean civilization has been obtained only from the buildings, utensils, and works of art recently dug out of mounds of rubbish which has covered the sites of these wonderful old cities for the past three thousand years.

It is probable that the first waves of Greek invaders from the north reached northern Greece about 2000 B.C. and pushed southward. About 1500 B.C. a second great wave reached southern Greece and took possession of the country. Soon they started out to sea, raiding Crete and the smaller islands. This went on from about 1400 B.C. to about 1000 B.C. During this time a great expedition was sent against the prosperous city of Troy. After a long siege the Greeks took the city and burned it.¹ Cnossus, that wonderful city of Crete, met a like fate. Its high civilization was buried and its system of writing lost. But the invaders who took possession learned from the conquered people a few things that helped them advance from their rude shepherd life. They mingled with the conquered and thus formed the Greeks whose history we shall now follow.

**Migration
of the
Greeks
from the
north**

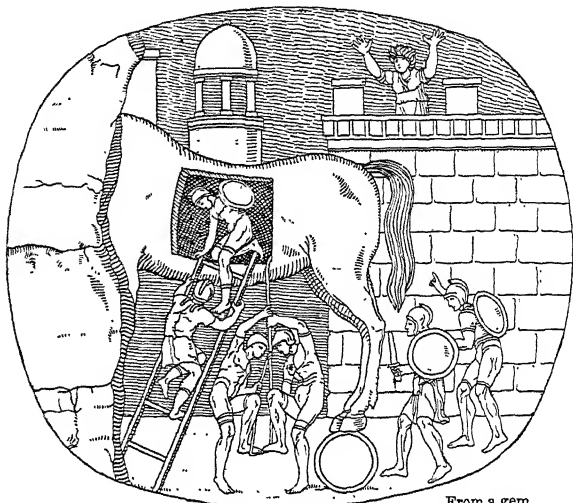
About the year 1000 B.C. the Greeks still gave most of their attention to their flocks and herds, though they were tilling the soil as well. They were divided into tribes in which the council of the elders usually decided questions of policy, sometimes with the advice of all the fighting men of the tribe. At about this period the tribal war leader had begun to be recognized as king. He was also high priest and supreme judge over all disputes. He had a council of the elder nobles who kept him from doing just as he pleased. Important decisions were referred to the assembly of the tribe's fighting men, who shouted their approval or opposition after speeches by the king and the nobles.

**Greek
civilization
in the
age of the
nobles**

¹The story of a part of this memorable war, as told again and again by the bards and finally written down, is known as the *Iliad*.

Story of
the
Homeric
poems

Our knowledge of Greek government and life at this time comes mainly from two great epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which the Greeks said were written by a man named Homer. The *Iliad* tells the story of what happened

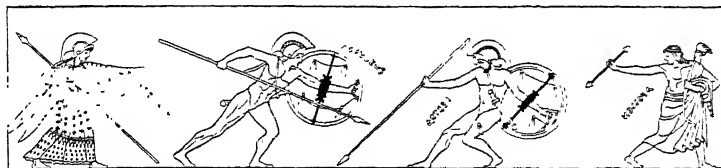


From a gem
THE CAPTURE OF TROY BY THE STRATAGEM
OF THE WOODEN HORSE

in the tenth year of the war of the Greeks against Troy. All Greeks were expected to know what occurred before and why the expedition went to attack Troy. Now one of the bravest Greek warriors, Achilles, grew angry at the leader of the host and would not fight. But when his dearest friend was killed by Hector, the Trojan warrior, Achilles fought a mighty duel with Hector and killed him. The *Odyssey* tells of the adventures of a Greek warrior king, Odysseus (Ulysses), who wandered about for ten years on his way home after Troy was taken. These stories probably grew out of a series of tales told or sung by many bards or story tellers who handed them down from father to son. Later, some bard wrote them down in their present form,

probably about 700 B.C., but we cannot prove that his name was Homer.

The Homeric poems show that the Greeks had made much progress in civilization, though not so great as the



From a vase painting
THE DUEL BETWEEN ACHILLES AND HECTOR WITH ATHENA
AND APOLLO IN ATTENDANCE

Mycenaean Age had shown. But they could think for themselves and say things differently from other peoples of ancient times; that is, they had originality. Even in government the people were sometimes asserting their rights in the assembly of fighting men. Separated though they were into small groups cut off from their neighbors by mountains or the sea, they had a feeling of the brotherhood of all Greeks. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were thought of as national poems and helped build this feeling. The gods who take a great part in the poems were thought of as the gods of all Greeks.

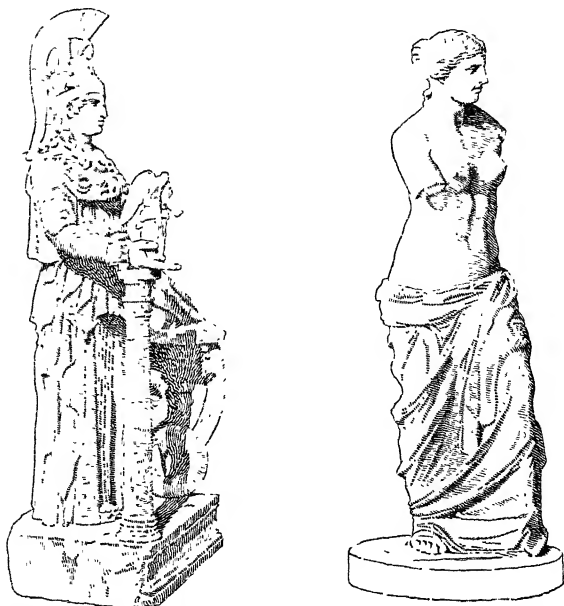
Civiliza-
tion of
the
Homeric
age

GREEK RELIGION

Chief of the Greek gods was Zeus, god of the sky, who ruled on Mount Olympus where it was believed all the great gods lived. Under him were five other gods and six goddesses. The six gods were: (1) Zeus; (2) Apollo, the sun god, who could foretell the future, and was worshiped even more than Zeus; (3) Ares, god of war; (4) Hermes, messenger of the gods, who watched over trade; (5) Poseidon, god of the sea; and (6) Hephaestus, blacksmith, god of fire. The six goddesses were: (1) Athena, protectress of the Greek cities, patron of industry and wisest and most important of all the goddesses; (2) Hera, wife of Zeus, protectress of

Gods and
goddesses

marriage; (3) Artemis, goddess of hunting; (4) Aphrodite, goddess of love; (5) Demeter, the great earth mother who made the soil produce its fruits; and (6) Hestia, who watched over hearth and home.¹ Besides these the Greeks worshiped



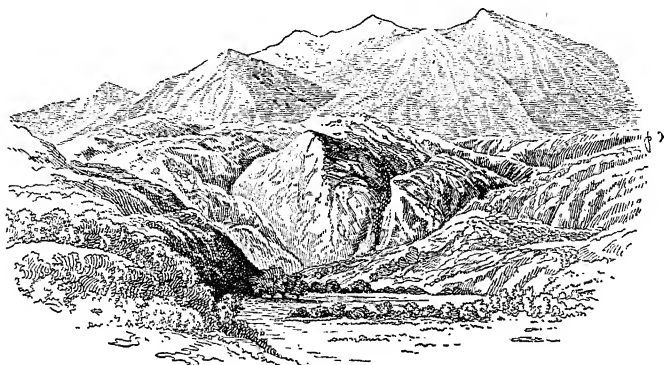
ATHENA, PROTECTRESS OF GREEK CITIES, AND APHRODITE,
GODDESS OF LOVE

a host of other gods and goddesses arising from nature. All the gods were believed to have human forms and human traits. They loved, quarreled, played tricks on each other, and became enemies just as men did. Hence the Greeks did not believe the gods expected men to be better than they were. Religion had little influence on men's conduct or morals.

¹ Several of these are better known to us by the names the Romans used, such as Jupiter for Zeus, Mars for Ares, Mercury for Hermes, Neptune for Poseidon, Juno for Hera, Minerva for Athena, Diana for Artemis; and Venus for Aphrodite.

In the early period Greek ideas of life after death were vague. All men after death passed into a gloomy realm under the earth called Hades. There the fate of the good was little different from that of the bad. Life after death

Prayers were offered and sacrifices were made to win the friendship of the gods or ward off their enmity. Their will

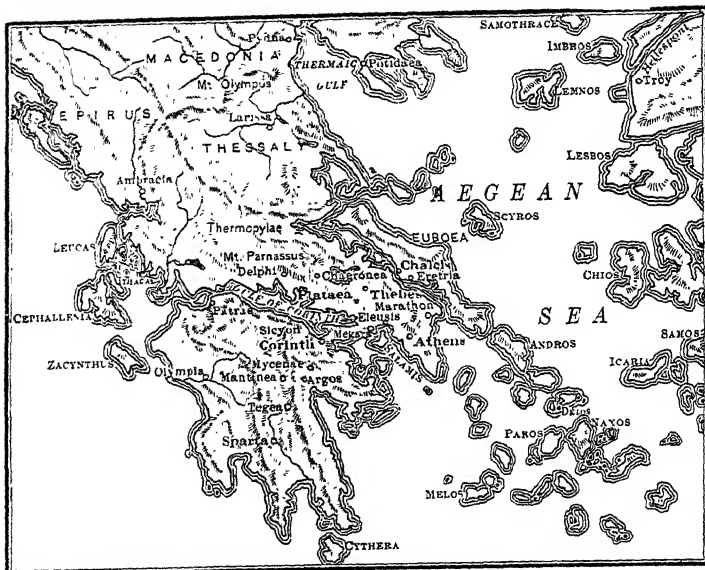


MOUNT OLYMPUS

could be learned by natural signs such as the flight of birds, or thunder, or might be told by priests who claimed special connection with the gods. Most famous of all these oracles where the future was foretold was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, to which men came from all over Greece before starting any venture in business, politics, or war. The oracles therefore did much to make Greeks feel that they were one nation. Oracles

RISE OF THE CITY STATES

Notwithstanding their common religion and their feeling that they were all of the same nation, the Greek tribes did not voluntarily combine into one state under a single ruler. A group of tribes living in a single region usually combined for defense, choosing some high hill, like the Acropolis at Athens, to which they could flee for refuge. Gradually they forgot their separate past and regarded themselves as citizens How city-states arose



A PHYSICAL MAP OF THE GRECIAN PENINSULA

of one city having a common city worship and the same government. In this way many city-states arose, their people including the country folk for some distance around as well as those who lived within the walls of the city.

**How the
govern-
ments of
these
city-states
gradually
changed**

At first these city-states usually had a king, assisted by a council of the elders and an assembly of warriors. But as time passed, the king in many cities lost power and the richer landowners took control. This change was due to several causes. Land was the chief form of wealth. Certain families gained more and more of it by industry, shrewdness, trickery, or luck, and got the poorer people into their power. A few bad harvests, and the smaller farmer lost his land to the rich man to whom he had mortgaged it. As population increased, the poor often had too little land to support them well. They could not afford to provide themselves with good armor and weapons nor take time for elaborate military training. The rich could, and as they

formed the main army of the state, more and more were they able to take control of its government. The king became a creature of the rich families who called themselves well-born or nobles. The poor came less to the assembly, which lost most of its influence. Thus monarchy declined and aristocracy arose.

**Rise of
the nobles**

The common people often hated the nobles, and there was bitter strife. At such times a shrewd, strong man frequently could get the people to put him into supreme power by promising his help. Such a ruler was called a tyrant. He might not be a bad ruler at all, for usually he governed the people more justly than the nobles had done. But the latter hated him cordially and deposed him whenever possible. The tyrants usually broke the power of the nobles and prepared the way for the rule of the people—democracy. Many Greek cities continued under the rule of a few nobles, while some secured democratic government. Sparta is often regarded as a typical aristocracy and Athens as a typical democracy. Before studying their history we must first learn about a great wave of colonization which went forth from Greece to people new lands across the seas.

**Rise of
tyrants**

COLONIAL EXPANSION

Wherever the nobles won control over the government and the land, many citizens in their bitterness thought of going to found new cities where they could be free and enjoy prosperity. Rapid growth of population made the discontented more numerous. Some turned from farming to manufacturing. To sell their manufactured goods to the natives at good prices and buy grain cheaply to feed the home people, trading posts had to be set up outside Greece. The Greeks were adventurous people and keen traders. Since they lived near the sea they naturally took to seafaring. As the power of the Phoenicians declined, the Greeks took their place as the leading traders of the East Mediterranean. From about 750 B.C. to 550 B.C. a great number of Greek

Causes

colonies were founded along the Mediterranean shores, in Sicily and Italy, and as far west as Spain and northern Africa and on all sides of the Black Sea.

When a discontented nobleman decided to leave home he would usually go to the oracle at Delphi for advice. He would then call for settlers to go with him. From the altar of the mother city the leader would take the sacred fire, and ever after the people of the new city worshiped the same gods and looked to the mother city for help if it was needed.

How colonies were founded

This great movement spread the Greek people far beyond Greece itself and gave them a vast influence on other peoples. Wherever they went, they carried their religion, their enterprise, and their original ideas. Much wealth was won by the colonists, and the home cities, too, profited greatly. The Greeks were also brought into conflict with the powerful Phoenician trading center, Carthage, which led to years of hard fighting for supremacy. Greek national feeling was awakened by these contacts and quarrels with non-Greeks.

Effects of the colonization movement

RISE OF SPARTA

In the colonization movement, Athens and Sparta, which later became the most important cities of Greece, took little part. We must now learn what they were doing through those centuries. The southern peninsula of Greece, almost cut off from the rest by an arm of the sea, was called the Peloponnesus. There one state, Sparta, eventually won control. Sparta is located in Laconia, a district in the southeast corner of the Peloponnesus surrounded by rough mountains. All its people were divided into three classes: (1) The upper class was made up of Spartans who devoted themselves solely to military and athletic training for the state. (2) The next class comprised the people of some near-by towns which the Spartans had conquered and to which they had given some rights. These *perioeci* ("dwellers around") paid tribute to the Spartan government and

Three classes in the Spartan states

served in the army, but had no votes. They owned property and carried on business, often becoming rich. (3) The third class, which included most of the people, was made up of serfs belonging with the land and obliged to work hard on it for a bare living. These wretched men, called *helots*, had no rights and could be killed by Spartans who went about watching for signs of revolt. The helots' business was to till the land, of which an equal amount was given to each Spartan of the upper class. Thus the Spartan citizen could spend all his time in athletic and military training.

How
Spartan
citizens
were
trained

There were not over 10,000 Spartan male citizens of full rank, while there were several times that number of helots. As Sparta conquered more land and gained control of more helots, it became more and more necessary for the citizens always to be ready for war. To insure this, Spartan infants



From a vase painting

SPARTAN BOYS WERE GIVEN THOROUGH MILITARY AND ATHLETIC
TRAINING

that seemed weak were killed. The strong boys were taken in charge by the state at the age of seven and given thorough athletic and military training. They were taught to endure cold or pain without complaint and were given only the simplest food. Spartan girls, too, received athletic training.

As they grew to womanhood they used all their influence to make the Spartans brave and patriotic. A story is told of a Spartan mother who learned that she had lost five sons in battle. She answered, "Did we win? If so, let us give thanks to the gods." The Spartan men were not allowed to go into business or to have any property. They ate very plain food at public tables to which each gave his share. They liked warlike music and poetry but cared little for other literature or for art. There was little chance for any Spartan to gain by cleverness or quickness of mind. These traits were not developed by their system. Even in war their generals were seldom good at planning a campaign.

But the Spartans were wonderful soldiers. They were organized in small groups each under a captain. Then several of these groups formed a larger unit and each of these in turn was united with others to form a still larger division. Ready for battle, the divisions formed a solid mass of soldiers eight rows deep. Each soldier wore a metal helmet, breastplate, and shin guards, carried a great shield on his left arm and a short sword in his belt, and struck with a long spear. Spartan soldiers trained to fight in unison were hard to defeat.

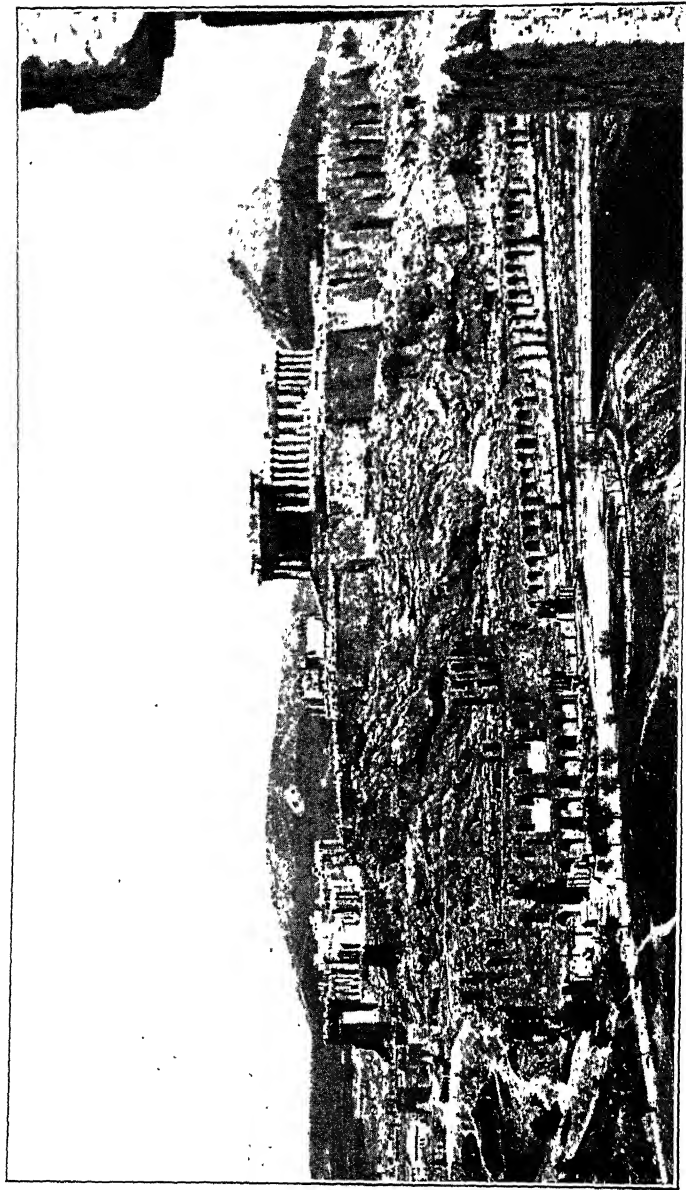
Spartan
military
system

The Spartans kept up a monarchy longer than most cities, but they had two kings. One could veto the plans of the other. In peace the kings had little power, for there was a council of the elders and an assembly of the Spartan warriors. Above all were five *ephors* (overseers) chosen by the assembly, who became the real rulers of the state. At Sparta the state was of supreme importance. To it every Spartan owed his all. This system made the best fighting men in Greece, but developed no great artists, poets, or thinkers, and few great leaders.

Spartan
government

The military power of Sparta was such that she soon was able to build up a league of nearly all the states in the Peloponnesus. Each member of this Peloponnesian League was joined to Sparta by a treaty and agreed to send soldiers

Pelopon-
nesian
League



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THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS

to help Sparta in war. For a long time this league was the strongest group in Greece.

RISE OF ATHENS

In nearly every way Athens developed differently from Sparta. At an early date (before 800 B.C.) all the people living in the region called Attica joined together as citizens of Athens and were ruled by kings. During the colonization period the nobles lessened the king's power in many ways. At last they cut his term of office to one year and left him only the duties of high priest. The work of government they divided among officials called *archons*. All power was in the hands of the nobles, who oppressed the poorer people. The latter were severely punished for the least offense, for only nobles made and carried out the laws. As the population increased each family could have less land. If a poor man got into debt, he was likely to lose his land and even be forced into slavery. This fate befell so many that the people were embittered.

Rise of
the nobles

Oppression
of the
poor

The first reform to be made was to put the laws into writing so that all could learn them. The archon, Draco, did this (621 B.C.), but he did not change the laws so that they would right the wrongs of the poor.

Reforms
of Draco

At last the nobles had to yield to complaints. They chose a well-known noble, Solon, to be supreme lawmaker for one year (594 B.C.). He first canceled all mortgages on lands or persons and freed all citizens enslaved for debt. In future no man might mortgage his freedom. He limited the amount of land to be owned by the rich. Next he gave the poor the right to come to the assembly and vote. All citizens had already been divided into four classes according to their wealth. The upper three classes only could hold office, but the lowest, or *thetes*, could now play a part in the government by voting. They could also be members of a great popular jury court to decide disputes. Solon also set up a council of 400 to be chosen by lot, 100 from each of

Solon's
reforms

the four tribes. This council prepared the laws. Solon did not give full power to the common people though he did take away the nobles' complete control. His reforms prepared the way for the rule of the people.

Rise of
the tyrant
Pisistratus

At first the poor people gave their votes to a nobleman, Pisistratus, who then made himself the real ruler of Athens. Elections continued to be held, but his candidates were always chosen. Such a ruler the Greeks called a tyrant.

Policies
of the
tyrant

Pisistratus gave seeds and farm animals to poor farmers and loaned them money on easy terms. He saw to it that the poor had their rights. The nobles who opposed him were forced into exile and their lands were divided into small farms. He built up the trade of Athens and helped the citizens to prosperity. In his time many fine public buildings were erected, including a library open to the public. The two sons of Pisistratus continued his rule, but after the death of one, his brother grew bitter and governed badly. With Spartan help his enemies drove him out.

Reforms
of
Cleisthenes
(508 B.C.)

One of the leaders of the revolt, Cleisthenes, was now given special power to make new laws. His reforms were far-reaching: (1) He made the people of Attica citizens of Athens and all men members of the assembly. They were divided into ten tribes. (2) The senate of 500 consisted of fifty men chosen by lot from each of the ten tribes. Each year ten generals were elected, one for each tribe. (3) To quiet strife he set up the law of ostracism. Each year the assembly might vote to send one citizen into exile for ten years. If at least 6,000 citizens cast *ostraca* (shell or clay ballots) the man whose name was written on the largest number had to go into exile.¹ These reforms gave the people (*demos*) of Athens great power. From the Greek words *demos* and *kratein* meaning "people" and "to rule" we have the word "democratic."

Establish-
ment of
demo-
cracy

¹Ostracism was not a dishonor. It meant that the power of the person ostracised had become too great for the safety of the state. On his return from exile his property was restored and his status as a citizen remained unimpaired.

PROGRESS IN GREEK CIVILIZATION UNDER THE TYRANTS

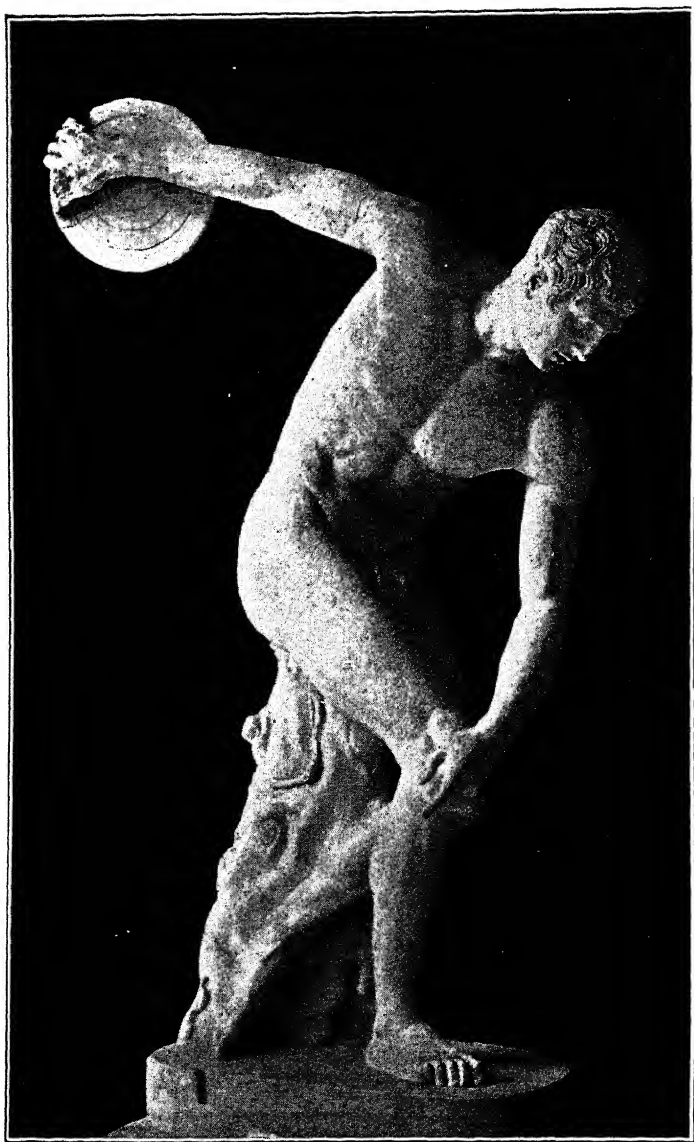
In studying the age when the nobles ruled we learned about the Greek religion, Greek oracles, and the wonderful Homeric poems. The age that followed was marked in many states by the rise of manufacturing and trade. In Sparta, however, agriculture remained the only industry. Nearly everywhere the nobles still took the lead in social life. They had time for thorough athletic training and were leading contestants in the games. Nearly every city had its local festivals, but there were four great national gatherings which helped the Greeks to realize that they were all one nation. Chief of these great track meets, as we would call them now, was that held every four years at Olympia. To this the best athletes came from all over Greece. None but Greeks of good character could compete. There were contests in running, jumping, throwing the discus and the javelin, wrestling and boxing, and often chariot races.

Olympic
games

From a vase painting

RUNNERS IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES

High honor was given to the best all-round athlete, as well as to the specialist in one or two events. The victor received a laurel crown as his prize, and his fame went all over Greece. His home city would often give him a rich reward. If he were an Athenian, Athens gave him a sum of money and free board at public tables. At the games physical contests were not the only feature. Poets came to



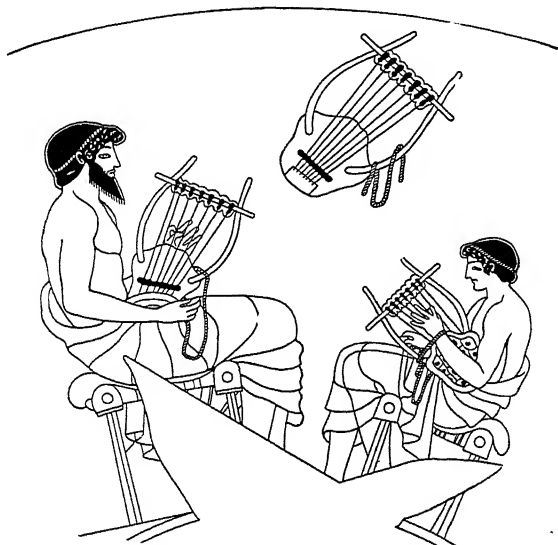
From a marble copy of the bronze original by Myron

THE DISCUS THROWER

recite their verses, artists brought their best productions, and learned men reported the results of their studies.

There were many other regular festivals in Greece at which there were contests in music, especially singing and flute playing, in play writing, and in dancing. These did

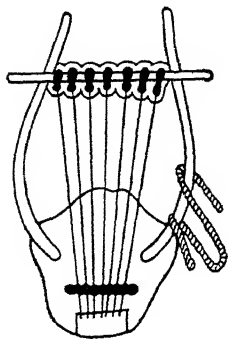
Beginnings
of the
drama



From a fragment of a painted vase
ATHENIAN LYRE MASTER AND PUPIL

much to encourage the preparation of new, original works. Music especially became a most important art, for now for the first time a system of writing musical notes was devised. Favorite instruments were the flute and the lyre. Both of these were played to accompany singing, either solo or chorus. At some festivals a chorus of singers would march in, following a leader. First the leader sang and then the chorus. Often the leader made gestures illustrating the story, and so became an actor. In the time of Pisistratus at Athens a second leader was added. Conversation between the two leaders could then tell the story better, though the

chorus was still most important. In this way a kind of musical drama grew up. Performances often were given on a flat place facing a hillside where the spectators could sit



A LYRE



A FLUTE PLAYER



AN ACTOR'S MASK

in rows and look over one another's heads. Along the side of the Acropolis at Athens a curved theater was laid out, and this was the beginning of the arrangement of seats which modern theater builders have followed.

Temple
building

During the age of the tyrants numerous temples were built and great progress was made in architecture. Before this time Greek cities had been built entirely of sun-dried brick. Now the tyrants everywhere built stone and even marble temples and other public buildings. The idea of the colonnade Greek architects obtained from Egypt, but they soon surpassed the Egyptian models. At first these columns were simple. In later ages more ornamentation was added but always in good taste and not overdone. In sculpture the Greeks made some progress, but not until the close of this age were lifelike figures made. In painting Greek artists made wonderful progress.

The character of Greek religion, too, was changing. Men ceased to believe that the gods did wrong. It was now said

that Zeus and his fellows taught that mortals must do right or be punished after death. Enterprising Greek students of science, chiefly in the Ionian cities (originally Greek colonies on the shores of Asia Minor), now began to gather information from Egypt and Babylonia. One of them, Thales of Miletus, was able to foretell an eclipse of the sun (585 B.C.). Formerly the Greeks had thought such things due to the anger of some god. Thales now openly stated that the sun, moon, and stars followed definite laws. He believed, too, that the gods had had nothing to do with making the world. Another citizen of Miletus, called Hecataeus, traveled far gathering information and wrote the first geography describing the world as he knew it, with a map showing the Mediterranean Sea as its center (517 B.C.). He was also the first to write a history of the Greeks. Another learned man from Ionia, Pythagoras, specialized in mathematics and natural science. He and his pupils made many important discoveries, among them the discovery that the earth is a sphere which moves of itself. Other Ionian thinkers worked along these lines trying to learn what natural forces had created the world and ruled it. This no man before had tried to do.

**Changes
in
religious
beliefs**

**Begin-
nings of
scientific
investi-
gations**

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How did the geography of Greece influence the history of the Greeks? (2) Why did a high civilization grow up in Crete before it did on the Greek mainland? State and explain evidence to prove the existence of a high civilization in Crete, classifying it in the following five groups: (a) political, (b) religious, (c) economic, (d) social, and (e) intellectual. (3) Explain the origin of the Greek people whose history we shall study. (4) Tell the story of Homer's *Iliad*. Did these incidents actually happen? Give your reasons. (5) How were the Homeric poems composed? (6) Describe the civilization the Greeks had attained at that time. (7) Compare and contrast the religion of the Greeks about 600 B.C. with that of the ancient Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Persians. Where would you put the Greek religion in the scale of

advancement? (8) Give an account of the growth of a typical city-state in Greece showing the various stages of political and economic progress and how and why each stage was reached. (9) Explain the reasons for Greek colonization and how it affected Greeks at home and in the colonies. (10) Describe the Spartan system of government and social and economic life. How did this affect the future growth of Sparta? Why? (11) Why was the Spartan army so often victorious? (12) Explain the conditions in Attica which needed reform just before Solon's time. How and to what extent did the tyrants right the wrongs of the common people? (13) If you had lived in Athens in the time of Pisistratus, would you have favored his rule or opposed it? Why? (14) Explain the system of government set up by Cleisthenes and show how it was more democratic than the preceding government. (15) Compare the Olympic games with a modern school trackmeet. Enumerate similarities and differences. Would Greek athletes be regarded as amateurs or professionals today? State your reasons. (16) Explain how dramatic performances started in Greece and describe one at the time of Pisistratus. (17) Explain how Greek temples were built. (18) What were the objects of the Greek philosophers and scientists of the Ionian cities? How did they affect Greek religion? Why? Was their influence good or bad? Why?

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THE PERSIAN WARS

PERSIAN ATTACK AT MARATHON

The most progressive Greek cities of this age were in Ionia, on the western edge of Asia Minor. Now they were threatened with conquest by their neighbors. The king of Lydia captured most of the Ionian Greek cities but was not a hard master. Soon Lydia in turn fell before the Persian attacks, and with her the Greek cities of Ionia became subject to Persia. The danger to Greek civilization was very serious. The great advances and the new discoveries that were being made were checked, for Persia required obedience, not original thinking.

Rising
Greek
civilization
threatened
by oriental
conquest

The Ionian cities rebelled against the Persian king, and Athens sent twenty ships to help them. But they could not hold back the mighty hosts of Persia. Miletus was besieged, taken, and sacked, its men killed, and the women and children carried off to slavery in Persia. Many other cities were plundered and destroyed. The Athenians saw the fate that threatened them. The first Persian expedition (492 B.C.) for the punishment of Athens was checked by a storm which wrecked the fleet that went with the land army.

First
Persian
attack

Two years later (490 B.C.) a fleet of warships and transports carrying soldiers was sent across the Aegean. The

invaders stopped on the east shore of Attica near Marathon and landed their army for a march overland to take Athens. Excitement ran high in Athens, for death or slavery would



From a vase painting
A GREEK FOOT SOLDIER

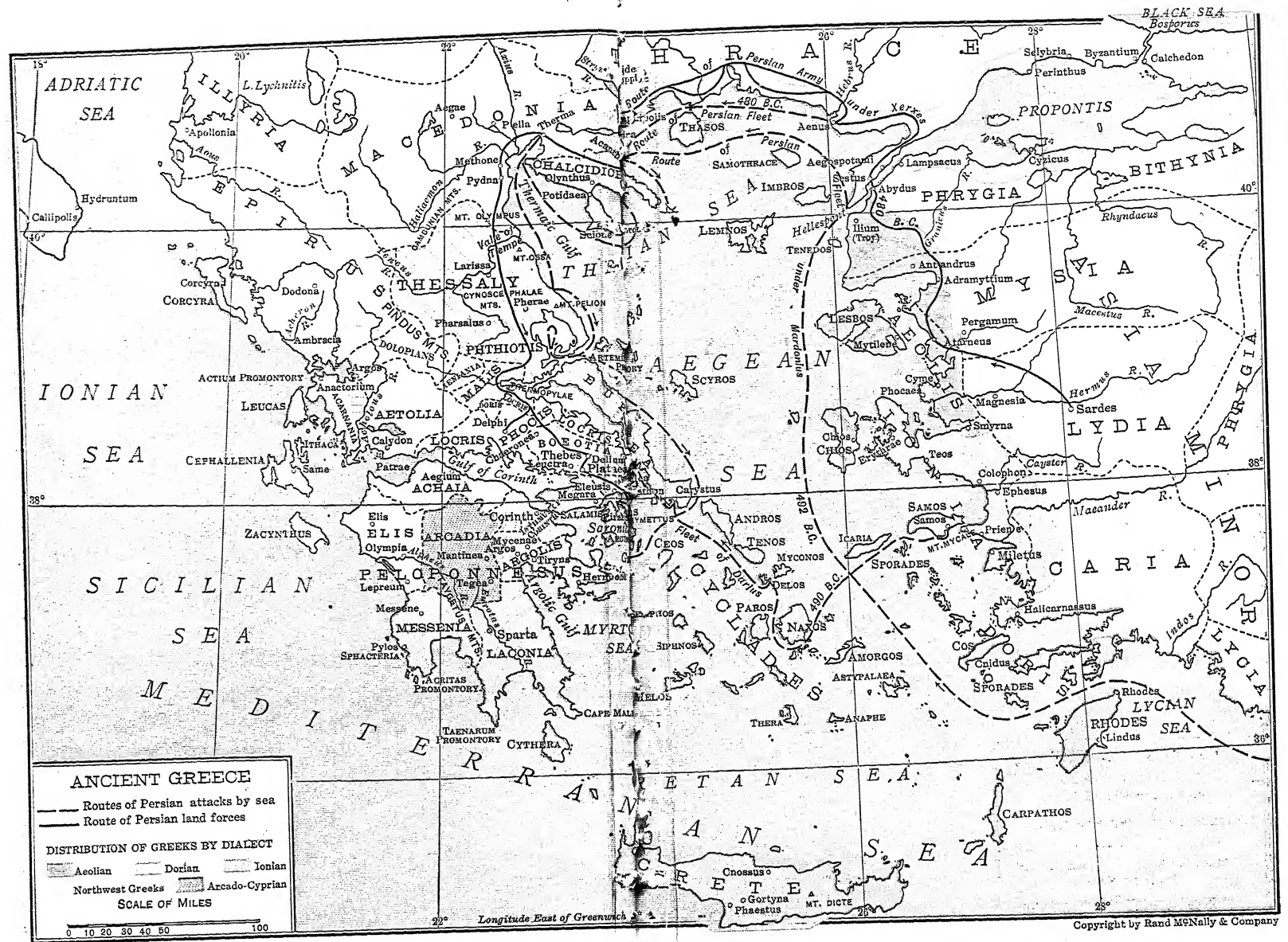


From a Persian frieze
A PERSIAN FOOT SOLDIER

be the penalty of defeat. Messengers were sent to other cities, especially Sparta, to ask for help. Most of the cities did not dare send it.¹ Only little Plataea at once sent all her men, a thousand heavy-armed soldiers. On the advice of an experienced soldier, Miltiades, the Athenians decided not to wait behind their walls, but with their 10,000 soldiers (including the 1,000 Plataeans) went to attack the Persians on the way. They posted themselves on the hills overlooking the Persian camp. There, because the hills were so near the sea, the Persians would have to pass them stretched out in a long line. With center weak and wings very strong the Greeks waited for the Persian host to move.

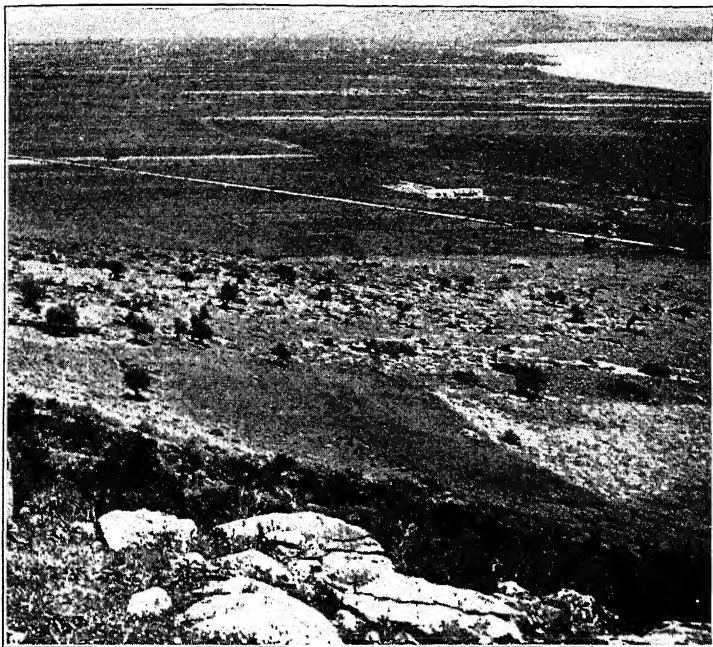
¹A professional runner, Pheidippides, was sent to take the urgent message to Sparta. When he reached there, almost dead with exhaustion after running 150 miles over the hills in two days, the Spartans answered that they could not send help for a week because their law forbade them to start before the full moon.

ANCIENT GREECE



When the Persians started along the road, the Greeks charged down the hill on a run, swept by a storm of arrows from the Persian bowmen. The Greek wings struck the

Battle of
Marathon



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THE PLAIN OF MARATHON WHERE THE PERSIAN HOSTS ENCAMPED
BEFORE THE BATTLE

light-armed Persians with their heavy spears and crumpled them up. Meanwhile the Persian center had pushed back the weak Greek center. Suddenly the two Greek wings turned against the Persian center and crushed it. The Persian bowmen could do little harm to the Greeks in their heavy armor, while the Greek spears, wielded with vigor in the desperate fight, dealt death to the Persians. Fleeing to their ships, the Persians left over 6,000 dead, while

only 192 Athenians fell. Leaving one unit on the field, the Athenians marched back to Athens at top speed. When the Persian fleet reached the harbor, the heavy-armed spearmen manned the wall. With no desire for more fighting the Persians then sailed back to Asia.

**Effects of
Marathon**

Up to this time the Persians had been thought invincible. Now 10,000 Greeks had put a great host of them to flight. This wonderful victory inspired the Greeks to resist the later and more fearful Persian invasion. The Athenians were raised to the highest pitch of confidence, and the memory of Marathon lingered long to cheer them through defeat and on to victory.

THE LAST GREAT PERSIAN INVASION

**Themis-
tocles per-
suades
Athenians
to build
a navy**

It was to be expected that the Persians would again attack the Greeks, but fortunately they were delayed and for ten years did not attack again. In these years the great statesman, Themistocles, rose to power at Athens, and persuaded the Athenians to build a fleet of nearly 150 triremes, warships with three rows of oars on each side.

**Great
Persian
attack
led by
King
Xerxes**

Meanwhile the Persian king Xerxes planned a great invasion of Greece by land and sea while his ally, Carthage, attacked the Greeks in Sicily. His vast army crossed the Hellespont, the strait we now call the Dardanelles, on a great bridge of boats, and then marched along not far from the coast accompanied by a fleet of about a thousand ships.

Three naturally strong barriers made a land invasion of Greece difficult. The first was a range of mountains at the extreme north pierced by only three good passes; the second, another mountain range farther south, cut by only one main road through the pass of Thermopylae, a narrow passage between the mountain and the sea; the third, the narrow isthmus connecting the Peloponnesus with the rest of Greece. The Spartans wished to defend the isthmus, even though that would leave Athens to be destroyed. At last under strong persuasion they did send a small force to

defend the pass of Thermopylae, where the Persians could not use their immense forces to advantage. The Greek fleet took its stand near by. Together they proposed to keep the Persians from going farther southward.

The Spartan king, Leonidas, brought 300 Spartan citizens. Bands from other cities made the total number of defenders about seven thousand, enough to hold the pass for a long

Battle
of Ther-
mopylae



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

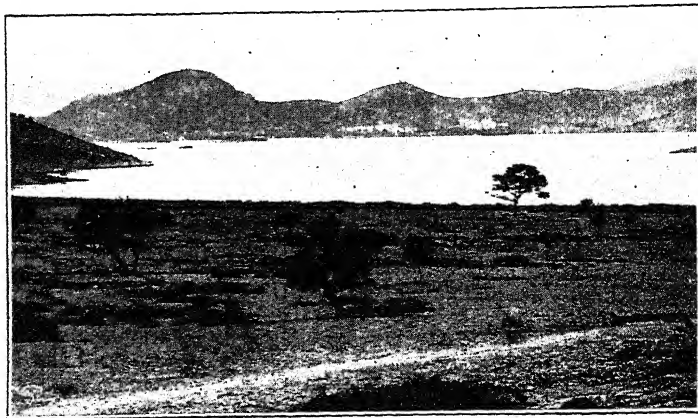
AN ANCIENT RELIEF REPRESENTING A GREEK TRIREME

time. After days of fierce fighting the Persians could make no gain on land, and the fleet could not defeat the Greeks on the water. But there was a rough path over the mountains that was badly guarded by the Greeks. When a traitor disclosed this to Xerxes, he sent his best soldiers over the pass to take the Greeks in the rear. When Leonidas learned of it he sent away to safety most of his men except the 300 Spartans and 1,100 others. Probably he expected the 5,000 he had sent away to attack the Persians who had crossed by way of the mountain path. But, if that was the plan, they failed to do so. Leonidas and his men stood their ground and fought to the death of the last man rather than give way to the Persians—a lasting example of bravery and patriotism.

The loss of Thermopylae opened the way to central Greece. The Greek fleet retreated to Salamis, an island near Athens. The Spartans were now unwilling to fight

Effects of
the Greek
defeat

longer except behind a wall at the isthmus. Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to abandon their city and put their trust in the Greek fleet, which after repairs numbered



THE BAY OF SALAMIS

378 ships, over half of them Athenian. From their refuge at Salamis, the Athenians could see the Persian host looting and wrecking their farms and burning their homes.

**Battle of
Salamis**

Themistocles maneuvered his fleet so skillfully that the battle was fought in a narrow strait where the great Persian fleet with its overwhelming numbers was at an actual disadvantage. Crowded and jammed into a confused mass, they met the Greek attack badly, and few Persian ships escaped from the all-day fight. King Xerxes himself, perched on his magnificent throne on a hill close to the shore, watched the battle. Now he knew he ran great risk of being cut off from Asia by the victorious Greek fleet. Themistocles tried to get the Spartans to join in sailing to the Hellespont to do this, but the cautious Spartans would not consent. Had they agreed, the Greeks might have avoided another year of war. At any rate Xerxes could no longer move so freely, and soon went home, leaving about 50,000 soldiers in northern Greece.

Next spring, the Persians were back again to ravage the lands of the Athenians. Sparta and Athens were not working together well, for Sparta was willing to fight only for the Peloponnesus. The Persian general made very generous offers for Athenian alliance. The Spartans had promised their help but now would not give it, claiming that a religious festival prevented them from coming. With the Persians in possession of Athens and her citizens refugees in Salamis, the Athenians might well think it useless to fight when they had such stupid and selfish allies. One last appeal went to Sparta: "Either send help in plenty or we shall join the Persians." The Athenian fleet joined to that of Persia would have made the isthmus wall useless. Even then the Spartans waited ten days.

Selfishness
of the
Spartans

At last 5,000 Spartan citizens with a large force of perioeci, helots, and allies marched northward. They were joined by 8,000 Athenians and others making the total 30,000 heavy-armed soldiers. With the light-armed troops, the entire Greek army may have numbered 70,000. Sparta was slow to move but had now put her whole force into action. The fate of Greece was at stake. Attica had been laid waste and now the able Persian commander, Mardonius, retreated northward, knowing the Greeks would have to attack him and hoping dissension would again break out among them. The Spartan general was not his equal, but again Greek spearmen showed themselves far superior to the Persian bowmen. In the decisive battle at Plataea, the Persians could not stand against the headlong charge of the Greek phalanx stiffened by bulldog Spartan courage. Spartan brain failed, but Spartan discipline and willingness to die rather than be beaten won the victory. The Persians escaped from Greece never to return.

Awakening
of Sparta

Battle of
Plataea
(479 B.C.)

The Athenian fleet crossed the Aegean the same year and again defeated the Persians on the sea at Mycale, near Miletus. Thus the Ionian cities were freed from Persian despotism. Then the Athenians took and held the European

Athenian
fleet
victorious

side of the Hellespont to close the way to another Persian invasion. During the same years the Greeks of the West defeated the Carthaginian allies of Persia and also won a



Metropolitan Museum
ETRUSCAN MIRROR OF BRONZE



British Museum
ETRUSCAN HELMET OF BRONZE¹

great naval battle against the Etruscans, who had sent their war fleet to ravage the rich Greek colonies of Sicily and southern Italy. Greek civilization was saved.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How would a Persian conquest of Greece have checked the rise of civilization? (2) Explain the actual causes of the Persian attack on Greece. (3) Explain the effects of the battle of Marathon on the Athenian people. (4) Criticize Spartan policies in the Persian Wars, giving reasons for your stand for or against the Spartans.

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¹This helmet was taken at Cumae in the Greek naval victory over the Etruscans, and later dedicated to the gods at the shrine at Olympia, Greece. The dedicatory inscription, cut in the metal 2400 years ago, is still clear.

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RISE OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

EFFECTS OF THE PERSIAN WARS

The leadership in the struggle with Persia had been taken by Sparta and Athens. Sparta was ruled by a military aristocracy with little ability to adapt itself to new conditions. Its citizens still lived as they had two centuries before, devoting themselves only to drill and athletics. Even in these they made no improvements. None of the progress in civilization of which we have learned had been made in Sparta. Yet by reason of its military power Sparta had led the Greek armies and aspired to continue to do so. Athens had sacrificed far more than Sparta for the Greek cause and was the leader in democracy. Her citizens had been active in manufacturing and trade. She had built the largest fleet of any city and was ready and willing to lead in protecting the island and Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor from further Persian attacks. Under the spur of need, when Persia attacked, the Greek city-states were inclined to

Growth of rivalry between conservative Sparta and progressive Athens

combine under able leadership. Unfortunately for Greek civilization, the existence of two leading states tended to bring them into rivalry with each other and finally led to war between them which wore out both.



THE PRINCIPAL COIN OF ATHENS

A tetradrachmon or four-drachma piece, equal to about 16 cents in American money

How
Themis-
tocles
foiled
Spartan
jealousy

The victory over Persia was scarcely won before Spartan jealousy of Athens showed itself. To keep Athens helpless, Sparta insisted that Athens should not rebuild her city wall. Themistocles secured delay by trickery, while every Athenian, man, woman, and child, worked with might and main to rebuild the wall. They put in any material they could find, even stone from the temples and monuments. With their independence thus assured, Themistocles persuaded the citizens also to build around the Piraeus, the port of Athens, a wall of solid masonry sixteen feet thick and thirty feet high, defendable by old men and boys. At the same time he induced the assembly to add to the fleet twenty new warships each year. Thus with a great war fleet and two walled cities the Athenians could feel safe at all times.

THE DELIAN LEAGUE AND ITS TRANSFORMATION

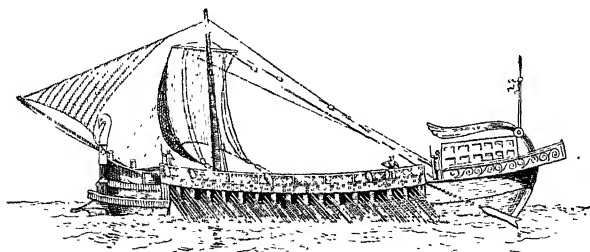
Formation
of the
Delian
League
under
Athenian
leadership.

Not long after the Persian invasion was repulsed, the European Greeks lost interest in proposals for a union of all the Greek states. But when the Greek victory at Mycale encouraged the Ionian cities to revolt against Persia, the Asiatic Greeks readily put themselves under Athenian leadership. Athens was willing to help them, while Sparta was not. Moreover, the Spartan commander

was extremely insolent. Then, in order to protect the Greek cities from Persia and to loot Persian property, Athens formed a league with membership including most of the island and Asiatic Greek cities. Some cities provided ships for the fleet, but most of them paid in coin to meet their share of the expense of building and keeping up the fleet. The payments were fixed by the Athenian, Aristides, called the Just. Collection was made by ten treasurers, all of whom were Athenian citizens. The treasury was at first located on the little island of Delos and the league was called the Delian League, but from the first Athens had the controlling influence.

Gradually this influence increased. There were over two hundred widely scattered states in the league. Many of those which at first supplied ships asked Athens to accept money instead. After a few years of safety some cities began to think the league unnecessary and refused payment. Of course, only the great Athenian fleet kept the Persians

How the league was changed into an empire



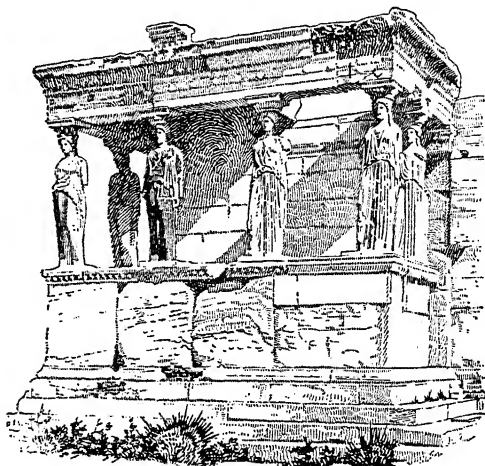
From a wall painting

A SHIP OF THE ATHENIAN WAR FLEET

from returning, and so Athens forced them to pay. Attempts to secede were met by blockade, siege, and conquest and the revolting city was made a subject of Athens and forced to pay tribute. Gradually even the independent allies that had remained loyal became more and more dependent. After some years only three large and rich islands continued to supply ships.

Relations
of the
subject
states to
Athens

Each subject state was bound to Athens by a special treaty. Often an Athenian garrison was kept there. Always democratic forms of government were required, tribute collected, and soldiers furnished in war time. Thus the Delian



PORCH OF THE CARYATIDES

This porch is part of the Erechtheum, a temple on the Acropolis at Athens. The name is derived from the Caryatides, women of the city of Caryae in Laconia, which was held in subjection by Athens

League was transformed into the Athenian Empire. At the height of its power over two hundred cities were members. Every four years the tribute was reapportioned, and as more cities were included the amount each needed to pay was reduced. Important lawsuits usually had to be taken to Athens for decision. But the citizens of Athens took great pride in dealing justly with their subjects. For sixty-seven years no invader disturbed the empire, and the subject cities as well as Athens enjoyed great prosperity.

Defects of
Athenian
policies

Unfortunately Athens gave her allies and subjects no hope of becoming Athenian citizens, a privilege which would have given them a share in the government. They believed

that Athens was determined always to retain the mastery. Most Greeks felt it a dishonor for their home city not to be independent, and the politicians and nobles of subject cities, who had been ousted by Athens, stirred up discontent about grievances, such as the tribute, and persuaded the people to rebel against Athens whenever a chance offered. This weakness of the Athenian Empire kept it from having a long existence.

While the Delian League was being changed into the Athenian Empire, there were, as earlier, two leading divisions among the Athenians. One, led by the aristocrat Cimon, favored continuing war with Persia and friendship with Sparta, and keeping the government at Athens in the hands of the well-to-do citizens. Themistocles, Cimon's opponent, believed war with Sparta had to come and so favored having it when the chances for victory were good. He believed it wise, therefore, to make peace with Persia and

Two parties
at Athens,
one favor-
ing, the
other
opposing,
Sparta



AN OSTRACON OR CLAY BALLOT CONSISTING
OF POTTERY ROUGHLY INSCRIBED

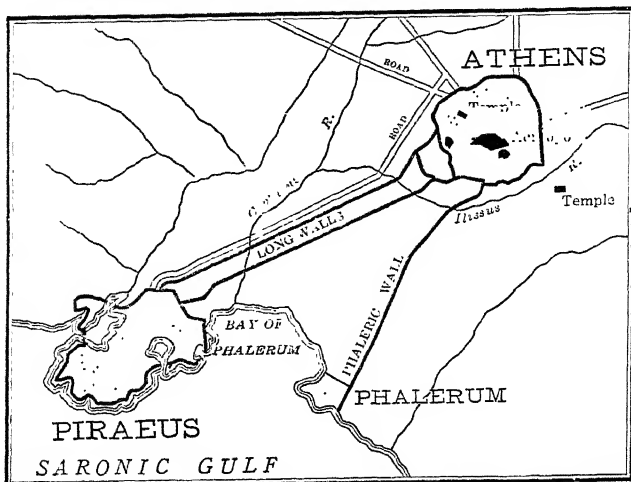
give the people more power at home. Themistocles was ostracized (about 472 B.C.) and spent the remainder of his life in exile.

But fortune soon brought defeat to Cimon too. Following an earthquake at Sparta, the helots rebelled and Sparta asked help from her allies, including Athens, to suppress them. Athens sent soldiers, but Spartan jealousy soon caused them to be dismissed. The Athenians were angry

Why the
pro-Spartan
party was
defeated

and the democratic leader Pericles succeeded in winning control from Cimon.

To make Athens safe from Spartan attack, the democratic leaders pushed the building of the Long Walls. These great parallel structures about five hundred feet apart inclosed a



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ATHENS AND THE PORT OF PIRAEUS IN THE TIME OF
THEMISTOCLES

Foreign
policies
of Athens
under
Pericles

protected road four and one-half miles long between Athens and the Piræus. Thus Athens could not be cut off from her trade and imported food supplies. Under the leadership of Pericles, Athens now completed the change from the Delian League to the Athenian Empire, extending its control to include many Greek colonies along the shores of the Black Sea. War with Persia was also continued by helping Cyprus and Egypt in their effort to free themselves from Persia. An expedition to Cyprus resulted in a great victory, but a fleet of 200 warships sent to Egypt was destroyed. At the same time, Pericles tried to build a land empire. Megara, on the isthmus, was made an ally so that

War with
Persia

Athenian ships and goods could start westward from the head of the Corinthian Gulf, thus saving a long trip around the Peloponnesus. Northwest of Attica most of the cities were made allies of Athens, which thus won control over much of central Greece.

Building
of a land
empire

The jealousy of Sparta and her commercial ally, Corinth, was aroused. When news came from Egypt of the loss of the Greek fleet, revolts were stirred up in Boeotia. An Athenian army was defeated and the land allies broke away. Athens had attempted too much and so Pericles decided to make a peace with Sparta which was to last thirty years (445 B.C.). Athens gave up her land power outside Attica, but kept her maritime empire. Peace had already been made with Persia (448 B.C.) by which Athens kept the Asiatic Greek cities. Time and money for internal development were thus assured.

Athens
has to give
up her land
empire

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Contrast Sparta and Athens in: (a) government, (b) economic development, (c) social system, and (d) intellectual progress. (2) State the strong features of the Spartan state and its weaknesses. Do the same for Athens. (3) Could Sparta have become head of an empire of states in the Aegean Sea? Give your reasons. Why did she not do so? (4) Why did the Aegean cities willingly accept Athenian leadership? Why were they unwilling to continue the Delian League indefinitely? Were they right or wrong? Why? (5) Were the services of Athens worth the price paid by the Aegean cities? Give your reasons pro and con. (6) Criticize Athenian policies toward her subjects and give your reasons. (7) Was Cimon right or wrong in urging friendship with Sparta? Why? (8) Were the foreign policies of Pericles wise or unwise? Give your reasons.

REFERENCES FOR READING

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Histories. BURY, *History of Greece*, 322-367; BOTSFORD, *Hellenic History*, 190-208, 234-246; G. W. COX, *The Greeks and the Persians*, and *The Athenian Empire*.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Spartan failure to build a maritime league. BURY, *History of Greece*, 322-330.

Formation of the Athenian Empire. BURY, *History of Greece*, 336-342.

Fate of Themistocles. BURY, *History of Greece*, 334-336.

THE AGE OF PERICLES

ATHENIAN GOVERNMENT

**Changes
already
made**

We must now give our attention to the government of Athens and the tremendous advances in civilization made in the fifty years following the Persian Wars. We have already seen many steps by which the government of Athens had been changed to give the people more power: (1) abolition of the monarchy, (2) Solon's reforms, (3) reforms under the tyranny of Pisistratus, and (4) the reforms of Cleisthenes.

**How
Pericles
made the
government
more demo-
cratic**

Pericles brought about several more changes: (1) Most government offices were now filled by lot from the citizens who sought them. All now had an equal chance. (2) All officers received pay for their services. Formerly they were not paid and poor men could not afford to hold office. (3) Poor citizens were paid to attend the great out-of-door theatrical performances lasting for days. Pericles believed that all citizens ought to have these educational advantages. But the number who gained these advantages was not so great as we might expect. Much work was done by slaves, of which there were probably about a hundred thousand. Most were non-Greeks. They were not badly treated, and many looked forward to buying freedom for themselves by extra work. Besides these there were about forty thousand foreign residents of Athens. They might stay there a lifetime, however, without getting any share

**Number of
citizens,
alien
residents,
and slaves**

in the government, for only male citizens could vote. To be a citizen one must be able to prove that his father and



PERICLES

British Museum

In this sculpture Pericles is represented wearing a war helmet raised up to leave his face exposed.

mother were citizens. In the time of Pericles there were from one hundred thousand to one hundred twenty thousand citizens, including women and children.

About thirty thousand of the citizens were males over eighteen years of age who had the right to attend the ecclesia,

**Assembly
of the
people**

or assembly of the people. This met forty times a year on a sloping hill overtopped by a steep rock, from which the speakers talked to the assembly. Any citizen might speak, but the crowd commonly followed the suggestions of some trusted nobleman, usually one of the generals.

**Leadership
of ten
generals**

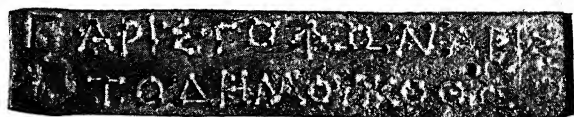
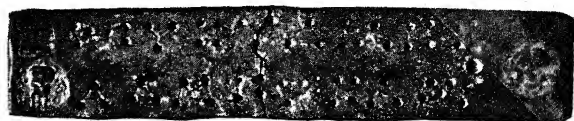
The only public officers not chosen by lot were the ten generals, one from each tribe. They could be reelected indefinitely. Pericles was chosen general every year for about thirty years and was often called "leader of the people."

**Council
of Five
Hundred**

Much of the ordinary work of the government was done by the Council of Five Hundred, which was divided into sections of fifty, each in charge for one-tenth of the year. Its members were chosen by lot each year. They, and even the generals, were responsible to the assembly for all acts.

**Jury
system**

The law courts were now under the control of large juries. Each year 6,000 jurors were drawn by lot from those citizens

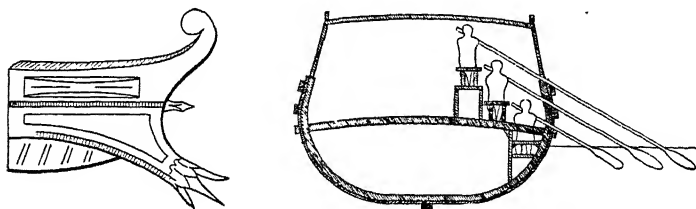


British Museum

ATHENIAN JURYMEN'S TICKETS

who presented themselves for service. Usually they were assigned in groups of 501 to a jury to decide cases brought before them. In important political trials the number of men on the jury was sometimes as high as 2,500. To

attempt bribery in such large bodies was practically impossible. Each juror received from the state the pay of an ordinary laborer. Most of them were elderly men, since it was generally those citizens who were past the



THE PROW OF A GREEK SHIP AND A DIAGRAM OF THE ROWERS' POSITION IN AN ATHENIAN TRIREME

age for active work who offered themselves for jury service. From the majority verdict of an Athenian jury there was no appeal. No government in the world up to this time had been so fully controlled by the people as that of Athens.¹

The army was as democratic as the government. Every man owed military or naval service to the state. For Athens the fleet was the more important. It consisted of 300 warships always ready for sea, and 100 more in reserve. Each ship was from 100 to 120 feet long and 15 to 17 feet wide. The sides rose about 10 feet above the water. Sails were used when the wind was favorable, but in war the Greeks depended on oars arranged in three rows.² A ship of this kind was called a "trireme." Each trireme carried a crew of about 200, comprising 174 oarsmen, a dozen or so heavily-armed soldiers, some archers, and the officers. At this time most of the rowers were still freemen and were highly skilled. The chief mode of attack was to ram the enemy ship with a sharp iron prow and sink it. Another way was to run very close alongside the enemy ship and cripple it by smashing

Army and
navy

Methods
of naval
warfare

¹It should be noted, however, that Athenian government was by no means fully democratic in the modern sense. The numerous slaves and freemen of non-Athenian birth residing at Athens had no share in it at all.

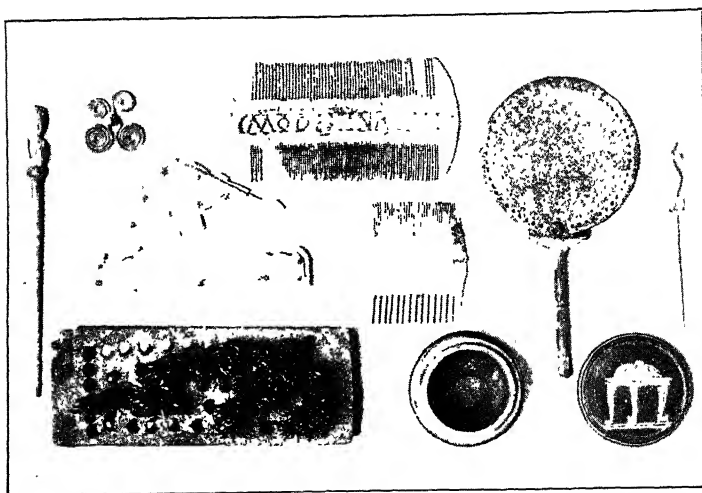
²See p. 67.

the oars. These movements required very careful training and great skill. In the time of Pericles, the Athenians had not only the largest, but by far the best-equipped navy of the Greek world. Athenian supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean and over the empire depended on it.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AT ATHENS

The Persian Wars were followed by an era of wonderful prosperity for the cities of the empire. The vast trade of the Phoenicians was badly damaged by their defeats in Persian service. The Athenian fleet assured peace in the Aegean and beyond. There was need for manufactured

Great
increase
in
Athenian
trade



British Museum

TOILET ARTICLES OF THE GREEKS

This collection from the British Museum includes combs, a brush, a mirror, pins, and a rouge pot

goods, and Athenian merchants made haste to supply them at good profits. To the Piraeus from the Aegean coasts, the Black Sea country, and from Egypt and the west came Greek ships bearing grain or fish, iron, timber, wool, hides,

and other raw material. For export Athens produced vases, cutlery, toilet articles, woven goods, weapons and armor, household furniture, olive oil, and wine. Her people ate vastly more food than Attica could produce. Athens had become an industrial state. The profits of this industrial and commercial prosperity and the profits of the Athenian Empire (i.e., the tribute) went far to make possible the democratic government and the intellectual progress of the Periclean Age.

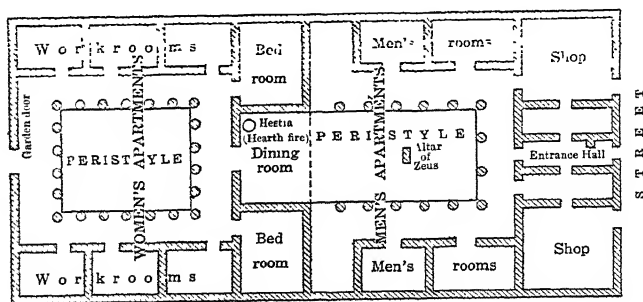
As yet, however, the extensive trade was carried on by a great number of separate merchants, each doing business on a small scale. There was no vastly rich capitalist class and no mass of poverty-stricken laborers. It is true, however, that slaves were becoming more numerous and doing more and more of the manual labor. Athens was growing rich, but as yet her people were not spoiled by riches. A fortune equal to \$10,000 was regarded as large. Of course, prices were very low, for even a skilled laborer received only 20 cents a day and cared for himself and his family very well on it. Attica still was a land of small farms, the owners of which prospered greatly in this age. In fact, it is likely that about half the citizens were engaged in farming.

**Business
still done
on a small
scale**

Most city people lived in very plain houses of sun-dried brick. Even a rich man's house might have had only one story and no windows. The door led into an open courtyard surrounded by a porch. Around this were the rooms in which the family lived. The comforts of a modern home were wholly lacking. Not only was there no stove, but there was not even a chimney. The smoke from the hearth fire was supposed to go out through a hole in the roof, but often it did not. There was little light and air in the rooms, for the only openings were the doorways, which usually had no doors. In winter the houses were chilly, in summer very hot. At night they were lighted only with dim olive-oil lamps. There were no water pipes, no modern sanitation, and no sewers. Refuse was thrown out into the narrow

**Athenian
home life**

crooked, unpaved streets. The houses had dirt floors and were furnished very plainly with couches, chairs, and tables. Clothing was put into chests. The dress of men and women



TYPICAL PLAN OF A GREEK HOUSE

was much alike, being simple and usually pure white. There were two garments: first, a tunic held on by clasps on the shoulder and a belt; and, second, a robe in one piece draped loosely about the whole body. But women had somewhat more finery, with some devices considered quite modern, such as the hump hairpin. Women had no part in public life and had to stay at home most of the time. The wife managed the household in her husband's absence and prepared the meals, which usually were very simple. As a rule, the Athenians observed moderation in eating and drinking, and they may be considered a very temperate people.

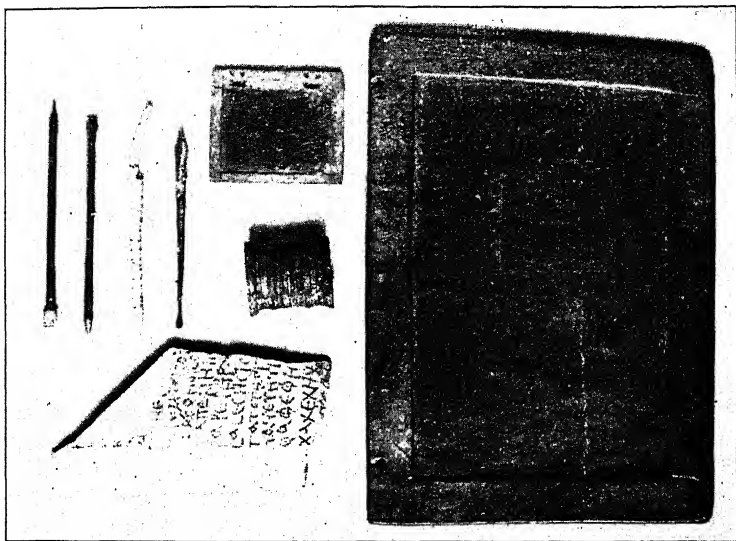
PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, PHILOSOPHY, AND SCIENCE

Education of Athenian boys

Athenian boys were sent to school in charge of an old slave, called a "pedagogue." The teacher was paid by the parents and had no special training. Reading, writing, and some arithmetic, but no other mathematics, were taught, and the boys had to memorize parts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Music was taught, but no geography or science. Athletic training was stressed.

Toward the end of the Periclean Age a new form of education was coming into style. Teachers called Sophists specialized in training adults to make public speeches. Some of them boasted that their pupils could speak so cleverly as to make people almost believe wrong to be right. No doubt ability in public speaking was a very great advantage to men who wished to lead in Athenian politics. The Sophists really started the writing of good Greek prose. In addition they brought to Athens knowledge of what the Ionian Greek philosophers had been teaching for over a

Rise of
the
Sophists



British Museum

AN ATHENIAN SCHOOLBOY'S POSSESSIONS

These include waxed tablets for writing, an ink pot, writing instruments, and a piece of earthenware on which is written a spelling exercise in Greek

hundred years. As Athenian youths began to learn some science they began to doubt all that they had been taught about the gods. As doubt spread, the older citizens grew very bitter against the Sophists and prosecuted them for

impiety. Nevertheless these teachers did much to bring about further intellectual progress. Greek oratory, philosophy, history, and scientific study all owed much to the teachings of the Sophists.

Oratory

Oratory was needed by every man who hoped to be a leader among the Athenians. Pericles was the greatest orator of his age, but we know his speeches only at second-hand. Speeches of later orators have come down to us exactly as prepared. The most famous orators were Lysias, writer of speeches to be delivered by others before the courts, and, greatest of all, Demosthenes. He started out with the determination to sway the people as Pericles had done, but he was only laughed at for his awkwardness. He persevered nevertheless and became one of the greatest orators of the world, famous for his brilliant efforts in defense of Greek liberty against conquest by King Philip of Macedon.¹

Socrates

In the later Periclean Age there lived in Athens one of the greatest thinkers of the world, Socrates. He was a well-known figure, for he was always walking about and talking with anyone who would listen. He was poor and humble and many people made fun of him. But he won many warm friends who followed him everywhere, drinking in his teachings. He taught by asking questions, and so made men think for themselves. Starting with simple questions, he led them on and skillfully made them state the truth as he saw it. His great slogan was, "Know thyself." He believed that true wisdom is to know good from evil and to do right. He showed men the difference between justice and injustice, between courage and cowardice, between sobriety and madness. Though a firm believer in the old gods of Athens, he taught that reason must be the great dependable guide for man's conduct. His life was pure and his teachings the very best, but he was hated by many. He took keen delight in leading a conceited person on by

¹ See page 107.

apparently innocent questions until the "wise" one found himself asserting the truth of some obviously silly proposition.

Thus he made bitter enemies. Many Athenians also did not understand his views on political questions. At last he was charged with bringing in new gods and corrupting the youth, and was brought to trial. Had he used his great ability in his own defense, he might have been acquitted, but this he refused to do. A majority of the jury of 501 found him guilty and sentenced him to death.

The best-known pupil of Socrates was the philosopher Plato. Rich and of noble birth, he wished to become a statesman, but the condemnation of Socrates caused him to hate practical politics and to give his life to teaching and writing. Until now men had never thoughtfully discussed what was the best form of government for the people. Plato became the first great teacher of political science, or the science of government. In a famous essay, called *The Republic*, he described this ideal state, suggesting many reforms in education, government, and society. Plato wrote in the form of dialogue, or question and answer, just as Socrates taught, and Socrates is often made the chief speaker.

Plato

Almost more famous than Plato was his pupil, Aristotle. Though giving much of his time to original thought and discovery, Aristotle collected and classified carefully most of the facts of science known in his time. The works of Aristotle that have come down to us deal with logic, natural science, psychology, ethics, political science, metaphysics, and the arts of oratory and poetry. In later centuries Aristotle was the best-known writer of Greece.¹

Aristotle

In the time of Pericles, Greek knowledge of astronomy and geography was increasing, though still scanty. In medicine, however, great progress was made. Greek physicians of this time no longer believed in magic or demons as the cause

Progress
in
science

¹The student should realize that the philosophers Plato and Aristotle, as well as Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes, lived long after the period of the Athenian Empire. Accounts of their writings are given here for convenience.

of disease, but looked for natural causes. They studied the human body to learn these. At the close of this age, Hippocrates of Cos, the most famous physician of the



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PLATO AND ARISTOTLE WITH THEIR DISCIPLES

From a painting by Raphael in the Vatican at Rome

ancient world, was just starting to practice. He insisted that natural causes brought every illness. He regarded proper living, especially correct diet, as the most important cure for disease, but he used drugs and some surgery if needed. He is known as the founder of scientific medicine.

PROGRESS IN LITERATURE AND ART

Historical
writing

The first important historical work by a Greek was published just after the time of Pericles. In this, Herodotus

told his story of the Persian Wars so as to show all the Greeks how Athens had led them to victory. Although his work is not always to be depended on for accuracy, his



HERODOTUS



SOCRATES

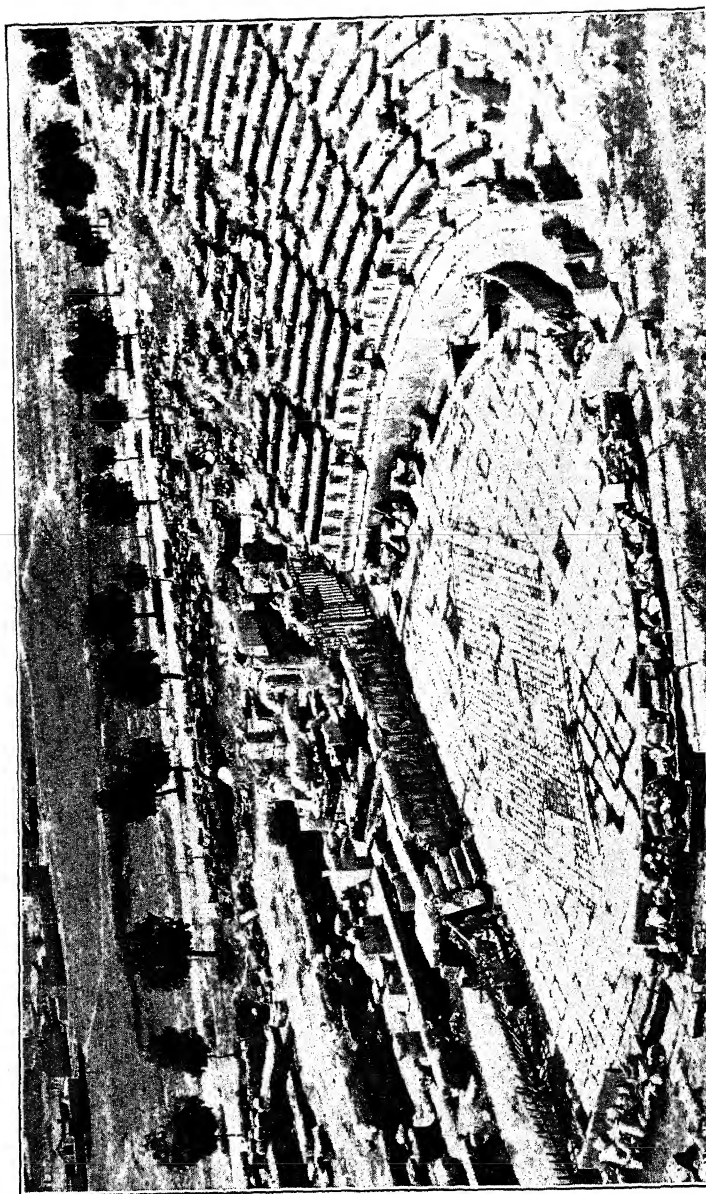
charming style arouses the intense interest of readers of today as it did in his own time. Far more scientific was the later work of the Athenian Thucydides, who wrote the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. He tried to be impartial and state exactly what happened and at the same time write an interesting book. A still later Athenian historian was Xenophon, writer of the *Anabasis*, in which he tells the story of the famous march of 10,000 Greek soldiers into Persia and their return under his leadership.¹ He also wrote a number of interesting essays.

Probably the greatest progress in literature was made in the drama. Twice each year at the feast of Dionysus, the wine god, people gathered at the theater to see a great number of plays.² Serious plays, tragedies, were given in the spring, and comedies in the winter. For each of these play

**Dramatic
writing**

¹See pp. 103.

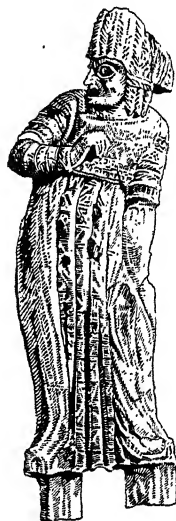
²See pp. 59-60.



festivals there were elaborate contests. A large number of new plays were written, and the twelve best tragedies were selected by special judges. These were then given to different groups of citizens to learn and to present in the theater.



MELPOMENE, MUSE
OF TRAGEDY



A GREEK ACTOR IN MASK
AND COSTUME

New comedies were chosen in the same way, but not so many. At other festivals new plays and also musical compositions were tried out. Thus in the fifth century about fifteen hundred new tragedies were presented at Athens, and these were only the best of those written. Nearly five thousand new musical compositions were written in the same century. As many as two thousand Athenian men and boys rendered the new plays each year; that is, the words and music of the chorus part. Some citizens took part several times and nearly all at least once. The actors were all amateurs, and the audience consisted mainly of ex-performers. They came early in the morning, brought

**Theatrical
perform-
ances by
amateurs**



SOPHOCLES

their lunch, and stayed until evening in the great open-air theater on the side of the Acropolis.

The Athenian Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.) may be regarded as the founder of tragedy, for its form has changed little since his time. Most of his plays dealt with myths of the Greek gods and heroes, many of them taken from stories of the Trojan War. His religious feeling was very deep and his poetry beautiful.

**Great
writers of
tragedy:
Aeschylus**

A second great writer, Sophocles, added a third actor¹ to the cast and so made his plays more lively. His tragedies are still considered wonderful. Among the most famous is *Antigone*. Sophocles still voiced belief in the gods, but the latest of the great tragedians, Euripides, put the gods on a more human basis and so undermined the respect felt toward them by the people. His plays dealt more with the everyday life of the people, and they became especial favorites.

Sophocles

Euripides

The most famous writer of comedy at Athens was Aristophanes, who wrote at the time of the Peloponnesian War. He ridiculed the politicians and leaders of Athens whom he disliked. His wit was sharp and some of his attacks unjust, but his pictures of Athenian life and politics are extremely interesting. In the *Wasps* Athenian jurors are pictured as keen only to get a day's pay without work.

**The great
comedian
Aristoph-
anes**

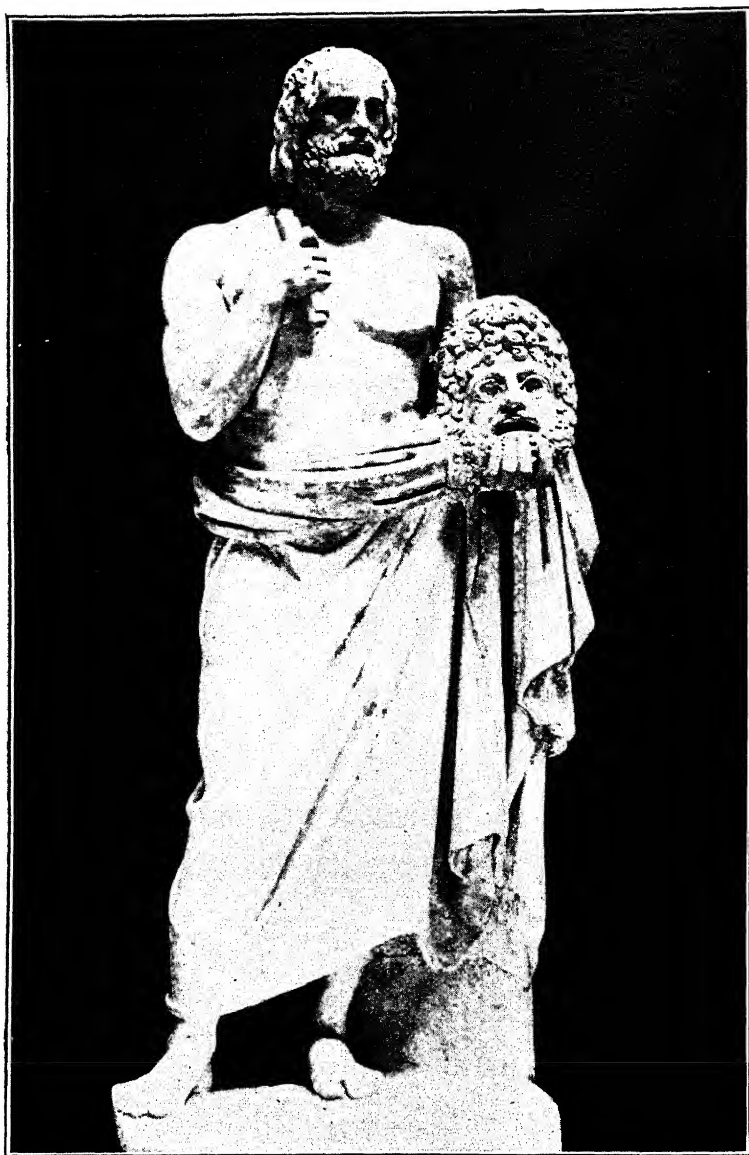
The center of Athens was the Acropolis, a bare rock about 200 feet high and 1,000 feet long. On this stronghold had been placed the temple or house of the city's special goddess, Athena. The Persians had destroyed it, and now Pericles led the Athenians to celebrate the victory over Persia by building a series of magnificent temples.

**Athenian
progress
in art**

The most famous of these was the Parthenon, built to honor Athena. It was rectangular in shape, 227 feet long by 101 feet wide, and about 60 feet high. A series of forty-six Doric columns, each one more than six feet in diameter at the base, surrounded it. The pediments and frieze

**The
Parthenon**

¹See page 59.



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EURIPIDES

contained the finest sculptures. The inner frieze, over five hundred feet long, pictured in marble a great procession of Athenians on foot and on horseback bearing gifts to the

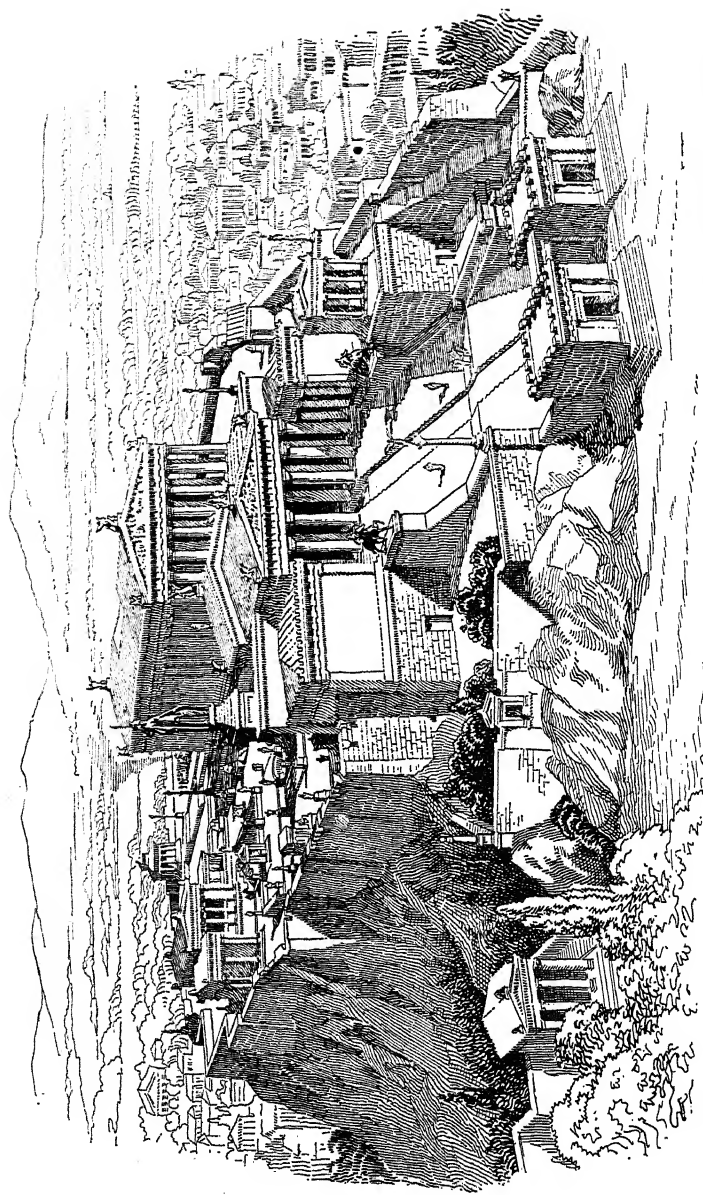


A SECTION OF THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

goddess. The whole temple was built of the finest marble. Inside there were two rooms. The smaller one contained the temple treasures, the larger a marvelous gold and ivory statue of the goddess Athena, standing thirty-eight feet high. This statue has not survived to the present time, but the building still stands. All the sculptures on the Parthenon were made by the great sculptor Phidias, or under his direction. In 1687 A.D. the temple was being used for powder storage by the Turks. The Venetians in attacking Athens sent a shot into it causing the powder to explode and wreck the roof and many columns. Enough is left, however, to give us a good idea of its past glory.¹

Gradually other buildings were built on the Acropolis, making it the art capital of Greece. The only way up the hill was at the west end where a great marble stairway of sixty steps led through a beautiful entrance colonnade. Just beyond the entrance stood an enormous bronze figure of Athena holding a spear. All about were magnificent temples, but none so large or fine as the Parthenon. Their

¹The city of Nashville, Tennessee, has just built in one of its parks (1926) a reproduction of the Parthenon. The sand, cement, and colored pebbles substituted for marble are made to look almost exactly as the original must have appeared in the time of Pericles.



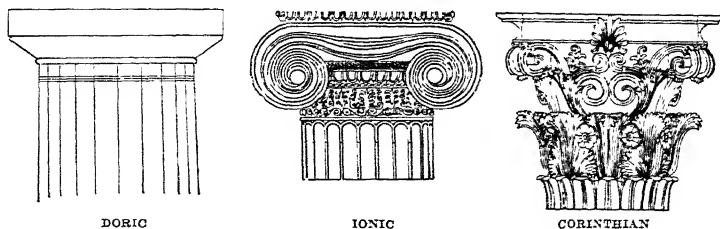
After the restoration by G. Rehlander

THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS IN THE DAYS OF PERICLES

vast cost was paid largely from the tribute collected by Athens from the empire.

The most notable features of Greek temples were the columns, of which there were three forms: (1) the Doric, the oldest and simplest; (2) the Ionic, and (3) the Corinthian. These differ chiefly in the capital or top of the column.

Main
features
of Greek
temples



THE CAPITALS OF THE THREE ARCHITECTURAL ORDERS OF GREEK COLUMNS, SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORNAMENTATION

Above the columns, which in the finest temples encircled the home of the goddess, was the frieze where sculptured reliefs could be placed. The pediment or triangular space under the roof at each end also provided space for adornment with sculptures, and these stood out sharply in the brilliant sunshine of Greece.

This tremendous progress in art and literature and in democratic government shows that the citizens of Athens were a remarkably cultured body of men. The comedies of Aristophanes are full of quotations and allusions which uneducated men could not have understood, and they were extremely popular. They were like allusions to Tennyson or Browning in a vaudeville show of today. Athenian citizens received in the theater, in the temples, and in public service a wonderful education. Only in very modern times have the poor had such opportunities to obtain an education. There was little or no poverty among the citizens of Athens, and for public service the state gave pay that amounted to pensions. The rich paid their share of public burdens out

High
average
education
of the
Athenians

of their own pockets. There was real democracy, for the intelligent man of moderate means was welcome in the home of the rich. Athens produced an exceptional number of great artists, writers, and thinkers. A host of others came to Athens, where they were so much appreciated and found such freedom.

**Defects of
Athenian
culture**

But Athenian and Greek culture had its defects: (1) Literature and art were stressed, but most Athenians were woefully ignorant of science. It was, for example, commonly believed that goats breathed through their ears. (2) Greek literature was intended to be heard, not read, and so it is far more simple than our novels and plays. (3) Only Athenian citizens had all the advantages described. There were many slaves as well as numerous foreign residents. (4) Education and a share in public affairs were for men only. Women were little more than high-grade servants.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Describe the machinery of government at Athens in the time of Pericles. Compare the position of the ten generals with that of the cabinet of modern Britain. (2) Enumerate the advantages and disadvantages of the Athenian popular jury system. (3) Why was it that Athenian ships usually won the victory in naval battles? (4) Compare industrial development and trade at Athens with industries and trade of the United States today. (5) Why did not Athenians have better houses? (6) If you had lived in Athens in the time of Pericles would you have approved or disapproved of the Sophists? Give your reasons. (7) Explain the Socratic method of teaching. How and why is it better than others? (8) Who rendered the greater service to learning, Plato or Aristotle? Give your reasons. (9) Explain how plays were written and staged at Athens. Why were so many very good ones written? (10) Who do you think had greatest influence over the people of Athens, Thucydides, Sophocles, or Socrates? Give your reasons. (11) Describe the chief temples on the Acropolis. (12) Explain the conditions at Athens that made possible such intellectual progress in the Periclean Age and later. What serious defects had Athenian civilization?

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THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431-404 B.C.)

CAUSES AND EVENTS OF THE WAR

The progress in civilization already made at Athens might have been only a beginning, if a great calamity had not come. A long war between Athens and Sparta wrecked the wonderful prosperity of Athens and put backward Sparta in control of Greece. Progress at Athens was checked and at last ceased. Thus the Peloponnesian War proved to be the greatest catastrophe in Greek history.

**Causes
of the
Pelopon-
nesian
War**

We have already seen that Sparta had not advanced financially or in culture as had Athens. Most Spartans could not even read, and they still used only iron money. But Sparta had the best army in Greece and was the head of the Peloponnesian League, the members of which paid no annual tribute as did the subjects of Athens. The Spartans were jealous of Athenian prosperity and power, and Corinth and other trading cities allied with Sparta were commercial rivals of Athens. Athens gave her subjects no hope of becoming Athenian citizens, collected tribute by force if necessary, spending it largely on costly temples at Athens, and ruled her empire with severity. Most Greek cities wanted to rule themselves, and so Athens became an object of dislike in many parts of Greece. When some Athenian subjects revolted (433 B.C.) and received help from Corinth and Sparta, war could hardly be avoided.

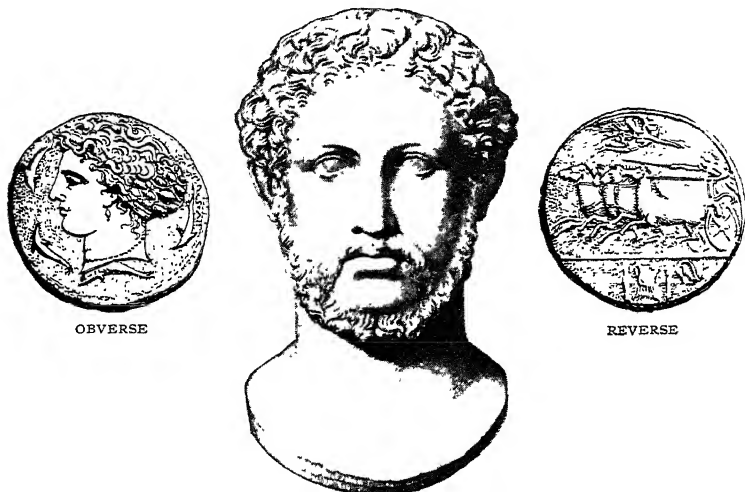
**War
plans**

Sparta had an unconquerable army and Athens an invincible navy, but neither could deal the other a decisive blow. Pericles hoped Sparta would tire first and make peace. But a terrible plague in Athens in the second year of the war killed one-quarter of her people. Pericles himself died, and there was no great leader to take his place. After ten years both sides were tired enough to make peace (421 B.C.).

**Ruin of
the Sicilian
expedition**

But peace did not last long. The Athenians listened now to brilliant but self-seeking leaders and decided to send a great expedition to take the island of Sicily. The author of this plan was Alcibiades, a wild young nobleman and a pupil of the Sophists, who hoped by this expedition to win vast power for himself. The night before the expedition sailed, some one smashed numerous images of the god Hermes, one of which stood before every house. Alcibiades might have helped to do it in a drunken frolic, but it was never proved that he did. After the fleet left, the assembly voted to recall Alcibiades, who had been named one of the three commanders of the expedition. Believing that to

return meant a death sentence, he escaped to Sparta and advised them how to defeat his expedition. A capable Spartan was sent to lead the Sicilians. After several defeats



ALCIBIADES AND A COIN OF SYRACUSE

the Athenian army was forced to surrender, and most of the prisoners were sold into slavery. At the same time the Spartans set up a permanent garrison in Attica. Thousands of the slaves of the Athenians deserted, agriculture was ruined, and business declined.

In spite of these crushing blows the Athenians obstinately fought on for nine years more. Their fleet won victories, but there arose no great leader like Pericles. Alcibiades returned, was pardoned, and became leader, but the fickle crowd would not keep him in power long enough. Athenian democracy showed little intelligence and lacked cool-headed advisers. Sparta for once had in Lysander a remarkably brilliant commander. The king of Persia supplied plenty of money for Sparta to build fleets, receiving Spartan promises to betray to him the Asiatic Greek cities that Athens had protected.

**Decline
of
Athenian
resources**

Final
utter
defeat of
Athens

Finally the last Athenian fleet with the last crews that Athens could furnish was taken by surprise at Aegospotami near the Hellespont. Only nine ships escaped, and all the Athenians captured were killed. All but one of the allies of Athens revolted, and the city was without ships, men, or money. The Spartan army and fleet besieged Athens and starved its people into surrender. The Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piraeus were destroyed. Athens gave up her empire and became a second-rate subject of Sparta.

EFFECTS OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Spartan
supremacy
(404-371
B.C.)

Sparta now took over the empire that Athens had lost, and the cities that had complained of Athens learned what real tyranny was like. A group of men friendly to Sparta, backed by a Spartan garrison, was put in charge of each subject city. The people were mistreated and plundered at will. No man's life or property was safe. After about a year a popular revolt drove the oppressors from Athens, but most cities were unable to resist.

Effects
on Sparta

In Sparta wealth and luxury reigned supreme. Property fell more and more into the hands of the capable and unscrupulous, while the poorer citizens lost even their right to vote. Instead of nine to ten thousand full citizens, there were in a few years only two thousand. The "inferiors" (who had lost full citizenship) were almost as discontented as the helots, and so the Spartan state was in constant danger.

March of
the 10,000
Greeks

The long Peloponnesian War had created in Greece a large class of men whose trade was fighting. They disliked regular work and so were ready to serve as soldiers for anyone who offered good pay. In Persia, Cyrus, a younger brother of the Persian king, determined to seize the crown for himself. The Persian attacks on Greece had shown the value of Greek soldiers, so Cyrus hired 10,000 of them for his expedition, and marched into the heart of the Persian Empire. Near Babylon the Greeks were victorious, though Cyrus

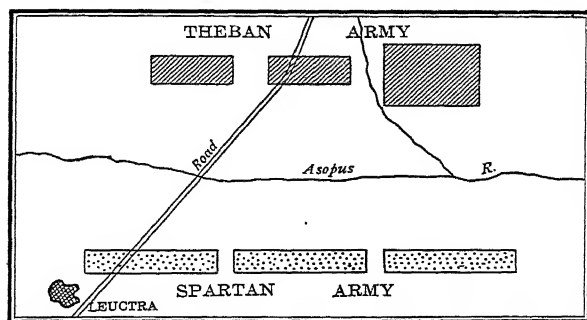
lost his life. The Greek commanders were now led into a trap and killed, but the 10,000 soldiers chose new leaders and marched out through Armenia to the Black Sea. Xenophon, one of the new generals, has told the story himself in his *Anabasis*. This exploit of the Greek soldiers showed how weak the Persian Empire was and made ambitious Greeks think of conquering it.

To protect the Asiatic Greeks that she had so recently abandoned to Persia, Sparta made war. To stop the Spartan king's attacks, Persia encouraged Thebes, Corinth, and Athens to rebel against Sparta. The Athenian, Conon, now in Persian service, attacked the Spartan fleet and destroyed it. Then he sailed through the Aegean, freeing the cities from Spartan tyranny. In 393 B.C. Conon returned to Athens and rebuilt the Long Walls. With Persian help, Athens thus was able partly to recover her maritime empire from Sparta.

Athenian
recovery

To save her power Sparta asked the Persian king to make peace in Greece. He gladly dictated terms which left the Asiatic cities in his own hands and gave Sparta power a little

Rise of
Thebes to
supremacy



THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA

longer. This she used for more oppression. At last a group of Thebans led by Epaminondas determined to fight for control. At Leuctra (371 B.C.) his soldiers defeated a much larger Spartan army. This amazing victory he won

**Battle of
Leuctra**

by putting his best soldiers in a solid mass fifty men deep opposite the Spartan citizens. The rest of his forces he spread out very thinly and had them come into battle late. The Theban mass crushed the Spartans—four hundred out of seven hundred, with the king, were killed.

Sparta sank at once to a second-rate power, and Thebes became the leading state of Greece. But to keep this power required frequent wars. At the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.) the Thebans won, but their great leader, Epaminondas, was killed, and Thebes could not hold the position he had secured.

**Failure
of the
Greeks to
build a
national
state**

Instead of one state with controlling influence, there were many states with their mutual rivalries. No state could conquer the others and keep them in subjection and the Greek city-states apparently could not combine into a league that would give freedom to each city, or into a nation in which the liberty and rights of every citizen of every city would be respected.

Athens had come nearest to a real league but selfishly had not allowed her allies to win citizenship at Athens nor retain their own liberty. The allies themselves had too often wished to secure only the advantage of their own city, not of Greece as a nation. Marvelous as was the progress of the Greeks in civilization, they did not get beyond the city-state or temporary league of city-states—they did not build a Greek national state. Hence they were destined to fall under the control of strong neighbors with great national strength.

Persia had tried to conquer Greece and had failed. Persia had succeeded, however, in influencing Greek policies by playing upon Greek disunion. Now another neighboring state, Macedon, was destined under an able king to unite the Greeks under its control and to use them in the conquest of the Persian Empire. To the rise of King Philip of Macedon we now turn.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Was the Peloponnesian War inevitable? Give your reasons pro and con. (2) How did Pericles hope to win? What prevented his plans from succeeding? (3) Criticize the practical operation of Athenian democracy, using the events of the war as evidence. (4) Did Alcibiades do right or wrong in fleeing to Sparta? Give your reasons. (5) How was Sparta finally able to win the war? With what effects on the Greek cities and on Sparta itself? (6) Why could Sparta not remain permanently at the head of Greece? (7) Why did the Greeks fail to build for themselves a national government? What effects did this failure have?

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RISE OF MACEDONIA AND THE CONQUESTS OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

SUBJUGATION OF GREECE

Macedonia was situated north of Greece and its people were only distantly related to the Greeks. Near the sea they had learned much of Greek civilization and had combined under one government; but inland they still were half barbarian and had little government except that of tribal

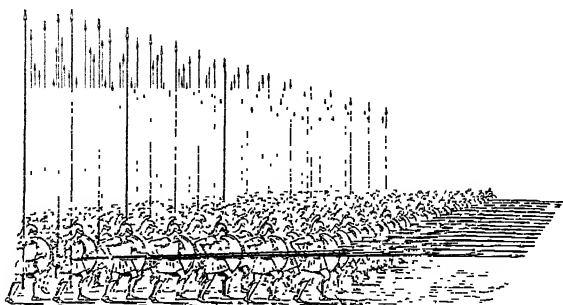
People
of
Macedonia

leaders. When an exceptionally able king, Philip II, arose, the tribal leaders were persuaded to submit to him, and the people were welded into one nation. The Macedonians were hardy folk and made excellent soldiers.

The
Mace-
donian
army

Philip had been kept at Thebes as a hostage in his youth and had learned the value of the tactics employed by Epaminondas. He trained his followers to fight in deep, solid masses of heavy-armed troops with five rows of sharp spears extending beyond the front line. They were drilled to maneuver all together without breaking this formation. The weight and power of their charge were such that all opposing foot soldiers were knocked down and trampled under foot. None could stand against this powerful phalanx. Its sides were protected by light-armed troops, and a well-trained cavalry armed with long spears pursued and rode down the defeated enemy. At the same time Philip had prepared a number of machines to throw great arrows and stones for a considerable distance. This was the first field

The
phalanx



THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX

artillery. Philip had the gift of picking capable officers to command different units of his army. As soon as he could he gave officers and soldiers regular pay and enforced absolute obedience to his orders. The necessary wealth he obtained from gold mines in the mountains of Thrace which he developed until he had an ample income.

While he was building this army he was also educating his soldiers and his people to make them into Greeks—he was preparing them to become the bearers of Greek civilization in the conquest of the Persian Empire. Before he

How
Philip
won
control
of Greece



COIN OF PHILIP



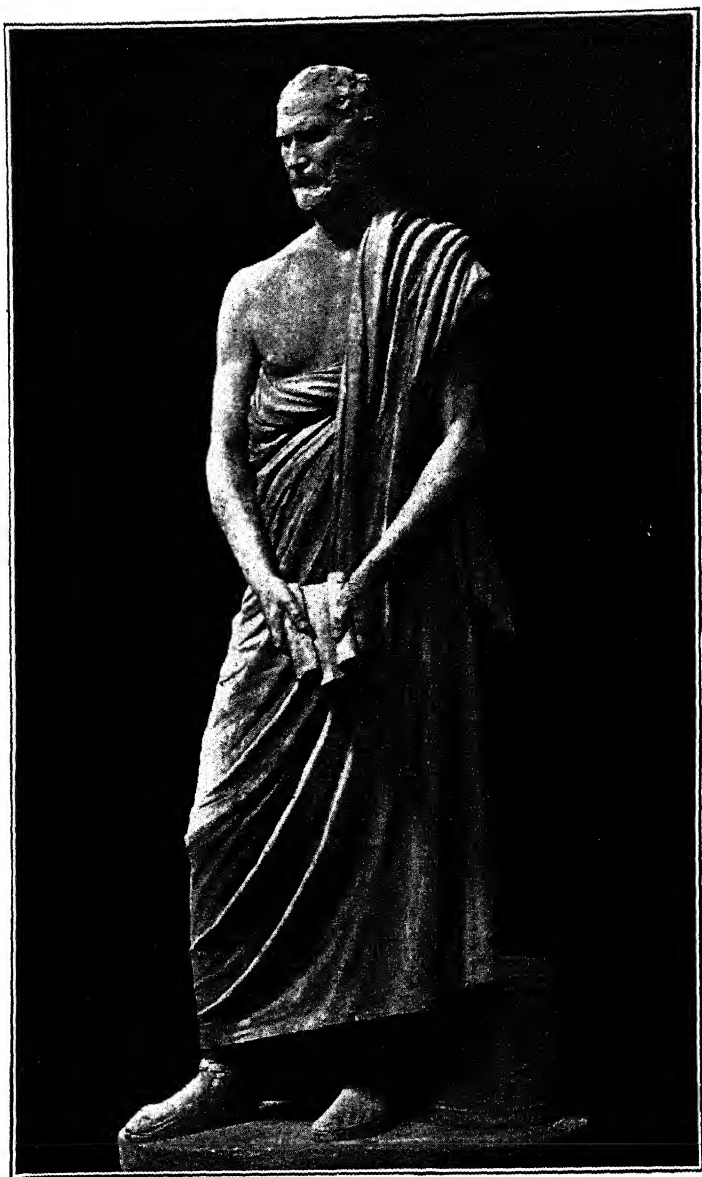
From a gold medallion

PHILIP II OF MACEDONIA

could engage in this great venture he must win control of Greece. For this the disunion of the Greek states furnished him an opportunity. He wanted their voluntary help as far as possible and proposed to fight them only as a last resort. Everywhere his well-paid agents bribed and plotted to induce the Greek states to end their civil wars and put themselves under his leadership. Then they could deal with Persia, the real enemy that had so long dictated to the divided Greek states.

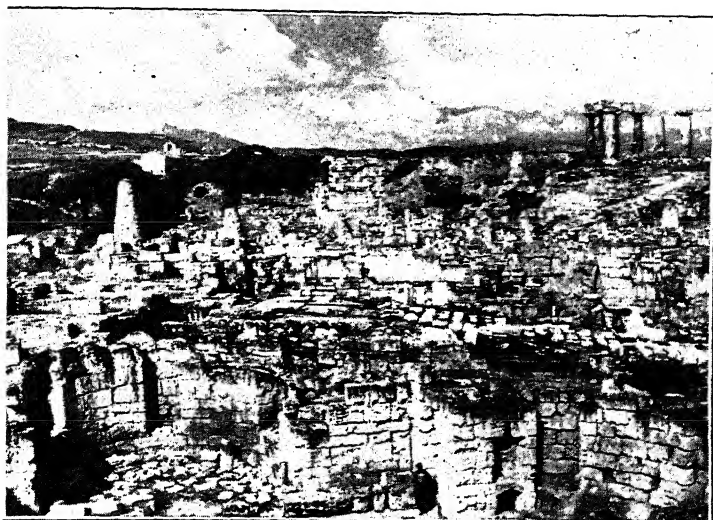
Philip's aims were statesmanlike, but, thought the Greeks, would not Macedonian control be as bad as or worse than Persian? The great Athenian orator, Demosthenes, was convinced that Philip of Macedon was a terrible threat to Greek liberty. He devoted all his magnificent power as an orator to persuade the Athenian people to fight Philip

Fight of
Demos-
thenes
against
Philip



DEMOSTHENES

and save Greece. They responded only in part. Philip kept pushing his influence in Greece until Thebes and Athens determined to fight. At the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.)



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THE RUINS OF CORINTH IN PROCESS OF EXCAVATION

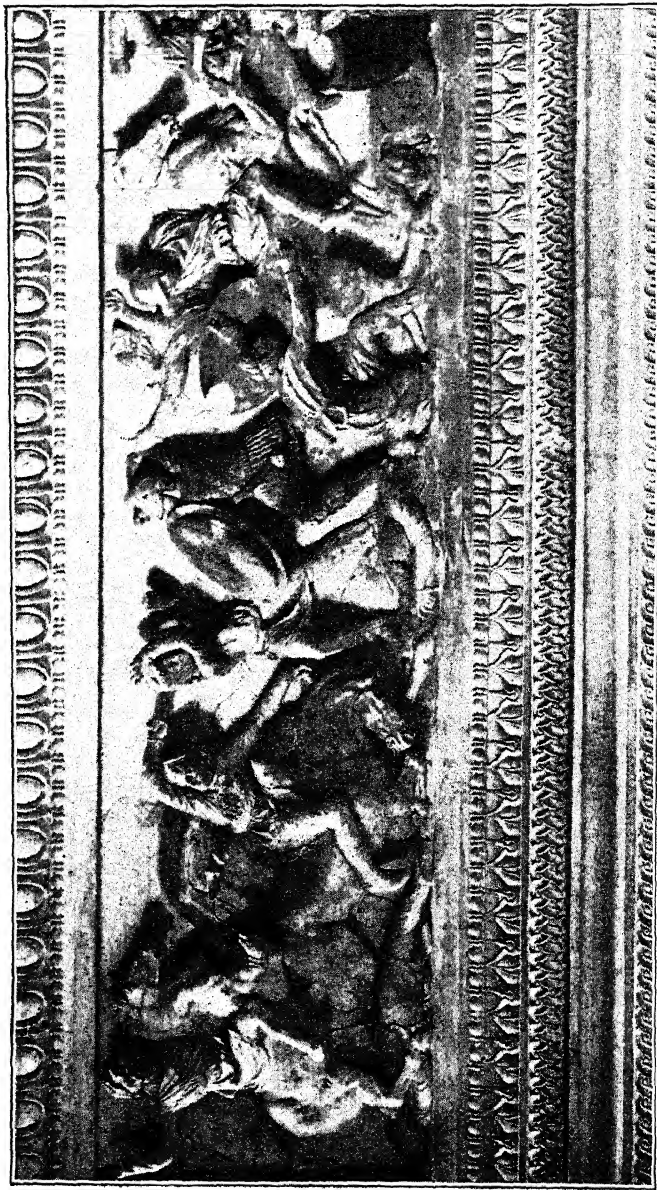
Philip utterly defeated their armies and became the real ruler of Greece.

At Corinth he called a congress of all the city-states—only Sparta refused to take part—and set up a federation in which every state was free and yet subordinate to the dominant influence of Philip as its president. They agreed to the plan for war with Persia, but Philip was murdered before his preparations were finished (336 B.C.).

Congress
of
Corinth

Philip left his crown and his work to his twenty-year-old son Alexander, surrounded by able generals devoted to the king's family. Alexander had been the special pupil of the great philosopher Aristotle, and loved Greek literature and art. He was an impulsive and lovable youth, a clear-headed

Youth
of
Alexander
the Great



THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS

Part of the magnificent Greek relief sculpture on a sarcophagus found at Sidon. At the left is Alexander and at the right one of his officers in what is believed to represent Alexander's charge in the battle with the Persians at the Granicus River

and subtle diplomat, and a general of exceptional genius. The Greek states thought they had to deal with an inexperienced youth. They learned their mistake when he subdued them quickly and utterly destroyed the city of Thebes except the house of the poet Pindar. With Greece submissive and his other neighbors subdued, he went on with his father's plans.

Subjugation of Greece

CONQUEST OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

Commanding an army of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry Alexander crossed the Hellespont and practically destroyed a Persian army at the battle of the Granicus, a stream flowing into the Propontis (now called the Sea of Marmara). This victory gave him Asia Minor. Pushing on eastward, taking the cities, he passed the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, and at the battle of Issus on the edge of the Fertile Crescent he utterly defeated the main Persian army, said to number over 500,000, under the command of King Darius III.

Battle of the Granicus

Battle of Issus

Darius sent a letter to Alexander asking peace and offering him all the land west of the Euphrates River, to be his forever. A momentous decision must be made. Parmenio, King Philip's old general and devoted to the young King Alexander, urged acceptance. A Persian fleet controlled the seas and might easily stir up revolt in Greece. The terms were liberal and Persia was far away. Alexander certainly had done all his father, Philip, had planned, argued Parmenio. But Alexander, only twenty-three years of age, was stirred by the thought of a world empire under his own command and proudly spurned the proposals of the great King Darius.

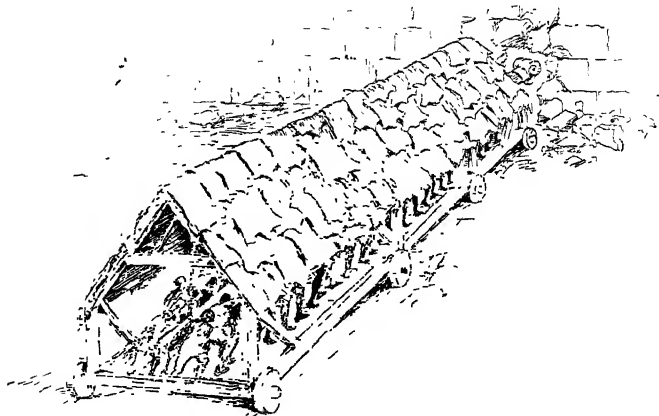
Peace terms of Darius

To meet the danger of the Persian fleet, Alexander turned southward and took all the Phoenician seaports. The Macedonian engineers had built elaborate siege machines. Some of these had been used by the Assyrians but most

Capture of the Mediterranean shores

Mace-
donian
siege
engines

Greeks had not been familiar with them. The battering ram was an enormous beam, made of many pieces of timber, with a great metal head. The ram was hung in a vertical frame and swung against the wall or was placed on wheels and rolled against it. A large ram was 180 feet long, weighed 100 tons, and needed 100 men to work it. The borer was something like the ram but had a pointed head and was mounted on rollers. The siege tower was mounted on wheels or rollers so it could be moved up to the wall and give the besiegers a chance to attack the defenders at various levels. Some were 100 to 150 feet high. The outside of the tower was protected by hides or iron. There were several devices for undermining the walls and causing a great cave-in. For hurling huge missiles there were many machines. Most common was a great bow which shot large



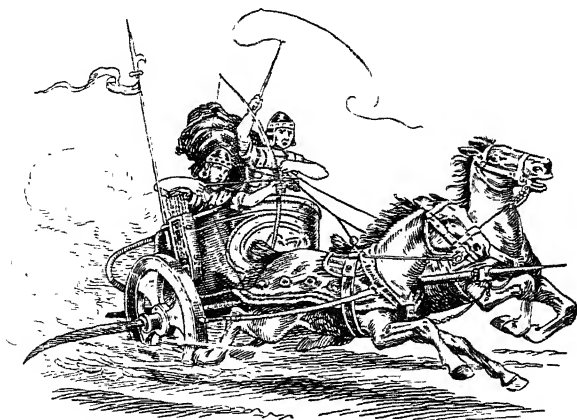
A BATTERING RAM

Invasion
of Egypt

arrows or stones a distance of as much as four or five hundred yards. With this machinery Alexander besieged and took even the island of Tyre. Then he continued southward to Egypt, of which he took possession. At one of the mouths of the Nile he laid out a magnificent seaport city, which

he named Alexandria. With its harbors all in Alexander's hands, the Persian navy soon broke up.

Relieved of any risk on the Mediterranean, Alexander now marched eastward into the Fertile Crescent and not



A PERSIAN SCYTHE-BEARING CHARIOT

far from the ruins of Nineveh fought the decisive battle for final control of the Persian Empire. With a force of 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry he confronted a Persian army estimated at 1,000,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry. While this total is probably too large, yet it is clear that again the Macedonians were tremendously outnumbered. Darius had also 200 scythe-bearing chariots, two-wheeled vehicles with long sword blades extending out from the axle ends. These were expected to break up the phalanx, mowing the enemy down like machine guns. The Persian army was drawn up on a great plain which the king had graded level for his cavalry and chariots. Here the vast Persian host would have plenty of room.

Fight for
control
of the
Persian
Empire

Battle
of Arbela
or
Gaugamela
(331 B.C.)

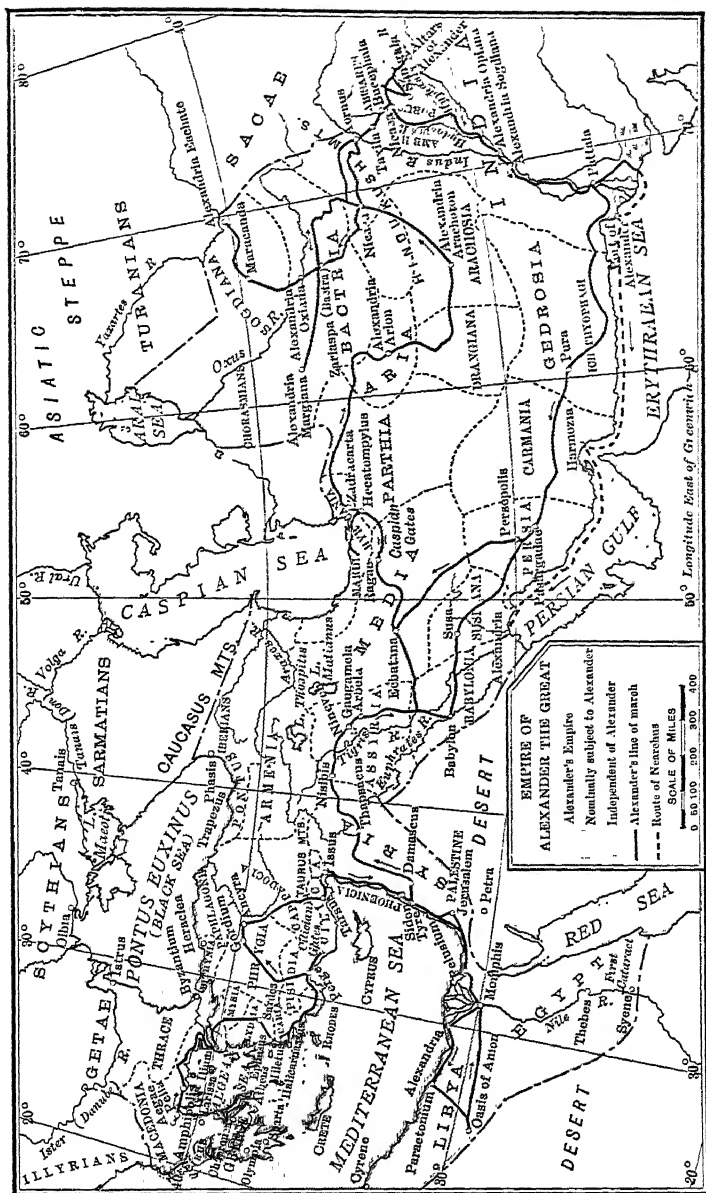
To keep his force from being surrounded, Alexander set a reserve on each flank, and as usual prepared to attack with his heavy cavalry at the side of the Persian center.

Gradually he moved his line sidewise to the right. The Persians shifted farther to their left and, to keep from moving off their prepared ground, Darius started the battle. His scythe-bearing chariots came on at a gallop against the phalanx in the center, but failed. Many were stopped before they reached the phalanx and others passed on through lanes which were opened up and at once closed again.

Meanwhile the ever-watchful Alexander saw a gap in the Persian front caused by their left shift. Suddenly he charged this gap with his cavalry backed by part of the phalanx. This powerful flying wedge burst right into the center of the Persian host. Darius was at once in personal danger and fled for his life. Meanwhile the Macedonian left was in fearful danger and Parmenio sent to Alexander for help. Turning back, Alexander's men cut down the enemy and saved the day. The reserves were now thrown in and the Persian flight became general. The slaughter was dreadful, as the Macedonians pursued until night. Again Alexander's genius leading the Macedonian soldiers had defeated the oriental host. The Persian king was a fugitive and the Persian Empire was in Alexander's power. Alexander advanced and took possession of Babylon and then of Susa, the Persian capital, where 50,000 talents in gold and silver (\$65,000,000) fell into his hands. At the royal city of Persepolis, 120,000 talents (\$156,000,000) are said to have been taken. King Darius fled into the mountains of the northeast and there was killed by his own servants.

Adventures
in the
conquest
of the
East

Now that Alexander was definitely settled as the successor of Darius, he paid and dismissed his Greek allies. Leaving 6,000 trusted men to guard the vast treasure, he led his Macedonians eastward. For the next five years he marched over the vast eastern provinces of the Persian Empire, meeting stiff resistance in the plateau country north of the Hindu Kush Mountains. Thence he crossed the mountains into India, defeating the king of that region in spite of the terrible elephants which formed part of his army. Then he



turned southward to the Indian Ocean and westward to Babylon again, making a vast circuit such as no previous conqueror had accomplished in so short a time. All along the



From a bust in the Munich Glyptothek

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

route he founded cities destined to be centers for the spread of Greek civilization. But his marches cost great suffering to his thirsty, hungry, and utterly worn-out soldiers, who longed for the homes they had not seen for over ten years.

There were other causes for their discontent. Alexander was determined to make all the world accept Greek civilization, but he realized that he must adopt some Persian customs. He tried to merge Greek and oriental customs by wholesale colonization of Greeks and Macedonians. He married an oriental princess and had his friends do likewise. He gave his favor to many Persians and made them high government officers. As king of Persia, Alexander adopted

**Alexander's
plans for
merging
East and
West**

the oriental custom of requiring official visitors to kneel down before him. In Egypt some years before he had gone out to the desert shrine of Amon and on coming out of the holy place alone the high priest greeted him as son of



THE TETRADRACHMON OF ALEXANDER

At the right a representation of Hercules; at the left, of Zeus

Zeus-Amon. Now he demanded that the Greek cities list him as one of the gods. As a god his rule over all his vast empire would be accepted more readily than as a mere king. Alexander the god-king must be obeyed. Alexander did this, not because he was puffed up with self-conceit, but because he believed it would make his rule more lasting. But all this galled the Macedonians. Many of his personal friends were embittered, and several were tried and executed on charges of treason to him.

**Macedo-
nian
revolt**

One day it became known that 30,000 orientals had been trained in Macedonian style and mixed with the Macedonians, and that many old soldiers were to be sent home. Macedonian opposition flamed out in open revolt. Alexander made an impetuous speech in which he told his soldiers how he had led them to victory, how he had rewarded them, how often he had been wounded while leading them, and closed by telling them they could all go home at once if they were so ungrateful. After three days of silence the Macedonian soldiers ran to the palace, threw themselves down before Alexander, and humbly begged him to take pity on them. Alexander forgave them and there was a feast of reconciliation at which Persians and Macedonians

sat down peaceably together. The king had won over even the Macedonians to his plans.

In May of 323 B.C., fleet and army were made ready for an expedition to the coast of Arabia, but just before their departure Alexander fell sick with fever and died in a few days at the age of thirty-three.

Death of
Alexander

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why was the Macedonian army so strong a fighting machine? Why so much better than the usual Greek army? (2) Which was right, Demosthenes, or his rival orator, Aeschines? Give your reasons. (3) Why was Alexander the victor at the battle of Issus? (4) Ought Alexander to have accepted the terms of Darius after the battle of Issus? Give your reasons. (5) Why did Alexander lay siege to Syria and Egypt before advancing into the Fertile Crescent? Would not an immediate advance have been less risky? Give your reasons. (6) Would a modern commander-in-chief do as Alexander did at the battle of Arbela? Why? (7) Criticize or commend Alexander's plans for the spread of Greek civilization.

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Battle of Issus. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 280-293.

The siege of Tyre. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 311-327.

The battle of Arbela. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 356-368.

The invasion of India. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 415-446.

Alexander's exploits at the siege of Multan (in India). WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 456-462.

The revolt of Alexander's troops. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 473-485.

THE BREAK-UP OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

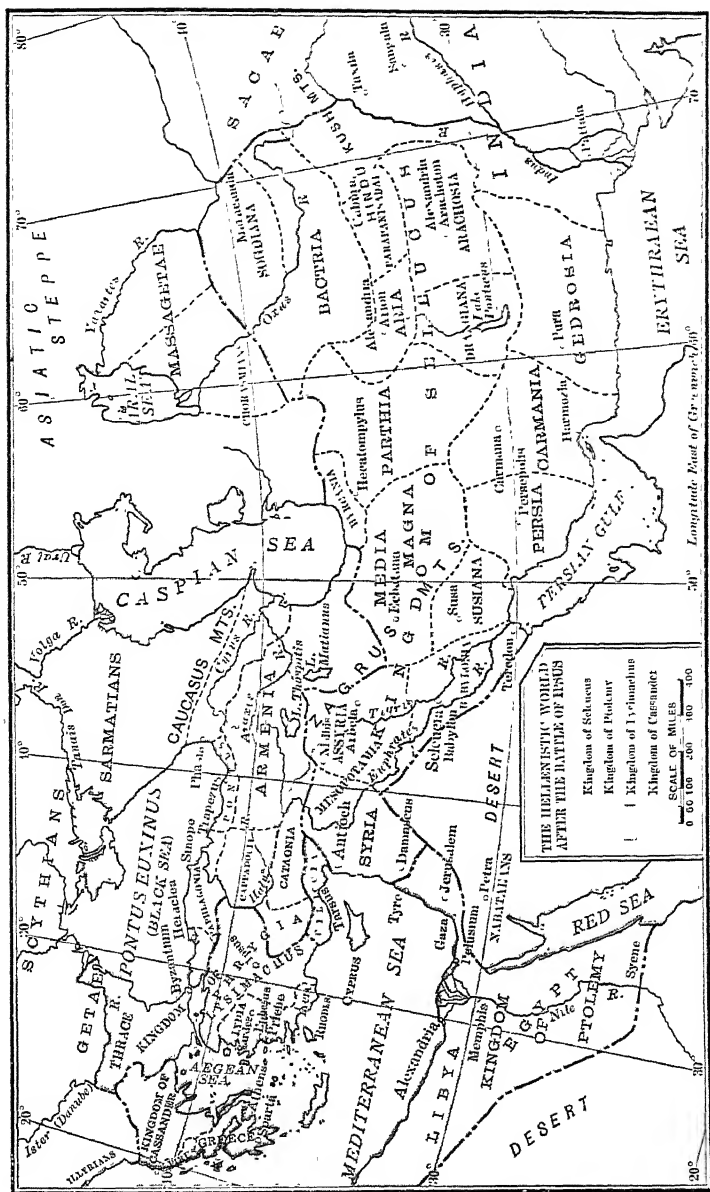
Alexander's early death was a great calamity, for a reign of forty years more would have given him time to conquer the lands of peoples all around the Mediterranean Sea (which he had planned to do), to extend enlightened rule and a uniformly high civilization to all that vast area, and to accustom these diverse peoples to his rule so that this vast empire might not easily break up. But he left no heir able to command the loyalty of his generals, and no one of them could carry out his plans. For thirty years they fought terrible wars for control of the empire. Antigonus claimed the throne, but was killed at the battle of Ipsus (301 B. C.). The four who were left divided the empire into the following parts: (1) Macedonia and Greece under Cassander, (2) most of the former Persian Empire in Asia under Seleucus, (3) Egypt under Ptolemy, and (4) Thrace and western Asia Minor under Lysimachus. With the exception of the kingdom of Lysimachus, these states lasted with few changes for over a hundred years.

Division
of the
empire

The most powerful of these states was Egypt under the Ptolemies. They had a great navy and controlled Palestine and southern Syria as well as Egypt. They ruled mainly according to old Egyptian customs, allowing local liberty only to Alexandria and two other Greek cities in Egypt. All the rest of the people had to obey Ptolemy as successor of the ancient Pharaohs. The continuation of their elaborate tax system, tapping the agricultural wealth of the Nile Valley and the industrial and commercial prosperity of Alexandria and other great cities, gave the Ptolemies vast resources. They could hire plenty of Greek soldiers cheaply and equip a great navy to maintain and extend their commerce. Hence this state lasted for a long time, and its system of

Egypt
under the
Ptolemies

¹The period following the death of Alexander is commonly called the Hellenistic Age.



government became the model of that which later supplanted democracy at Rome as well as in Greece.

Seleucus found his empire hard to rule because of its great size and the lack of naval power. But he built in northern



A PYLON OR ARCH ERECTED AT KARNAK BY ONE OF THE
PTOLEMIES OF EGYPT

Syria a great city, Antioch, which later rivaled Alexandria in size and wealth. All over his empire he and his son founded Greek colonies and gave them local self-government, provided the ruler was obeyed and worshiped as a god. This did much to carry out Alexander's plan for mingling Greeks and Asiatics.

Syrian
empire
of
Seleucus

Macedonia

The history of Macedonia is less important than that of Egypt or the Seleucid Empire, for it was far smaller in population and resources. The cities of Greece still tried to keep their independence but were subjugated by Macedonia. Their population and their business prosperity decreased, for Alexandria, Antioch, Rhodes, and Ephesus were more enterprising and took their trade.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

**Schools
of
philosophy
in Athens**

Athens remained the home of learning and culture for hundreds of years after its political and economic decline, but never again did it make as great contributions to civilization as in the Periclean Age. The fame and influence of Athens were now due mainly to its schools, especially those for teaching philosophy. The schools of Plato and Aristotle still continued, and, in addition, two new ones were founded, both of which devoted themselves to showing men how to have a contented mind and so to live happily. One, founded by

Stoics

Zeno, called the Stoic school, taught that happiness could be had only by living a life of virtue and avoiding wrongdoing, and that one should be indifferent to pleasure and pain. Hence we now call indifference to suffering, stoicism.

Epicureans

The other, founded by Epicurus, taught that pleasure of mind and body, while living a virtuous life, was the greatest good. These four schools had property given them by wealthy men, and the teachers lived on its income. Together the schools comprised what we may almost call a university. To Athens came students of philosophy from all the civilized world.

**Economic
basis of
Hellenistic
progress**

The greatest original progress in civilization at Athens had been made, as we have seen, when Athens was prospering in industry and trade and receiving vast sums in tribute from her dependencies. This prosperity had paid for the dramatic and musical contests and for the magnificent temples and statues. At the same time democracy in Athens had been a strong stimulus to individual progress.

In the Hellenistic Age the greatest economic prosperity was to be found at Alexandria, Antioch, and several other cities along the Mediterranean shores where local self-government existed. Industry and commerce were also tremendously stimulated by the circulation of the vast wealth captured from the Persians by Alexander and his successors.

Most important of all the cities was Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemies, who were rich and enlightened enough to spend vast sums for original research. At Alexandria the Ptolemies built a magnificent museum and library, fitted it with laboratories and the necessary equipment, and paid good salaries to a large number of scientists to spend all their time in research, i. e., using their knowledge in thinking and experimenting in order to learn new truths. These notable scientists were the first systematic investigators. They gathered together, tabulated, and put in readable form a tremendous amount of information which added vastly to men's knowledge.

**Alexandria
as a center
for
research**

One of these scientists, Euclid, prepared a complete system of geometry on which our geometry of today is based. Archimedes, of Syracuse, who was in frequent communication with friends at Alexandria, worked out many problems in higher mathematics and in physics.

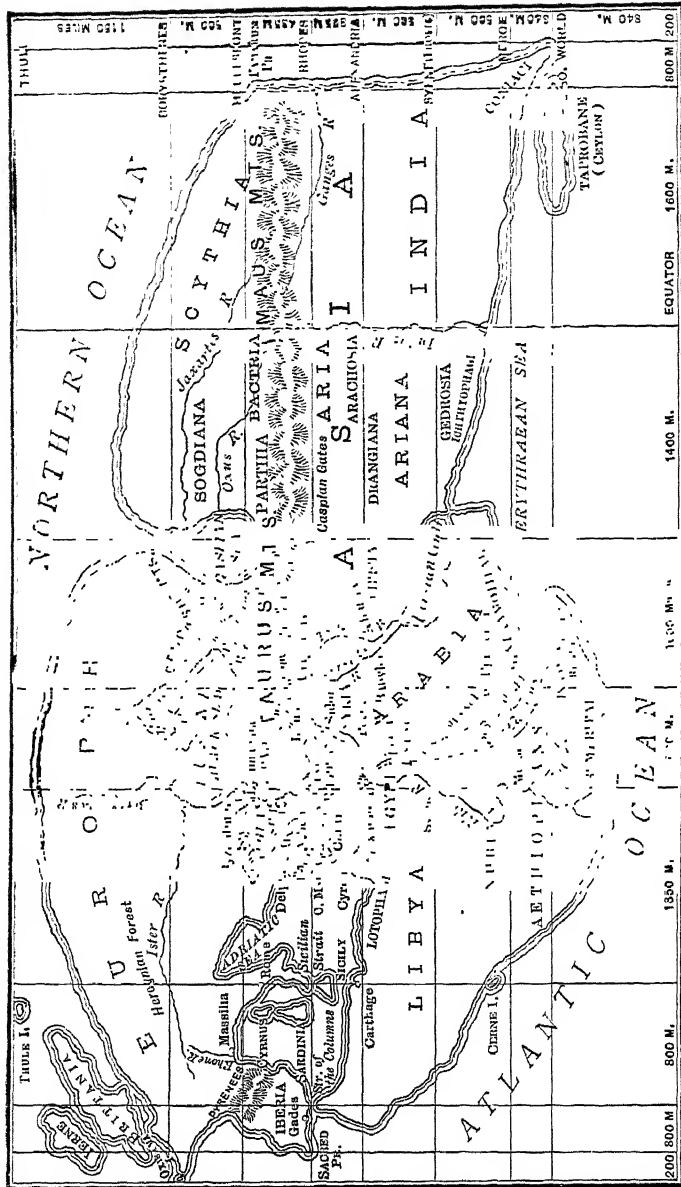
**Euclid
and
Archimedes**

Astronomy, closely related to mathematics, was studied carefully. Aristarchus of Samos proved that the earth and the planets revolve about the sun but he did not succeed in getting this idea accepted by his fellows. Hence people for nearly eighteen hundred years longer continued wrongly to believe that the sun and stars revolved around the earth. Many important discoveries were made at Alexandria in spite of the fact that they had as yet no telescopes.

**Progress
in
astronomy**

Much geographical exploration was carried on in the Hellenistic Age. Daring captains, with knowledge of astronomy, took their ships out from Gibraltar as far as the North Sea or southward as far as Guinea on the west coast of Africa. Merchants of Alexandria sailed beyond India

**Progress
in geo-
graphical
science**



A MAP OF THE WORLD DRAWN IN ACCORDANCE WITH MEASUREMENTS COMPUTED BY ERATOSTHENES IN 200 B. C.

to Ceylon. The information thus gathered Eratosthenes summed up in a very complete book on geography in which he planned a remarkable map of the world as known at that time. He was the first geographer who may be called at all scientific. By very careful calculations he came to remarkably accurate conclusions as to the diameter and circumference of the earth. Aristotle had already proved that the earth was a sphere.

In biology Aristotle and his followers were not surpassed in ancient times; but in human physiology much additional knowledge was now secured. At the laboratory in Alexandria condemned criminals were used for study and dissection. Thus the investigators found that the brain was the center of the nervous system and the nerves were channels over which messages passed to and from the brain. Herophilus of Chalcedon found that the arteries contain blood which they send from the heart to all parts of the body; i.e., the circulation of the blood. This did not gain complete acceptance, however. Herophilus knew and used a great number of drugs to heal disease. Dangerous surgical operations were performed and some anaesthetics were known and used. Alexandria became the great center for medical study and research.

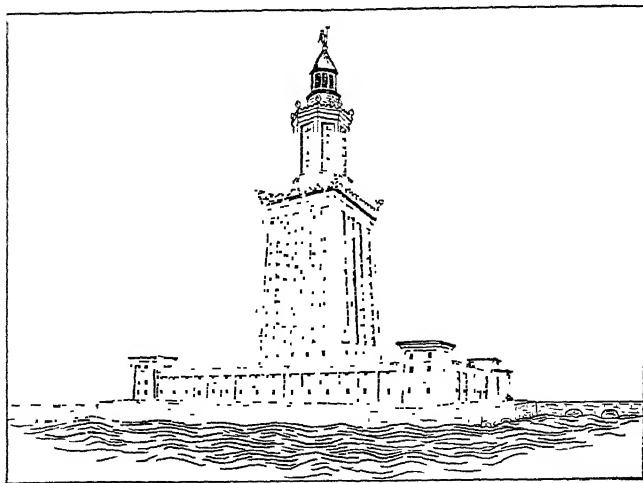
**Physiology
and
medicine**

PROGRESS IN MATERIAL CIVILIZATION

The Hellenistic Age was famous not only for this research of the learned but also for the invention of devices to make life more comfortable—it was an age of high material civilization. Life in the cities was far more comfortable than ever before. Good houses were now built of stone, and the large living room at least was attractively adorned. Beautiful mosaic floors were common in the homes of the well-to-do. The better houses had their own water supply brought in pipes laid under the streets alongside the drainage pipes. The cities were laid out on regular plans, with the streets running at right angles, leaving plenty of space for

**Invention
of devices
to increase
comfort of
life**

temples, buildings for government offices, a theater, assembly hall, gymnasium, and bathing establishment. Even little cities of only a few thousand inhabitants had very attractive public buildings of this sort. The little city of Priene in



After Thiersch

THE PHAROS OR LIGHTHOUSE AT ALEXANDRIA

Asia Minor has been excavated and shows exactly what a city with a population of 4,000 was like in the Hellenistic Age.

Develop-
ment of
Alexandria

The city of Alexandria under the Ptolemies became the greatest trade center of the world. Goods were brought here from every part of the known world. From far over the sea, sailors were guided by a bright light shining from the top of an enormous stone lighthouse tower, 370 feet high, on the island that shielded the harbor. The visitor on an incoming ship could see, beyond the harbor waters, the magnificent temples and public buildings of the city and, at the water's edge, the tropical trees and shrubbery of the king's garden surrounding the palace. At one end of this garden were the great marble buildings of the Royal Museum containing a vast library, lecture rooms, exhibition rooms,

scientific laboratories, and living quarters for the numerous scholars who lived and worked there.

Numerous labor-saving inventions were made and used by those who could afford them. The farmer used grape or olive presses operated by screw pressure. Contractors and builders had many devices by which levers, screws, or cog-wheels were made to lift or lower heavy weights. An ingenious device automatically opened and closed the door of the house. Another supplied water and a mineral soap for the needs of the household. Soldiers had larger and more powerful machines for throwing heavy missiles. Archimedes of Syracuse invented many of these pieces of artillery. He invented a machine by which great weights could be lifted by one man merely turning a crank. People seeking amusement could go to an automatic theater where figures were moved mechanically to illustrate some well-known play. This was a long way from the "movies" of today, but it would have been thought impossible in the time of Pericles. In the market place was a public clock, either a shadow clock, which told time by the sun, or a water clock, which allowed a certain amount of water to pass out of a vessel in an hour.

Mechanical inventions

PROGRESS IN LITERATURE, EDUCATION, AND ART

In all the countries bordering the eastern half of the Mediterranean the Greek of Athens became the common language of industry, trade, government, and learning. The resulting widespread knowledge of the language made Greek literature accessible to hosts of people who otherwise would never have had any chance to read it. This led to the building up of an extensive business of book copying. All this had to be done by hand. Mistakes were easily made, and there were many questions and criticisms of this or that word. Dictionaries and grammars were prepared for people who wished to learn the language thoroughly. Vast collections of books were made at the command and

Language and literature

expense of various kings. The finest of these libraries was that of Alexandria, where the best editions of all sorts of books could generally be found. Readers who wished the



A FRAGMENT OF A PAPYRUS ROLL

On the papyrus is inscribed an oration of Hyperides
in defense of Lycophron

best often insisted on a copy of the Alexandrian edition. The work of cataloging the Alexandrian library was tremendous. Callimachus, who supervised it, was the first systematic librarian. Books in those days were in the form of rolls. Too large a roll would be very inconvenient, and so a large work was usually divided into separate books or rolls. Our Bible was so divided.

Literary men of this age did not confine themselves to study and criticism of others. They wrote excellent poetry, though few chose wars or tragic events as their subjects.

They were most fond of descriptive pictures, beautiful, quiet scenes in the country, or comedies depicting the life of their own time.

Training for any of the various fields of learning or professions was now a very specialized affair. Architects and engineers, as well as doctors and lawyers, received a special sort of education to fit them for their respective professions.

Specializa-
tion in the
Hellen-
istic Age



A PAPYRUS ROLL

Men no longer specialized in science but chose their especial branch and devoted years to that one alone. It was an age of long and careful specialization in education much like that of today and wholly different from the purely literary education commonly secured at Athens in the Periclean Age. Moreover, all Hellenistic educators were not content merely to teach their pupils all the known facts in their special departments. Many of them taught their pupils to search for facts as yet unknown; that is, they trained investigators.

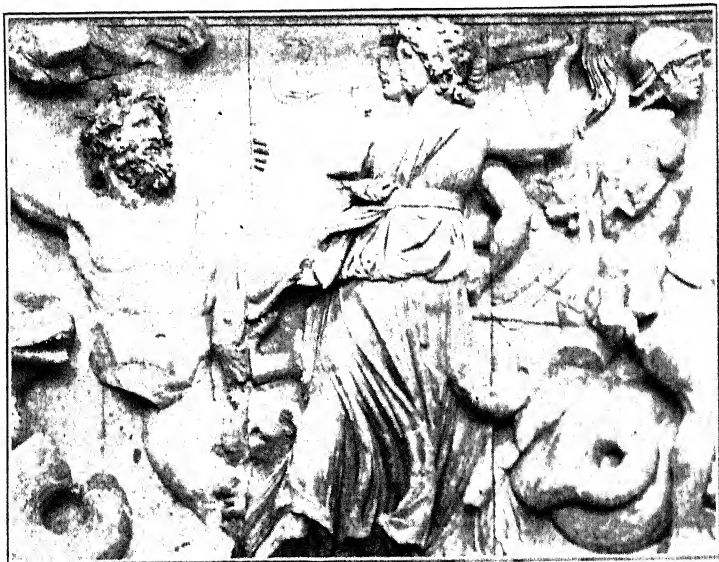
In the time of Pericles the Acropolis was adorned with giant figures of the gods. Later Athens could not afford to pay for such vast works; but her most distinguished sculptor, Praxiteles, surpassed Phidias and his fellows in making life-size figures of surprising natural beauty. His Apollo is regarded as one of the finest works of sculpture ever made. Other Hellenistic artists, both sculptors and painters, produced a great number of wonderful works. Many of the statues have survived, though some have been badly mutilated. Such works of sculpture as the "Death of Laocoön and His Two Sons," the "Dying Gaul," the "Venus de Milo," and the "Winged Victory" had never been surpassed in ancient times. Painters doubtless were equally skilled,

Sculpture



THE DYING GAUL

Barbarian Gauls from the north attacked the Greek cities of Asia Minor and their defeat is represented in this sculpture

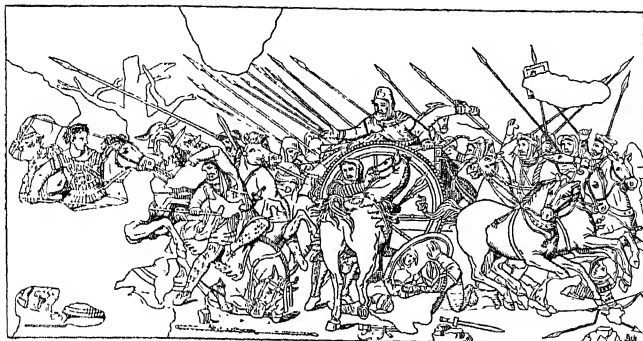


A SECTION OF THE FRIEZE AROUND THE GREAT ALTAR OF ZEUS
AT PERGAMUM

A representation of the mythological struggle between Greek gods and giants

but none of their best works has survived to our times. The story is told that the favorite painter of Alexander the Great, Apelles, painted a portrait of the king on horseback in so lifelike a manner that a passing horse whinnied at the

Painting



From a mosaic found at Pompeii

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

At the left Alexander charges straight toward Darius who takes to flight in his chariot

horse in the picture. In this age the Greeks learned from the orientals the art of mosaic making. One of the finest of these works is a mosaic copy of a wonderful picture representing Alexander charging at the Persian king Darius in the battle of Issus.

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS MADE BY THE GREEKS

After studying briefly the progress in civilization made in the ancient Orient, we have taken more time for the history of the Greeks, who built up a civilization far surpassing that of the Orient. We have traced its rise in the earliest stages and then its great progress at Athens up to the Periclean Age, at the close of which it was checked by that terrible catastrophe, the Peloponnesian War.

Greek
civilization

In the progressive city-states, government by the people was set up, and genuine efforts were made to give liberty to every citizen. Each citizen had his chance to distinguish

himself—to succeed or fail by his own efforts. The best playwright won the prize, the best athlete received the crown of victory, the best artist gained coveted honors, the ablest speaker secured the majority of votes in the popular assembly or before the citizen jury. This individualism was perhaps the greatest incentive to progress in Greece. Under its spur were produced some of the noblest works of sculpture and architecture, the finest plays, the greatest orations, and the best philosophical works in the world's history. Economic and political prosperity enabled cities such as Athens suitably to reward those who succeeded.

We have seen also that the Greek city-states failed to combine into one nation, and that the kings of Macedonia united them against their will and spread Greek civilization over the Orient. Then in the Hellenistic Age still further progress was made, especially in material civilization.

Weak-
nesses
of this
civilization

The Orient in turn, however, had influenced Greek civilization. Belief in the old Greek gods largely passed away. Philosophy served as a religion to the upper classes, but the great mass of the people, who had little share in the intellectual progress of the Hellenistic Age, could not understand philosophy. For them the rulers set up strange foreign gods brought in from the Orient.

There was also a change in the attitude of the citizen toward the state. In earlier years the citizen of the Greek city-state had been stirred by an intense patriotism for his city. He had been ready to shed blood for its independence. Now many of the cities of Greece were almost deserted, for large numbers of their people had migrated eastward seeking their fortunes. In their new homes they were often rich and prosperous, but they no longer felt any keen patriotism. The city-state had passed its zenith, and the new governments, such as that of the Seleucids or of the Ptolemies, inspired no patriotism. Men thought of themselves not as Egyptians, but as Alexandrians, citizens of Antioch, etc. There was not even a name for the empire of the

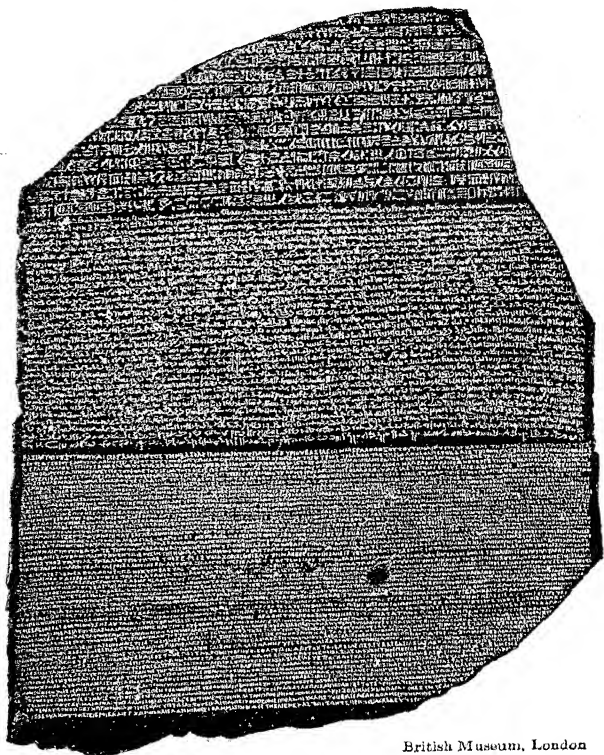


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THE WINGED VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE

The statue, found on the island of Samothrace, was made to commemorate a naval victory in 306 B. C. The figure stands on a pedestal representing a ship's prow

Seleucids. Selfish search for wealth and personal comfort and personal culture led to few of the great fruits of progress



British Museum, London

THE ROSETTA STONE

On this slab of black basalt found near Rosetta in Lower Egypt, is inscribed a priestly decree in three languages, hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek. Comparison of these inscriptions gave a clue to the significance of hieroglyphic characters which led finally to success in the reading of Egyptian inscriptions

such as had been produced by the rivalries within or between the older city-states of Greece. The vast wealth of the Hellenistic world was destined to become the prey of a new city-state of the West, the greatest military power of ancient

times. The rise of this city-state and the progress of civilization under its rule now claim our attention. The day of rule by the East had passed. Rome in the West now had its turn.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why do you think Alexander the Great's early death was a calamity? (2) Which was the strongest of the kingdoms into which his empire broke up? Why? (3) Was Alexander's plan to mix Greek and oriental civilizations with Greek influence predominant, a success? Give your reasons. (4) Explain the services rendered by the schools of philosophy at Athens. (5) Why was there more progress in civilization in the Hellenistic Age than at Athens after the Peloponnesian War? Explain fully. (6) How was education at Alexandria in the Hellenistic Age different from that at Athens in the time of Pericles? Compare and contrast it with educational ideals now. (7) Explain the new discoveries in astronomy, geography, and medicine made in this age. (8) Compare and contrast the life and material civilization of the Hellenistic Age with that of Athens at the time of Pericles and with that of today. (9) How did the conquests of Alexander the Great affect the languages and literatures of the countries bordering the Mediterranean? (10) Why did progress in civilization in the Hellenistic Age not continue centuries longer?

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Histories. BOTSFORD, *Hellenic History*, chaps. xxvii-xxx; J. P. MAHAFFY, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chap. ix; MAHAFFY, *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*; MAHAFFY, *Alexander's Empire*.

HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

FOUNDING AND EARLY GOVERNMENT OF ROME

EARLY PEOPLES OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

Geography of Italy

Most of the civilization of the ancient world was built up in the regions surrounding the eastern half of the Mediterranean Sea. To these shore lands must be added the Black Sea region, the upper Nile, and the eastern end of the Fertile Crescent and beyond. For all this area, the Mediterranean was the great highway of communication. Over the sea toward the west the Italian peninsula together with the island of Sicily and a tip of North Africa formed an almost continuous land bridge across the Mediterranean, and so nearly cut the sea into halves. Lands surrounding the western half of the Mediterranean were thus largely isolated from those surrounding the eastern, and the people there developed civilization slowly. The most important land in that western half of the Mediterranean was the Italian peninsula.

Italy was highly favored by nature. It was not cut up into tiny regions by irregular mountains as Greece was, but had good-sized areas suited to grain growing, as well as ample pastures and forests. Italy faced westward but its position in the Mediterranean world was so central as to make it the ideal location for the development of the capital of the whole Mediterranean.

Peoples of Italy

The Italian tribes that lived in central and southern Italy when the Greeks first went there were descendants of earlier invaders of Indo-European race. They had little civilization and had many rivals around the western Mediterranean. First of these were the Etruscans, about whose origin little is known. Probably coming overseas, they drove back the

Italian tribes and took a great stretch of northwestern Italy. Second were the Carthaginians, descended from Phoenician colonists. Because of their favorable location at the tip of North Africa opposite Sicily, their trade increased rapidly. They won all the northern coast of Africa and started across to Sicily. The third rival, the Greeks, set up numerous cities in Sicily and southern Italy and at one time defeated both the Carthaginians and Etruscans in war.¹ They brought in Eastern civilization and established it in southern Italy at a time when the Italian tribes farther north had made little progress. With each of these rivals the Italian tribes were destined to fight bitterly, but at last to win supremacy over all. The rise of their leader, Rome, deserves our study.

About the middle of the west coast of Italy the Tiber River flows into the sea. It is not a large river, but ships could then sail several miles up the stream. It served also as a protective barrier against attack from the north. Just south of the Tiber and not far from the sea, was a little plain, thirty by forty miles, where lived a group of tribes called Latins after the name of their country, Latium. They were mostly hard-working farmers, though some had turned early to seafaring and trade. On the hills near a bridge across the Tiber, where the Latins came to trade with the Etruscans to the north, a city grew up. This was Rome. When the attacks of enemies on all sides obliged the Latin cities to unite their forces, the people of Rome under a Latin chieftain took the lead.

**Begin-
nings of
the city
of Rome**

Centuries later, when Rome became the ruler of the western Mediterranean, her leaders worked out a series of elaborate tales about the founding of their city and its early history. Until about a hundred years ago everybody believed these tales. Now most of them have been disproved by scientific historians, and so they will not be told here. Probably what actually happened was that Rome was founded long before 753 B.C., from which time the

**Later
legends
of the
founding
of Rome**

¹See p. 70.

Romans themselves dated all events as from the founding of the city.

Etruscan
influence
on Rome

About that date the Etruscans conquered Latium and a line of Etruscan kings ruled there for about two hundred and fifty years. Thus the Romans acquired much of the civilization which the Etruscans had built up. The Etruscans had adopted the Greek alphabet and even excelled the Greeks in metal work. They left many paintings on the



AN ETRUSCAN CHAIR CARVED IN STONE

walls of their tombs. At Rome the Etruscan kings built a great arched drain of stone which received the water that gathered between the hills and carried it to the river. This ancient sewer still exists.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Later, Romans were taught that the kings were evil tyrants, and the liberty-loving people rebelled against them. Undoubtedly, as in the Greek cities, the nobles, called "patricians," led in overthrowing the king, for they took control themselves. From their number the fighting men in assembly, called *comitia centuriata*, now chose the two consuls, the highest officers in the new republic. Each consul was a check on the other, and the two together had less power than the former king. They commanded the army and outside the city had power to condemn a citizen to death. In time of special danger a temporary king could be appointed for six months only. This officer, called a dictator, had absolute power. There were two popular assemblies, the *comitia curiata* (assembly of the *curiae* or parishes) and the *comitia centuriata* (assembly of the armed men by centuries or hundreds). The latter was the more important, for it made the laws and elected the officers.

Expulsion
of the
kings

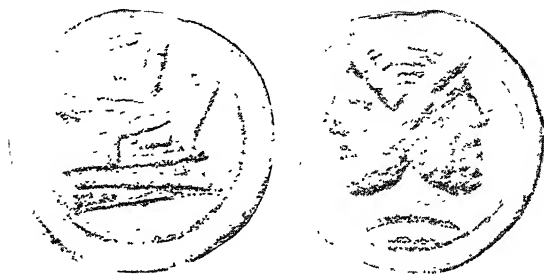
Form of
the new
republican
govern-
ment

Most important of all was the Senate, a body of three hundred men of considerable age and experience who were the overseers and directors of the government. The senators held office for life and claimed vast power. It was this body of experts that really governed Rome. The consuls held office for only one year and therefore had little time to acquire experience. The assembly of the people might be fickle and make unwise decisions on the spur of the moment. The people of Athens had made many such blunders, especially during the Peloponnesian War. But at Rome the ripe experience of the Senate usually prevented any hasty or unwise action. As time went on, almost all the senators were men who had held the office of consul.

In the early republic, the patricians (or nobles) had full control and the plebeians (or non-nobles) had few rights. The poor who got into debt and could not pay might be imprisoned or enslaved. When new lands were seized by conquest, the nobles could use this public land for very low

Strife
between
patricians
and
plebeians

rents while the poor often lacked even the means to get a living. These grievances led to the armed revolt of the plebeians. The patricians yielded to them the right to choose



AN EARLY ROMAN COPPER COIN

This is a large disk of copper called an *aes*, which is also the Latin word for copper. It weighed nearly twelve ounces. On one side is the image of the Roman god, Janus, with two faces, and on the other is a representation of a ship's prow

Powers
of the
tribunes

two tribunes with power to veto (that is, forbid) any unjust act. The tribunes were forbidden to leave the city, and they could not be arrested or interfered with. A new assembly of all the people was instituted, called the *comitia tributa*, (assembly of the tribes). In this assembly, over which the tribunes presided, the plebeians greatly outnumbered the patricians.

Laws of
the Twelve
Tables

Next the plebeians demanded that the laws be put into writing so that all might know them. After ten years of strife, special commissioners were chosen to write and publish the laws (about 450 B.C.). Their completed work was cut on twelve bronze tablets which were set up in the Forum, or public square, where everyone could read them.

Plebeians
gain
admittance
to all
offices

Gradually during the next seventy-five years the plebeians won political equality with the patricians; that is, they secured equal voting power and the right to hold any office. Many new offices had to be created as the Roman state acquired more land and governed more people. In lawsuits, praetors did the work of judging which the consuls once had

done. Quaestors looked after the finances. Aediles had charge of public buildings and the streets. Most important were the censors, who took a census every five years, listing all Roman citizens. The censors also served as guardians of public morals, severely punishing those who broke their rules. By 287 B.C., plebeians had won the right to hold all these offices.

This, however, did not make Rome a democracy, for the Senate wielded supreme power. The assemblies of the people were not accustomed to propose new laws, and the magistrates who had that right were under the guidance or control of the Senate. Even the tribunes were members of the Senate. It was this aristocratic body of patriotic experts that guided Rome to supremacy, not only over Italy but over the whole Mediterranean world.

Senate
still
dominant

HOW THE ROMANS WON CONTROL OF ALL ITALY

When the kings were driven out, Rome was merely the leader of the small Latin League. Powerful enemies surrounded the league on every side, and the Romans and their Latin allies often had to fight desperately for their very existence. Fortunately the Etruscans had to fight other enemies, and so Rome had a chance to win a strip of new land outside the old boundaries. There Rome put colonies of Romans or gave partial or complete Roman citizenship to the people already there. Gradually more and more land was thus gained and held by hard-working, contented people who were ready to fight for Rome, the wise ruler, whenever called.

But a greater danger nearly overwhelmed the growing state. The wild, barbarian Gauls, who had come from the northwest and seized the Po Valley, pushed down into central Italy. They utterly defeated the Roman army and (382 B.C.) entered the unwalled city of Rome and plundered it. Unable after a long siege to take the fort on the capitol hill, they allowed the Romans to buy them off with gold

Galic
invasion

and returned to the Po Valley. The Gallic invasion was almost a blessing in disguise. Rome was quickly rebuilt, and now for the first time protecting walls were built. The Etruscans were so weakened that Rome more easily won control of their land. In every direction the Roman state grew, for wherever new land was won, there Roman colonists settled and Roman power lasted.

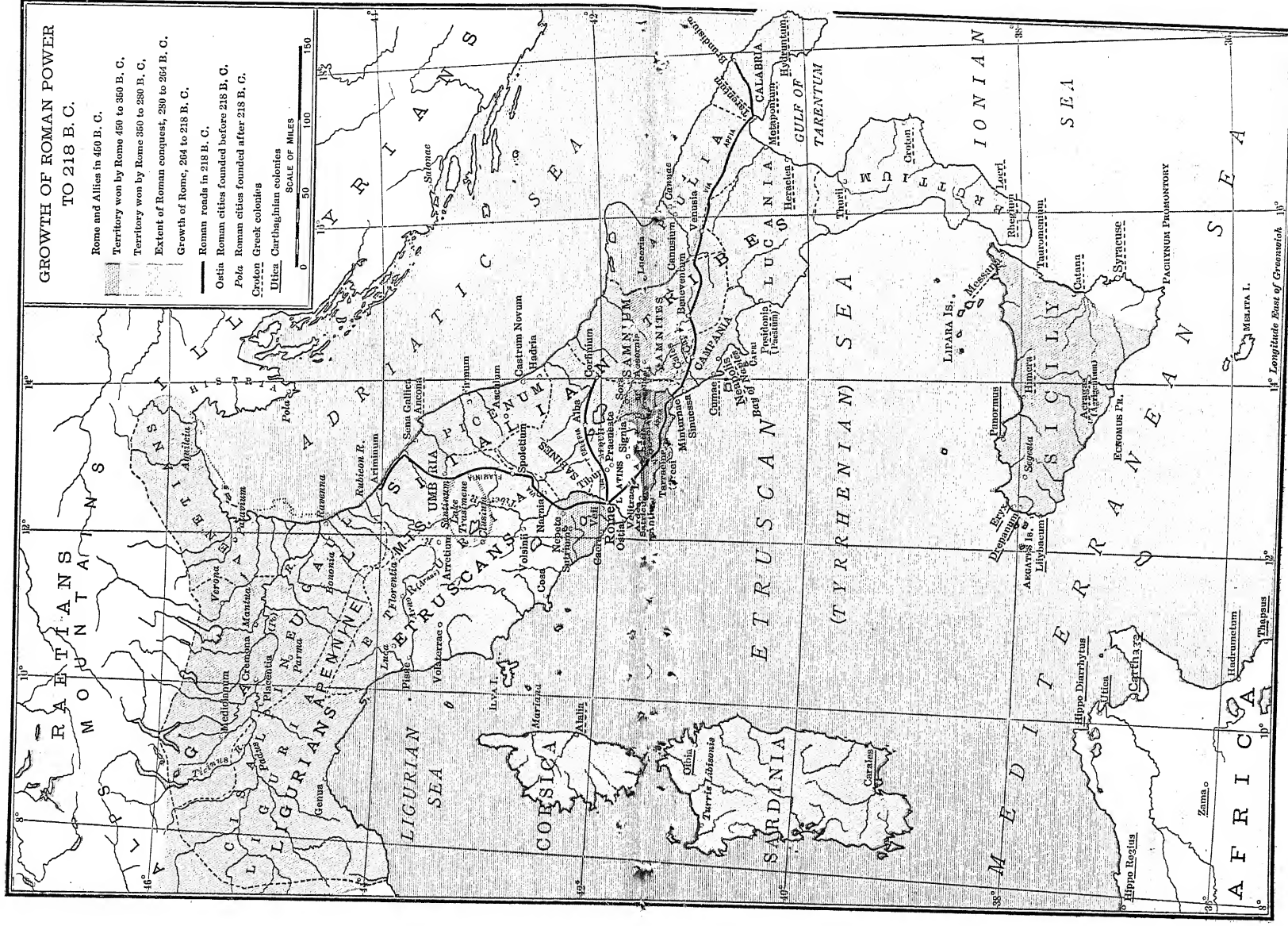
**Samnite
Wars
(343-290
B.C.)**

The Italian tribes hardest to conquer were the Samnites. These brave people, living southeast of Rome, were spreading westward, and war with them could not be avoided. In the second of three wars (321 B.C.) the Romans lost battles, but they hung on like bulldogs, following their policy of putting colonists in exposed positions just won. At last (290 B.C.) the Romans succeeded in defeating the Samnites and took them into their state as independent allies.

**War with
Pyrrhus**

Only a few southern Italian tribes and the Greek colonies now remained independent of Roman control. The remaining Italian tribes, however, were easily defeated, while most of the Greek cities were willing to become Roman allies. But the rich city of Tarentum remained aloof, inviting a great general, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to lead her armies against the Romans. Pyrrhus was a skillful soldier. He brought with him a veteran army, trained in Alexandrian style, as well as twenty war elephants. He planned to build for himself a great empire in Italy and the West—to become a second Alexander the Great. At first he defeated the Romans in two battles and crossed over to Sicily to deal with the Carthaginians there. The latter sent a fleet to help Rome, and the Romans refused to make peace with Pyrrhus. The great general is reported to have said of them, "With such soldiers I should become master of the world." The Greek states as usual would not stick together, and Pyrrhus, defeated in battle by the Romans, returned home disgusted. Tarentum was forced to surrender. In the north, too, Rome had conquered all the land as far as the valley of the Po. All the Italian peninsula was now under Roman rule.

**Conquest
of Italy
completed**



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RESOURCES OF ROME. ASSETS FOR FUTURE WARS

It will now be worth while to study the reasons that account for this spread of Roman power and to examine Roman resources for a still greater struggle. The Roman conquest of Italy was carried out largely by the Roman army. Every male citizen between seventeen and forty-five years of age owed service in the army if called. Most citizens of early Rome were farmers. Bravery, honesty, loyalty, thrift, and industry were their great virtues. Each man supplied his own armor and weapons. The rich fought on horseback, but the citizen infantry formed the great mass of the Roman army.

The
Roman
army

At first the Romans fought in a solid square in much the same way as did the Greeks, but at an early date they adopted a new formation. Just before the Punic Wars the chief unit, the legion, comprised about 3,000 heavy-armed soldiers divided into 20 maniples of 120 men each, and 10 of 60 men each.¹ In addition there were 1,200 light-armed soldiers and about 300 horsemen. Each maniple of 120 men

The
legion



ARRANGEMENT OF MANIPLES IN A ROMAN LEGION

included two centuries, each commanded by a centurion. Ten large maniples composed of the younger men made up the front line. Between every maniple and its neighbor was left a gap of the same width as its own front. Behind the gap were placed ten large maniples of the more experienced men. They could advance to the attack through the gaps if needed. Behind the gaps in the second line were ten maniples of veterans. They usually were held in reserve to strike the decisive blows and win the battles.

¹ Later, Roman officers increased the size of the legion to about 6,000 heavy-armed soldiers. This was probably the theoretical size of the legion in Julius Caesar's time.

**Arms of
the
legionary**

Each heavy-armed soldier wore a bronze helmet, a leather coat strengthened by iron strips across it, and greaves or shin guards. Each carried a great shield and a short two-edged sword. Those in the first two lines had short spears or javelins to throw, and the rear line had long lances.



SOLDIERS OF THE LEGION

A legionary, a slinger, and a light-armed soldier

**Roman
discipline**

The Romans were famous for the severe discipline of their armies. The soldiers were trained to bear the heaviest burdens, to do the hardest work, and to undertake the most dangerous duties without a murmur. Cowardice and disobedience to orders were punished by death.

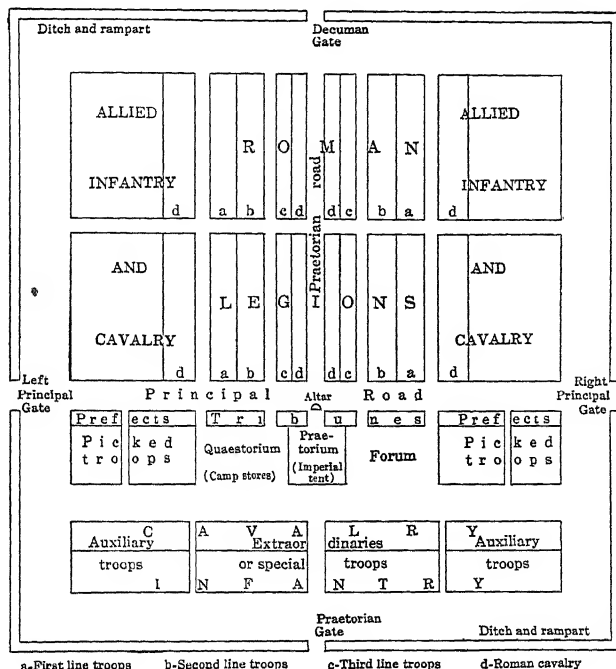
**Roman
camp**

Whenever a halt was made even for over night, a Roman army prepared a fortified camp. It was a square inclosure surrounded by a ditch. The gates were especially protected. Inside, regular streets were laid out. Within the walls the legionaries could wait for favorable conditions before fighting. The enemy would think twice before attacking the Roman army in its camp.

**Political
organi-
zation
of Italy**

At first the soldiers were not paid, but had only short terms of service. As wars continued, about 400 B.C., they were paid while in service and so were willing to stay away from their farms longer. When victories were won, booty

was distributed to the soldiers. Military service tended to become a lifework. But the quality of the rank and file remained excellent until long after the wars to conquer Italy. One weakness of the Roman army was that often the consuls who commanded were not experienced officers. This did little harm in earlier wars, but put the Romans at a disadvantage in war with experts like Pyrrhus and the commanders of the Carthaginian armies. Enough men for the



A PLAN OF A ROMAN CAMP

Roman armies were secured by taking great numbers of Italians into the Roman state as it expanded. Plenty of land was available for distribution as a reward to the hardy peasant farmers who were willing to give military service when called.



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DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN COLONIES AND ROADS UP TO 100 B.C.

Roman
policies
toward
her
subjects

As the conquest of Italy went on, the Senate worked out an excellent system of government for the various cities and peoples that came under Roman sway. Many of them had different languages and different customs. Roman policy was to keep them from having too close relations with each other — they must not be allowed to combine against Rome. Roman colonies often were so planted as to separate dangerous subjects. Nearly every city had the right to manage

its own affairs at home, provided orders from Rome were carried out. All received some advantage from Rome, at least her protection in trade and business, and were led to believe that loyalty to Rome would gain for them further privileges and rights of Roman citizenship. Roman policy thus provided (1) separation of her subjects, (2) their liberty at home, and (3) rewards for loyalty.

The lawful rights and privileges of the different cities were carefully graded in different classes: (1) In the lowest rank, called prefectures, were a very few cities governed by prefects sent out from Rome. Probably this lack of liberty was due to rebellion. (2) There were many cities in the group called the Italian allies. Each city had its separate treaty with Rome so that no considerable number would have the same grievance. They provided some troops for the Roman army but had no tribute to pay. They had few burdens and much liberty. (3) Members of the next higher group were called Latin colonies. Their people had the private rights of Roman citizens; that is, the right to own property anywhere under Roman rule and the right to marry anyone. Some of them could get all rights of Roman citizens, including the vote and the right to hold office, by moving to Rome. They had full self-government. Many of the poorer people at Rome were glad to go out to these Latin colonies and so get ahead in the world. They carried the Latin language and Roman customs with them and taught these to the people of the region around. These colonies were also garrisons to guard against revolt or invasion.

Non-
citizen
groups

Above these groups were (4) the full Roman citizens. A few conquered towns were taken into the Roman state as equals. They were called *municipia*. (5) Other Roman citizens lived in Roman colonies to which they had gone without giving up their right to vote. Of course, few of them would take the trouble to return to Rome to do this. Had they been able to choose representatives to a congress or parliament, their share in the government would have

Groups
composed
of Roman
citizens

been real. (6) The citizens of Rome itself composed the highest group. The last three groups owed military service at all times and paid all the direct taxes. Their burdens were heavier than those of the lower groups, but they had more privileges. For the lower groups lighter burdens were accompanied by fewer privileges.

Advantages of Roman rule

All, however, shared the advantages of peace and strict order kept by Rome. Petty wars that had once been so frequent and so costly in life and property were now over for good. The Romans built wonderful roads leading from Rome to every part of Italy. These roads did much to bind together all parts of the Roman state. Over them, goods could be carried much more cheaply, quickly, and easily than ever before. This helped the growth of profitable trade and enabled the farmers to get their crops to market easily and to sell them with profit. At the same time the roads enabled Rome to send troops quickly to suppress revolt.

Roman roads

Roman roads were well built. Surveyors chose the best location, and then no expense was spared in construction. Tunnels were dug and rivers bridged in order to make travel easy. On a good foundation the engineers put a two-foot layer of stones mixed with excellent cement. On the level top they laid large flat stones fitted together to make a smooth surface. Such highways lasted for hundreds of years. Sections of them still exist in many parts of Europe today. When railroad builders planned their lines, they often found that Roman roads had been built along the best routes for railroads.

ROMAN LIFE UNDER THE EARLY REPUBLIC

In the two centuries, 400 to 200 B.C., the Romans were at their best. Then their solid virtues far outweighed their faults. Let us see what sort of people were these Romans who succeeded in building the strongest empire of the ancient world.

Most Roman citizens were still farmers, tilling as much soil as they could care for with only one or two helpers. They worked hard and lived simply. Their chief crops were grain, vegetables, and fruits, and they kept some stock.

Most
Romans
peasant
farmers



A SCENE ON THE VIA APPIA TODAY

In the distance are the arches of an aqueduct which brought water to Rome

Every week or so the farmer brought a load of produce into town and bought what he needed to take home.

In the city the laborers were united in guilds the object of which was not so much to raise wages as to foster friendships and to help members in need. The Romans combined very easily into groups like these for mutual advantage. In this they were quite different from the Greeks, who wanted to work each one for himself. In the city there were many merchants who had become well-to-do from the profits of trade, but only a few really were rich. Likewise there were few very poor people in Rome, for it was not hard for a poor man to get a small grant of conquered land or to go out as a colonist and thus secure a much larger allotment.

City
life

The ordinary Roman did not worship wealth but, content with his little farm, his life was plain and simple. Such hard-working, thrifty peasants led the Roman armies to

Simplicity
of Roman
life

victory or held the office of dictator in emergency and then returned to the plow. Rome did not have silver money until after Italy was conquered, and much later a senator was



KITCHEN UTENSILS OF THE ROMANS

British Museum

deprived of his seat because it was discovered that he had ten pounds of silver dishes in his house.

Family life

The solid Roman virtues were based on the sacred institution of the family. In every home the religious rites of the household were strictly observed. The father and mother trained their children to speak the truth, live cleanly, work hard, and grow up to be worthy and patriotic citizens of Rome. Marriage was a religious rite and was for life. The mother was highly honored and socially equal to the father—not a secluded dependent as at Athens.

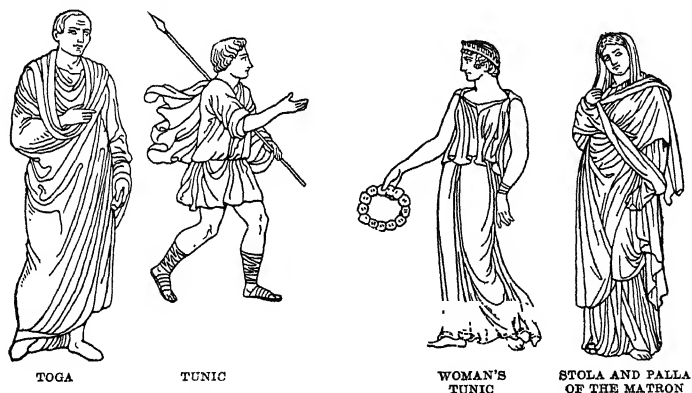
Roman houses

The houses were simple, consisting of a large room or hall (*atrium*) with small bedrooms around it. In the hall was the hearth where the fire was kept burning near the images of the household gods. Furniture was extremely plain,

consisting of a common table, a few stools, wooden couches, and a few pots and pans for cooking. Pork was the most common meat, but the chief food was a "porridge" of coarse meal boiled in water. Bread was baked in flat, round cakes. The Romans ate also such vegetables as onions, beans, and turnips, and fruits such as figs and olives. The common drink was water or milk.

Opportunities for education were scanty. Mothers taught the girls at home. The boys went to private schools where they learned a little reading, writing, and counting, and memorized the Twelve Tables. Physical training was received in contest games in running and wrestling and in the use of the spear, sword, and javelin. Education

Roman dress was very simple. Over a loin cloth a man wore a woolen shirt reaching to the knees. On his feet were Dress



ROMAN COSTUMES

sandals consisting simply of a sole held on by thongs. This was his ordinary clothing. Hats and stockings were unknown. For the street he wore a white woolen blanket, the toga, wrapped gracefully about his body. To protect him from rain or cold a cloak sometimes was added. Women wore a similar costume, but they were fond of jewelry adornments of a simple sort.

**Roman
progress
in civili-
zation**

The early Romans made no progress in art and literature. By 200 B.C. Greek influence was bringing in knowledge of literature, but at first the Romans were little interested. Neither did they interest themselves much in the various branches of learning. In such practical work as engineering, however, the Romans were keenly interested. From 300 to 200 B.C. they were building bridges and aqueducts as well as roads of a quality rivaling the best modern work of a similar character. Besides, the Romans had already begun to build up that system of law which became perhaps their greatest contribution to world civilization.

**Roman
organizing
ability**

The most admirable trait of the Romans was their devotion to the state—their willingness to suffer personal loss for the good of the public. They showed wonderful ability to work with their fellow citizens for the advancement of Rome. It was this organizing genius that distinguished the Romans above all.

**Roman
faults**

Naturally the early Romans were not without faults. The typical Roman believed it unmanly to shrink from pain, and he did not ask sympathy—he did his duty without flinching. But when he won, he was often harsh and cruel. Lacking in refinement, he was all for making a profit on every deal and getting the best of it for himself. He often showed brutality. These qualities helped the Romans to conquer the world, but later, under the influence of Greek civilization and with the possession of enormous wealth and power, their worst traits became predominant.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

- (1) How did the geography of Italy affect the history of Rome?
- (2) Describe the forms of government in the early Roman Republic. Explain their points of strength and weakness.
- (3) How was the Roman military system better than that of the Greeks and the Macedonians?
- (4) Explain the policies of Rome toward her subjects and allies, showing how these made them loyal to Rome.
- (5) How did the Romans under the early republic earn their living? How did they live?
- (6) What were the greatest assets of Rome?

in the coming conflicts with Carthage for control of the Mediterranean world?

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THE PUNIC WARS AND THEIR RESULTS

CAUSES OF THE PUNIC¹ WARS

When the Roman control of Italy was assured (266 B.C.) there were five great states bordering the Mediterranean: Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia in the East, and Carthage and Rome in the West. Carthage was an old Phoenician colony which had grown vastly rich and held a great empire including North Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, part of Sicily, and the coasts of Spain. In all these regions Carthage allowed no one but her own citizens to trade. Everywhere she oppressed her subjects. Carthage had not made them

Resources
of
Carthage

¹Punic is another form of *Phoenician* and is used as a shorter adjective for *Carthaginian*.

into Carthaginians. Carthage was ruled by the rich merchants and her army was made up chiefly of hired soldiers. Her greatest strength lay in her enormous fleet of quinqueremes, great ships with five banks of oars.

As Roman power grew, the Carthaginians tried to keep the Romans out of their dominions. They wanted to make the western Mediterranean a Punic lake and keep it so. The Romans were equally determined to have a part in the trade of those regions. War could hardly be avoided. It was begun (264 B.C.) when a Roman legion crossed over into Sicily.

**Causes
of war
with
Carthage**

FIRST PUNIC WAR (264-241 B.C.)

In this war of twenty-three years, Carthage at first had all the advantage, for Rome had no navy. Supreme on the sea, Carthage laid waste the coasts of Italy and sent soldiers to Sicily whenever she wished. Masters of Italy, the Romans could not endure the establishment of Carthaginian power so near her dominions, with its threat of actual invasion. So the Romans built fleet after fleet of warships. Their losses were heavy, for they had to learn naval warfare painfully. But Roman persistence won. A great Roman victory crippled the sea power of Carthage. To obtain peace, Carthage gave up Sicily and paid an indemnity equal to about \$4,000,000.

**Roman
navy
victorious**

**Carthage
forced to
make
peace**

The Roman leaders knew this great victory would not end the quarrel with Carthage, and so they built up their resources for the next war. They occupied Sardinia, Corsica, and the Po Valley. Roman power now reached to the Alps and included all the islands near Italy. The newly acquired land was divided into provinces, each to be governed by an officer sent out from Rome.

**Extension
of Roman
power**

The great Carthaginian leader, Hamilcar Barca, was gathering resources for a new war. By the conquest of Spain he hoped to get wealth from the silver mines there and soldiers from among the hardy people to carry on the

**Hamilcar
prepares
for war.**

struggle. He had carefully trained his son Hannibal to hate Rome. In Spain the youthful Hannibal won the complete devotion of the soldiers, and at the age of twenty-six he took supreme command and bent all his energy to preparing for war.

SECOND PUNIC WAR (218-201 B.C.)

**Hannibal
invades
Italy**

A frontier quarrel gave Hannibal his opportunity, and before the Romans realized it he was well on his way toward southern Gaul with a strong army. Since Roman fleets controlled the Mediterranean, Hannibal could not depend on the fleet of Carthage to take him across to Italy by water, and he was determined to attack and defeat Rome on Italian soil. He believed the Gauls would help him and the allies of Rome would join him if he could win victories promptly. Delayed in crossing the Rhone, he did not reach the Alps until late autumn. In going over the mountains his army was almost overwhelmed by snowstorms. Often a road had to be cut to let the elephants pass. At one point this took three days. Hundreds of men and animals were lost in the deep abysses of the mountains. Hunger and cold wore out the soldiers, but the invincible will of Hannibal carried them through.

**Roman
defeats**

Less than half the army reached the Po Valley. There Hannibal won two victories over the Romans, and the impetuous Gauls were led to join his army in considerable numbers. Pushing southward, he ambushed another Roman army near Lake Trasimene and utterly destroyed it with its leader, the consul, Flaminius.

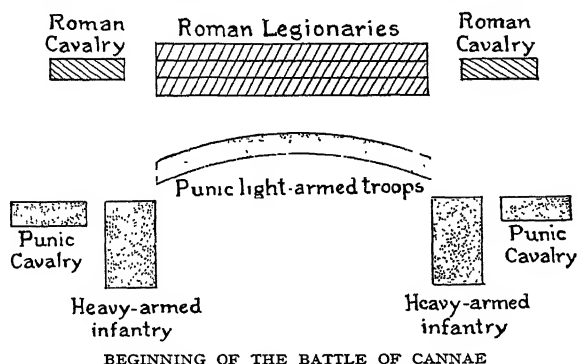
**Strategy
of Fabius**

Turning aside from Rome, Hannibal then marched southward, plundering and burning Roman property. In this desperate emergency the Romans chose Quintus Fabius as dictator and raised new armies to defend the land. Fabius followed Hannibal, hoping to find an opportunity to fight a battle that he could win. Hannibal tried to outmaneuver Fabius, but neither one could catch the other napping.

Hannibal's devastations were savage, for so he hoped to provoke Fabius to battle; but Fabius would fight only under conditions most favorable to himself. The allies of Rome remained loyal to Rome, and Hannibal knew he would have to win more victories to get their help. Without it he would be defeated.

The cautious tactics of Fabius lost him his popularity and the Roman populace nicknamed him *cunctator* (the "delayer" or the "sluggard"). The common people demanded battle to drive out the invader at once. Two new consuls were elected in place of Fabius, but they lacked his experience and wisdom. With 80,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, nearly double the numbers Hannibal commanded, the consuls encountered the forces of Hannibal near Cannae. The Romans advanced to attack in solid masses. Their wings were shielded by cavalry. Hannibal knew he must utterly annihilate the Roman army—not merely win a victory—and so planned a trap. His light infantry he arranged in

Battle
of Cannae
(216 B.C.)



crescent formation in front, and back of either flank he placed very deep solid columns of his best veteran infantry. On the wings he placed his cavalry, which was far better than that of the Romans. The Romans advanced full of confidence and drove back Hannibal's light infantry in the center, while his heavy-armed troops stood firm. When the whole

Roman army rushed forward and crowded itself together, Hannibal's best troops closed in at each side and the light-armed held their ground. Meanwhile his cavalry had defeated the Roman cavalry and galloped around to close in on the Roman rear. The Romans were hemmed in and so crowded that those toward the center could not use their swords. Surrounded in this awful trap 50,000 Romans are



THE ROMANS CAUGHT IN THE CARTHAGINIAN TRAP
LAST STAGE OF THE BATTLE

said to have died and 20,000 to have been taken prisoners. Among them were eighty senators and one consul. Less than 10,000 Romans escaped. Over one-fifth of the men of Rome fit for army service had been killed.

Roman
tenacity
in the
face of
defeat

Now Rome was fighting for existence, back against the wall, for several of her allies had gone over to Hannibal. The great cities of Capua, Tarentum, and Syracuse came under Hannibal's control, and the king of Macedonia promised Hannibal help. But the Romans showed supreme courage and tenacity. The wisdom of their rule was shown clearly by the loyalty of most of the Italian cities. It is true there were more disasters, but the Romans steadily refused all offers of peace from the victorious Hannibal. They kept up the war not only in Italy but in Sicily and Spain. The three seceding cities were all retaken, though Hannibal marched to the very gates of Rome to draw the Roman army away from the siege of Capua. Old men and boys manned the walls of Rome and not a soldier was withdrawn from Capua.

Hasdrubal
invades
Italy

An exceptionally able Roman general, Scipio, commanding in Spain, gradually defeated the Carthaginians there. But Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, escaped with one army and followed Hannibal's path over the Alps into Italy. Without reinforcements Hannibal could not hope to win, for his army was dwindling in spite of victories. The

Romans divided their forces—one army watched Hannibal while another marched north to attack Hasdrubal. One night news of Hasdrubal's approach reached the consul



HANNIBAL



SCIPIO

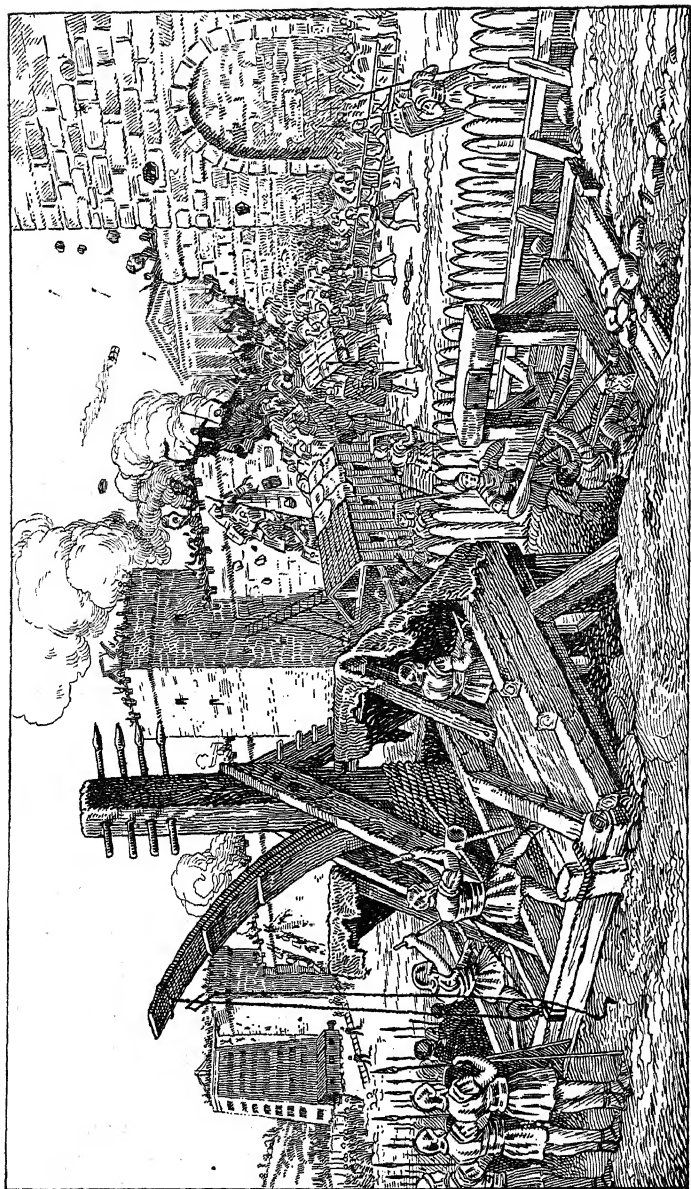
in the south. Leaving his main force there facing Hannibal, the consul took 7,000 picked veterans and hastened northward, marching night and day. Near the Metaurus River the combined Roman armies met Hasdrubal and destroyed his army. Hannibal anxiously awaited news from his brother and one day received a last message—Hasdrubal's head thrown into the camp by the Romans. Hannibal was forced to retire with his army to the extreme southern tip of Italy.

**Defeated
at the
Metaurus**

The victorious Scipio, meanwhile, returned from Spain and was chosen consul. He crossed to Africa and defeated the Carthaginian armies there. After fifteen years in Italy, Hannibal was now ordered home. In his last battle near Zama he was defeated and his army utterly destroyed. Carthage was compelled to make peace (201 B.C.), promising to pay Rome, in the course of fifty years, a sum amounting to over \$11,000,000, to give up almost all her navy, and not to make war without Roman consent.

**Battle
of Zama**

**Utter
defeat of
Carthage**



THE SIEGE OF CARTHAGE

THIRD PUNIC WAR (146-140 B.C.), AND THE
DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE

Even thus burdened, Carthage prospered in business and so roused Roman jealousy and fear. The king of Numidia, neighbor and enemy of Carthage, kept encroaching on Carthaginian territory. Rome, however, had decreed that Carthage could not make war without Roman consent. At last, stung to action by the Numidians' continued aggressions, Carthage took up arms against the invaders and was defeated. Then Rome stepped in and, after a three-year siege, captured and utterly destroyed the city of Carthage. Even the site was plowed up and cursed. Rome's only great rival in the West was gone.

**Carthage
destroyed**

CONQUEST OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD
AND ITS EFFECTS ON ROME

In the meantime, following the war with Hannibal, the Romans had been drawn into wars in the East. The king of Macedonia, Philip, had allied himself with Hannibal and made ambitious plans for conquest. The Senate sent a Roman army against him and so won control of Greece (197 B.C.).

**Defeat of
Macedonia
(197 B.C.)**

Soon Rome began war with Antiochus, king of Syria, who had sheltered Hannibal and who now threatened to seize Greece. Rome utterly defeated his armies and made him a Roman vassal. Two of the great kingdoms, successors to Alexander's empire, had quickly fallen before the Roman arms. The third one, Egypt, had been friendly to Rome and a little later acknowledged itself a Roman vassal.

**Defeat of
Antiochus,
king of
Syria
(190 B.C.)**

It was a great problem to govern the vast Roman dominions successfully, for they now comprised the whole Mediterranean world, reaching as far from east to west as the distance across the United States and peopled by many different races. The Roman Senate had done extremely well in directing the conquests, but it now showed far less ability in organization and government. Let us study the methods by which this domain was organized and governed and how its

possession and the long wars for its conquest affected the lives of the Roman people and the later history of Rome.

Changes
in
govern-
ment

Rise of
the sena-
torial
oligarchy

In the preceding chapter we studied the characteristics and life of the Romans up to about 264 B.C., when the Punic Wars began. The forms of government were now (after 146 B.C.) nearly the same, but the spirit was quite different. The Senate still controlled the state, but it was composed of a different class of men. To become a member one usually had to belong to one of the influential and wealthy families and to have held one of the higher offices, that of consul, dictator, praetor, censor, or curule aedile. All who could point to an ancestor who had held one of these offices were nobles. Now, to obtain such an office, it was common to pay out large sums for expensive public entertainments or for the distribution of food or gifts to those having votes in the assembly. Sometimes more direct bribery was resorted to. Only the very rich could afford this expense, and so few but members of the rich families held high office or secured election to the Senate—the “real sovereign of the Roman state.”

Degeneracy
of the
popular
assemblies

The assemblies had grown too large to be efficient. All citizens had the right to attend and vote, but usually only those in the city did so. Many of these were poor men, dependents of the rich, or lazy seekers of free food and free shows. A clever agitator sometimes could get them to do his will, but they could seldom be depended on steadily to support a real reform movement for any length of time. Moreover, there was a rule that no law could be voted on by the assembly until the Senate had first given its approval. Only occasionally did the assemblies assert their power—the Senate was the master.

The attitude of Rome toward the Italian allies and the people of Italy had now changed for the worse. The old liberality toward them which had gone so far to insure their loyalty to Rome in the war with Hannibal no longer existed. Faithful allies too often received the same treatment as

conquered subjects, and Roman officials showed arrogant brutality toward them. Roman citizenship was given to them less freely, and trading privileges were granted far less readily. Roman citizenship was now far more valuable than before. It meant a share in the free food and free shows—in the loot of the provinces. The Roman citizen was the lord of the world and was reluctant to grant his privileges to any more persons.

Changed attitude toward the Italian allies

The lands conquered by Rome were divided into provinces. Each comprised a group of cities which were allowed no relations with each other but were under the orders of a governor sent out from Rome. He was a *propraetor* or *proconsul*—that is, had served a year as praetor or consul at Rome and was then given the office of provincial governor for another year. As such he was absolute master of the province, commanding the army there and maintaining order. Ordinarily each city managed its own affairs, but where disputes arose between people in different towns, the governor made the decision. Rome tolerated no wars not of her own making and enforced justice between citizens of her provinces. But the governor and his attendants usually regarded the citizens as their fair prey and after almost crushing expenses before election at Rome, the governor went to his province with just one year before him to win back all he had spent and get rich besides. He was far from Rome, and the Senate was likely to deal leniently if complaints were made. He had absolute power to tax the people and spend the money, and generally he used this power to his own profit.

How the provinces were misgoverned

This was not all. The Roman state required military service of the Italians, but little or no taxes. The provincials were disarmed and made to pay Rome heavily in money and farm produce. Rome let the business of collecting these taxes to money lenders who agreed to pay the Roman treasury a definite sum for the province and then got as much more as they could for themselves. They also sought

Rise of a wealthy class of big business men at Rome

and gained enormously profitable contracts for public works in the provinces. These publicans, as they were called, were cordially hated, but they became vastly rich. So much wealth was accumulated that banks were founded and the bankers made large profits by lending the money deposited in their keeping. Roman traders traveled everywhere through the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, buying up whatever might bring a high price at Rome.

Decline
in Roman
moral
standards

The moral standards of Rome had changed greatly since the Punic Wars began. The old Roman had set patriotism above all else. Now wealth and luxury were madly sought. Those who had the opportunity strove to acquire vast wealth. Humble folk too often sought to live without work. The lazy went to Rome and lived mainly in idleness. Money became the key to everything. Nobody would work unless well paid for it. Men no longer found enjoyment in work, but worked mainly to get enjoyment as quickly as possible.¹

Causes of
this moral
decline

Decay
of the
peasant-
farmer
class

This moral decline had many causes. The war with Hannibal cost Italy one million lives—a host of the best type of citizens. Over wide areas, homes and farms were laid waste. Those who survived lost the habit of working. Small farmers especially found life hard. When the peasant soldier came home from the wars he might find his little farm annexed to some nobleman's great estate, and his family gone—bought out or forced out. Or perhaps he found his family still in possession but soon learned that he could no longer sell his crops for enough to buy what he needed. Rich senators had bought many slaves to till their soil and so could undersell him. Grain brought in as tribute from the provinces was sold in town for less than it cost the farmer to raise it. After some years of this struggle for existence many small farmers became discouraged and joined the idle mob in Rome. Why work like a slave for no profit when free food and free shows were to be had at Rome?

¹ Pessimists of today believe that a like moral decline is now going on in the United States.

The rich found it far cheaper to buy slaves than to hire free labor. When the Romans won a great victory, prisoners of war were sold into slavery. There were so many that slaves were very cheap—150,000 were sold at one time after a Roman victory. A slave for common labor could be had for the equivalent of \$300. A skilled cook might be worth \$5,000. Household slaves were fairly well off, but in the country field laborers were often treated with horrible cruelty. Driven to work at an almost killing pace all the long day, with frequent floggings and poor food, they were chained up at night in basement dungeons. So brutally were they treated that they sometimes revolted against their masters. Some of these revolts were crushed only after several years of fighting.

In contrast to the awful misery of the hordes of plantation slaves and the hard lot of the small farmer class was the amazing luxury of the rich at Rome. They had learned of the comforts, beauty, and luxuries long enjoyed by the well-to-do in the Hellenistic world, and now they brought all these to Rome. A returned governor would build himself a palatial house and install enough slaves to run a large farm. Around the atrium he placed a series of rooms and behind it a colonnaded porch surrounded by bedrooms, library, and, at the rear, a kitchen. A second story contained other bedrooms. The best houses were provided with all the comforts of Hellenistic cities, such as running water, baths, and sanitary conveniences, and in addition were provided with tile pipes to carry warm air to heat the rooms—the first known use of a hot-air heating system. The atrium was now a spacious hall filled with art treasures, the spoils of the East. A Roman general returning from the conquest of Macedonia (197 B.C.) brought with him 250 wagonloads of Greek statues and paintings. Wealthy Romans bought these to display their riches, not because they were fond of art. Others showed their wealth by giving dinners at which the most expensive dainties were served, or by

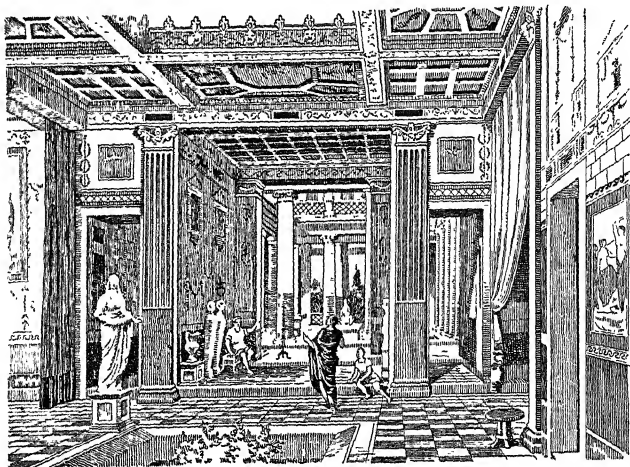
Luxury
of the
rich

giving wine suppers at which all the guests became drunk. Their coarseness and gluttony would have utterly disgusted the temperate Athenians of the time of Pericles.

Attempts
to stem
the tide of
growing
luxury

Against this luxury and extravagance and its corrupting influences some old-fashioned Romans like Cato the censor took a positive stand. They made laws to stop it but did not remove the causes.

Greek civilization brought in all sorts of comforts and conveniences for Roman enjoyment. But only some of the well-to-do appreciated the literature, philosophy, art, and

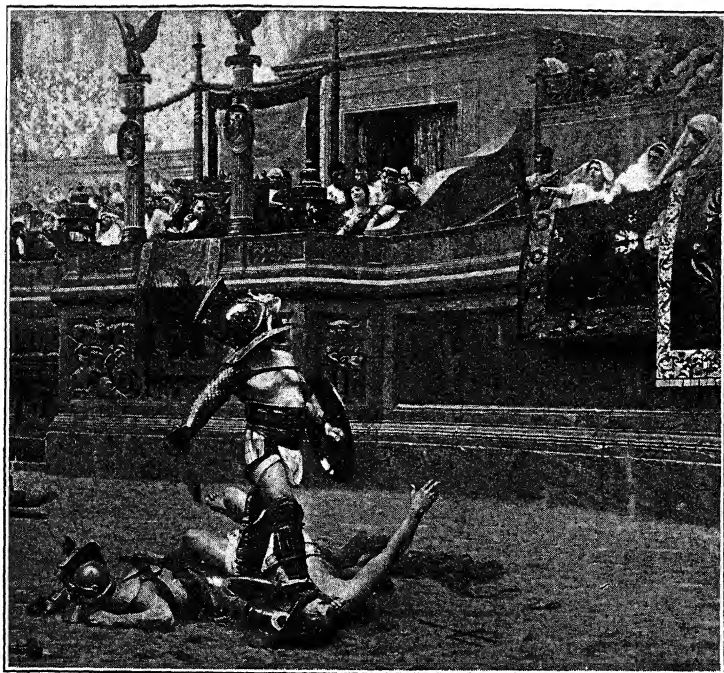


From The Story of Old Europe and Young America
THE INTERIOR OF A ROMAN HOUSE

Begin-
nings of
Roman
apprecia-
tion for
literature
and art

music of Greece and learned to speak Greek as well as Latin. Through educated Greeks the best type of Romans learned to enjoy the best of Greek literature. Literature in Latin began to be written largely under the inspiration of the Greek. Early in the second century B.C. two Roman playwrights, Plautus and Terence, wrote very amusing comedies picturing Roman society, and their plays became so popular that theater buildings were constructed to house the actors

and audiences. Interest in literature became fashionable among the rich, and everyone had to have his library of papyrus rolls whether he cared to read them or not.



Detail of a painting by Gerome

A COMBAT BETWEEN GLADIATORS

The spectators give the signal of death to the defeated gladiator, who is appealing for his life

The great mass of Romans cared nothing for art or literature, and no effort was made to educate them up to it. Their greatest joy now was a contest between gladiators—men who fought for the spectators' pleasure. It was now common for public officers to provide a long series of such fights on festival days. At first the gladiators were condemned criminals, but later slaves were trained especially for this. Commonly these fights were to the death, but a

Gladiatorial combats

brave man might win the favor of the crowd and so have his life spared. Often savage beasts were sent in to fight with men. For these bloody sports a special stone building was constructed. This was called an amphitheater because it consisted of two theaters face to face. One Greek contest alone, the chariot race, pleased the Romans, and an enormous circus was built at Rome where vast audiences could see the races from their banked seats.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Was war between Rome and Carthage inevitable? Give your arguments and evidence pro and con. (2) Which was stronger, Rome or Carthage, at the beginning of the First Punic War? Give your evidence. (3) How and why did Rome win the First Punic War? (4) Had you been in Hannibal's place, would you have hated Rome? Why? (5) Why did Hannibal invade Italy by land? Was this method worth what it cost? Why? (6) Give an account of the early victories of Hannibal. (7) Why did Hannibal need decisive victory at Cannae? How and why did he win it? (8) Explain fully the causes and events that led to the failure of Hannibal in Italy. (9) Give an account of the siege of Carthage and the Third Punic War. (10) Why did Rome conquer the East so easily? (11) Explain how the Roman government was changed as a result of these world conquests. (12) What advantages and disadvantages did Roman rule bring to the conquered peoples of the Hellenistic East? (13) Are the people of America now being corrupted by influences similar to those that led to the moral decline of the Romans? Give your arguments. (14) How could the moral decline of the Romans have been avoided? Give your arguments. (15) Contrast the lives of wealthy Romans of the second century B.C. with those of wealthy Athenians of the time of Pericles. Give reasons for the differences you find.

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THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES

Cato and his friends had tried to force rich Romans to go back to the old simple and rather crude life that was common before Greek civilization had been brought in. They had aroused much hatred against themselves but had done nothing (1) to restore the peasant-farmer class, (2) to extend citizenship to the Italian allies, or (3) to reform the

Great reforms badly needed

government of the provinces. A fourth great problem was the defense of the northern frontiers against the attacks of uncivilized hordes which threatened to break into the Mediterranean lands and destroy the civilization there.

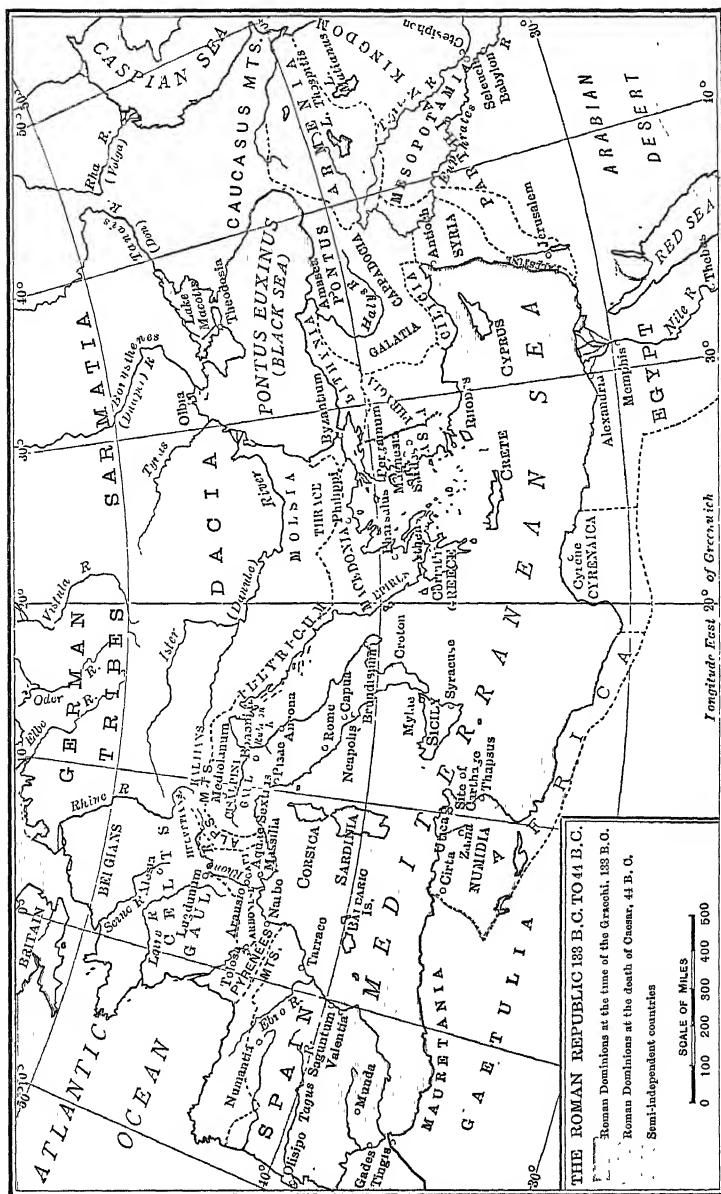
The
land
question

Before the war with Hannibal, peasant farmers found life very hard. When Rome made a conquest and secured lands, the nobles leased them from the state at very low rents which they often forgot to pay. The common people had become aroused and made a law giving out to farmers tracts of public land which the senators wanted. This was done only after a bitter struggle, and it taught the people that they could win their way if they had a good leader. But for nearly a hundred years no unselfish man of ability took up the task. Meanwhile all Italy had been conquered and there was no more newly won public land. If the distribution were made now, senators and their friends would have to give up some of the thousands of acres of public land for which they paid almost no rent. Many of them had held this land so long that they regarded it as their own property, and it was very hard to prove that it was not legally so.

LEADERSHIP OF THE GRACCHI

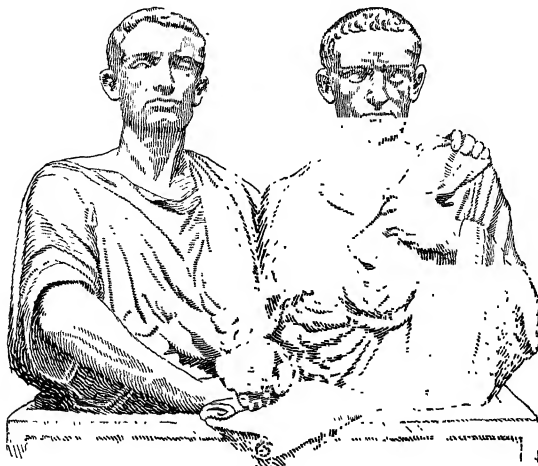
Failure
of
Tiberius
Gracchus

At last a popular leader came forward, Tiberius Gracchus, member of an old noble family. Elected tribune for 133 B.C., he proposed to the assembly to allow no one to hold more than about three hundred acres of public land and to force all who did to give up the surplus on payment for any improvements made. This land would then be rented on easy terms to the poorer citizens. This seemed reasonable, but the senators were determined to block the law. The tribune forced it through illegally and sought reelection so as to carry it out himself. While the voting was going on, a crowd of senators attacked him, and in the riot that followed Tiberius Gracchus and about three hundred of his followers were killed. These murders were the first in a series of



bitter struggles between popular leaders and the aristocratic Senate, ending in the setting up of an empire.

Ten years later Caius Gracchus was chosen tribune and took up his elder brother's work (123 B.C.). Shrewder than



THE GRACCHI

his brother, he saw that he must get powerful support in order to win against the hostile Senate and nobility. The big business men of Rome had no especial love for the Senate, and they wielded great influence. These men he won over by getting for them the right to collect the taxes in the rich province of Asia and the power to judge returned provincial governors against whom complaints might be made. For the common people he secured the right to buy grain at half price from the state. He renewed his brother's land laws and planned also to send out colonies of poor citizens not only into Italy but into the provinces. Most important of all, he proposed to grant the Italian allies full Roman citizenship. This wise move angered the poor citizens who had backed him until now, for they did not wish the Italians to share their power and rights. The Senate made use of this

**How
Caius
Gracchus
expected
to win**

**Why
Caius
Gracchus
failed**

opposition to regain its influence over the mob, and Caius Gracchus was killed in a great riot (121 B.C.).

**Lessons
from the
failure
of the
Gracchi**

The Gracchi had failed to oust the Senate from control though they had taught the people their power. But for some time no unselfish patriot came forward to lead them and run the risk of death for himself. The Senate continued to rule, more corruptly than before, and the evils grew even worse. One great reason for the failure of the Gracchi was that they could not count on the continued support of the voters. Often the very men whom they wished to help failed to come to the city to vote. The leader of the people who would win must have more than the fickle mob behind him—he must command soldiers.

WORK OF MARIUS

**First
military
dictator**

The Senate badly bungled a war with Jugurtha, king of Numidia, in North Africa, until Roman arms were disgraced. The exasperated assembly at Rome at last made a law putting their favorite, Marius, a rough man of the people, in command of the Roman army. He brought Jugurtha to Rome in chains (104 B.C.). For a time the assembly had taken control of foreign affairs from the Senate. A new and terrible danger now threatened. Two great tribes of Germans, the Cimbri and the Teutons, were about to break into Italy. They had already defeated six Roman armies. In one great battle 60,000 Romans are said to have been killed. Marius was now elected consul again and again in order that he might continue in command of the Roman armies and meet the danger in the north.

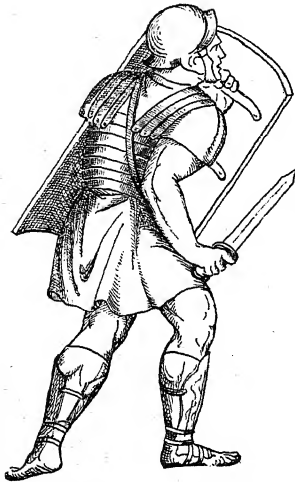
**Marius
remodels
the
Legion**

Marius worked hard to restore discipline in his army and make it fit to meet the dreaded barbarians. Formerly only citizens with some property had been enlisted. Now to get enough recruits Marius admitted to his forces poor citizens and even Italians who were not citizens. These soldiers tended to continue in army service until old age; that is, they became professional soldiers ready to follow any able

leader whom they liked. Such armies were destined finally to overturn the republic. Marius also changed the form of the legion. Instead of dividing it into thirty maniples in three lines he raised its numbers to 6,000 men divided into ten cohorts of 600 men each. This gave the legion greater depth and power of resistance. He also substituted the light javelin for the long lance as the legionary's first weapon.

Marius trained this new force thoroughly, a task which could not have been accomplished with an army of citizen soldiers whose term of service was limited. With this reorganized and carefully drilled army, Marius utterly

**Marius
defeats
Cimbri
and
Teutons**



A ROMAN LEGIONARY



A TEUTON

defeated the German invaders in two great battles. This plain man of the people now seemed to have won unlimited popularity and influence. He was elected consul for the sixth time (100 B.C.). But unscrupulous politicians were using him as their tool, and their excesses cost him his popularity with the moderates. His chief political friends were

killed, the Senate recovered its control of the government, and Marius left Rome in disrepute.

THE WAR WITH THE ITALIAN ALLIES

Causes

The Italian allies had long been bitterly discontented. They had fought just as hard as the Romans for the conquest



MARIUS



SULLA

of the Empire, but were given no share in its control or in the vast profits Rome drew from it. Rome owed so much to the help of the Italians that it was extremely unjust to deny them citizenship. But both Senate and common people were bitterly opposed to giving them citizenship, and so the leading cities of central and southern Italy decided to set up a separate state. Rome forbade this, and three years of terrible civil war followed (90-88 B.C.). At first defeated, the Romans at last won the victory under the leadership of an aristocratic general, Sulla. The allies were given the coveted citizenship, but could not vote except by traveling to Rome—quite too far for most of them. The situation, therefore, remained practically the same and, strangely enough, no Roman leader was found to suggest a system of representative government which would give the Italian allies real participation in it.

Effects of the war

Dictatorship of Sulla

During the Civil War a great king, Mithradates, arose in Asia Minor and threatened Roman power. The Senate chose Sulla to lead an army against him, but the assembly gave the command to the aged Marius. Sulla was still with the army which had won victory in the civil war. Marching on Rome, he killed or dispersed the unorganized followers of Marius. Then Sulla went off to the East and after four years fully restored Roman power there.

Second
military
dictator

In the meantime, Marius, full of bitterness against the senatorial party, returned to Rome from Africa, whither he had fled, and began a dreadful massacre of senators. He was then elected consul for the seventh time, but died shortly after. Sulla now returned to Rome from the East with his victorious army. Seizing the power with the help of his soldiers, he made himself dictator and ordered the slaughter of every possible leader of opposition to the Senate, present or future. Lists of names were posted daily, and a reward of about \$2,000 a head was offered for killing any person whose name was posted. In Rome, 4,700 prominent citizens were slain and in other Italian cities the massacres were worse.

Proscrip-
tions and
slaughter
by Marius
and Sulla

Next he made new laws taking from the assembly of the people and the tribunes most of their power, and so making the corrupt, incompetent Senate supreme once more. Having carried out his plans, Sulla gave up his dictatorship and retired to private life (79 B.C.).

Sulla
restores
Senate's
power

During the next nine years there were frequent demands for the repeal of Sulla's laws, but this could be done only by an armed force under a popular leader. These the Senate's blunders soon provided. In 70 B.C., two victorious generals, Pompey and Crassus, returning with their armies, wished to be chosen consuls. When the Senate refused, they promised the assembly, if elected, to repeal Sulla's laws. Thus they won their consulship and the assembly recovered power.

Repeal
of Sulla's
laws

DICTATORSHIP OF POMPEY

Pompey's
dictator-
ship

Since the Senate had not provided a navy to protect shipping, piracy had become scandalously common in the Mediterranean. The pirates had set up a state in Cilicia (in Asia Minor) and became very bold, even kidnaping



From a bust at the Vatican, Rome

GNAEUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS

Roman officers in Italy and cutting off the grain supplies of Rome. This disgrace had to be stopped and so the assembly made Pompey supreme commander of the Mediterranean and all land as far as fifty miles from the sea (67 B.C.). He was given a vast fleet and as many troops as he wished. This dictatorship was for three years but was extended to give him time to conquer Mithradates, king of Pontus, who was again making trouble. Within about three months Pompey had destroyed the pirates and their strongholds.

Then he marched on into Asia, completed the defeat of Mithradates, and, continuing his march eastward, penetrated regions as far as the Caspian Sea and the Euphrates River. He deposed kings, divided the conquered lands into districts, appointed rulers, and reorganized the governments of vast areas. Pompey seemed almost like another Alexander the Great. When he returned to Rome (62 B.C.), 324 captured princes walked behind his triumphal chariot. Pompey was almost king of Rome.

RISE OF CAESAR

But during his five years' absence new leaders had arisen. Cicero, the greatest orator of his age, a highly educated and cultured man, and a member of a wealthy middle-class family, hoped to restore the old republican constitution by forming a new middle-class party of Italians. The leader of the democratic party was Julius Caesar, a nephew of Marius, and member of an old patrician family claiming divine ancestry through Æneas of Troy. While Pompey was away, Caesar had been quaestor and praetor but had had no chance to command a large army—the best key to power. He had tried his best to rebuild the democratic party and had won the favor of the people. There were in Rome plenty of bitterly discontented men who were willing to follow such a promising leader, but some of these were worthless adventurers. One of them, Catiline, whom Cicero defeated in the consulship election, gathered a motley crowd of lawless men and planned to overthrow the government. Cicero learned of the scheme, denounced Catiline to the Senate,¹ and Catiline and his outlaws were killed. Caesar lost influence somewhat because suspected of having part in Catiline's plot.

Rise
of new
leaders,
Cicero
and Caesar

Just at this time (62 B.C.) Pompey came home and gave up command of his army. He had promised lands to his

¹This was the occasion for several of the most famous orations of Cicero, the *Orationes in Catilinam*.



JULIUS CAESAR

A statue in the Palace of the Conservatori or Town Council at Rome

soldiers, but the Senate put him off for two years and would not ratify his treaty of peace made in the East. Pompey in disgust was ready to ally himself with Caesar to get what he wanted. An extremely rich nobleman named Crassus joined them in forming a personal alliance (called a "triumvirate") which gave them political control. Caesar was decidedly the ablest of the three men. He and Crassus were elected consuls for 59 B.C. After getting laws voted by the assembly to satisfy Pompey, Caesar procured land grants for the poor citizens and then obtained for himself for five years the supreme command in Illyria and Gaul. This command included the Po Valley (not yet governed as a part of Italy) and as much of what is now France, western Germany, and Belgium, as he could conquer. Here he would have a large army, and, if victorious, the soldiers would be so devoted that they would follow him against Senate, people, or both.

**Alliance
of Caesar,
Pompey,
and
Crassus**

**First
Trium-
virate**

CAESAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL

The first problem was to build the army and win victories. During his first year in Gaul (58 B.C.) he had to meet two great invasions, the Helvetians (or Swiss) who had determined to migrate into Gaul, and a great German tribe that had already crossed the Rhine. The Gauls were ruled by a great number of tribal chieftains who could not stop the invasion. Unchecked, these invaders might have become as dangerous as the Cimbri and Teutons. With his hastily levied troops Caesar drove back the Helvetians and destroyed the German tribe, in the first summer. He decided that the Rhine was the logical frontier to be guarded against future invaders and made his plans to subdue the Gauls. During the next years (57-56 B.C.) Caesar conquered the whole country and then even made a foray into Germany and an invasion of Britain (55-54 B.C.).

**Caesar's
conquest
of Gaul**

**Successes
of his
first
years**

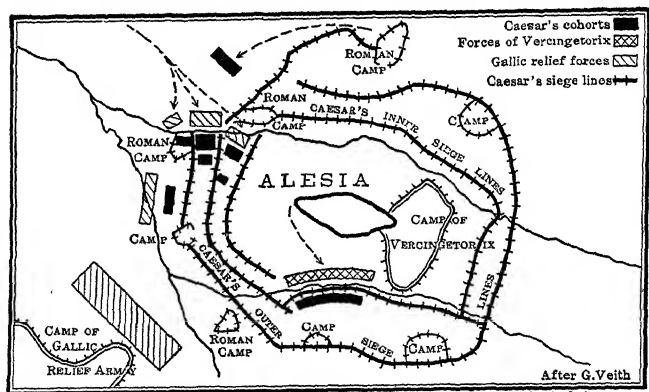
Gallic submission had been only apparent, however, and while Caesar was in Britain able leaders were planning vast uprisings. During the winter of 54-53 B.C. a revolt began

**Great
Gallic
revolts**

with attacks on the Roman legions separated in winter quarters. One legion was completely destroyed, but by incredible speed and energy Caesar saved the rest and the next summer severely punished the rebels. The following winter plans were made for a general revolt all over Gaul under an exceptionally able leader, Vercingetorix. Leading a great force, he tried to cut off Caesar from his troops quartered in the north and then destroy them. Before spring came (52 B.C.), Caesar, who had returned to Italy, hastened north through the mountains of southeastern Gaul and reached his legions safely.

Siege of Alesia

The climax of this campaign was reached when Caesar besieged the army of Vercingetorix in the hill town of Alesia, his own army of 60,000 besieged in turn by another vast host of Gauls which had come to the relief of Alesia. The Romans built two elaborate sets of intrenchments, one



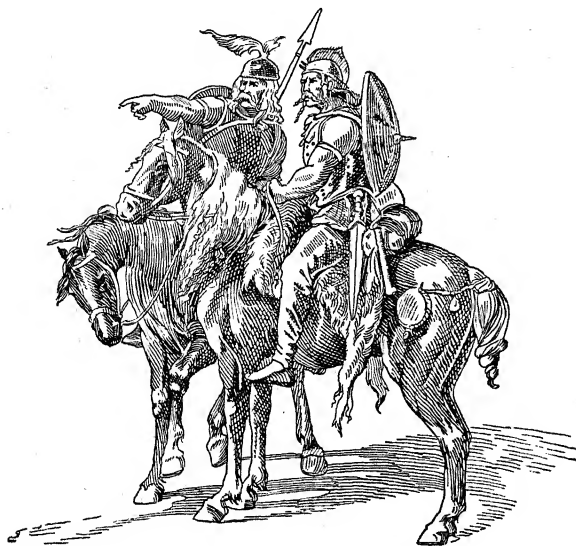
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THE SIEGE OF ALESIA

The plan shows Caesar's siege lines and the disposition of forces in the battle which decided the fate of Vercingetorix and the Gauls

facing inward and the other outward. Food ran very low in the city and almost as low among the Romans. But at last Roman engineering skill and persistence, with Caesar's generalship, won the victory. Vercingetorix was forced to

surrender and the Gallic host outside dissolved. A few later revolts had to be crushed, but the work was now completed. The Gauls yielded to fate, and Caesar used all his skill to



GALLIC WARRIORS

win them to Roman allegiance. He raised one whole legion among the conquered people.

CAESAR AND POMPEY FIGHT FOR SUPREMACY

Cæsar's victories had given him what he needed—wealth and a great army devoted to him. He saw that the Roman government was likely in future as in the past to fall at intervals under the control of great military leaders. To carry on important foreign wars and govern the provinces successfully, such military leaders had to be given extensive powers for many years at a time. Some of these commanders might willingly submit to senatorial control, but others would do as Marius and Sulla had done. Italy and the provinces were likely to be victims of frequent civil wars unless some one

**Position
of Caesar**

**Caesar's
advantages
for dic-
tatorship**

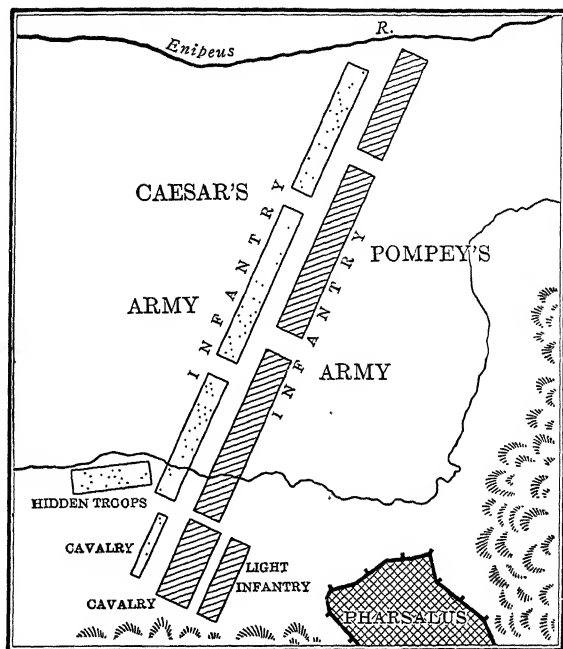
man made himself lasting ruler of Rome and its dominions. Caesar had doubtless thought this out. His account of the Gallic wars was really written to show the Roman people what a wonderful work he had done in Gaul.

How
Caesar
was forced
into con-
flict with
the Senate

Before Caesar's five-year term of command was over, the triumvirate had met and agreed to extend it for five years more. He had needed all that time, and as the second five years now drew to an end he had his friends try to have him elected consul again. But the Senate, hating and fearing him, did everything possible to prevent this. Crassus had tried to win glory in war with the Parthians on the Euphrates and had lost his life. Pompey had no especial plans but wanted a great military command, and the Senate won him over to fight for them against the leader of the people. Caesar's command expired March 1, 49 B.C., and he could not be chosen consul until several months later. During that time, if he came to Rome without his army, he was almost sure to be killed. To bring his army would mean civil war. Caesar made many offers of compromise, but they were all refused. At last the Senate put through a law ordering Caesar to give up his army before the legal time. He decided there must be war. He had not expected it so soon and had only one legion with him. Ordering the others to come from distant Gaul at once, he marched across the Rubicon River, the boundary of his province, into Italy (January, 49 B.C.). This was the turning point of his career. Empire was to be the prize of victory, death the penalty of defeat.

Pompey had a far larger army than Caesar's one legion, but the soldiers were mostly untried and Caesar's speed was a great surprise. Pompey fled from Rome, most of the nobility following him. Caesar was made dictator and then consul. Pompey went to the East to raise a great army. His allies controlled Spain and North Africa (west of the city of Carthage), and with his vast war fleet he might hope to blockade Italy. Caesar had no fleet at all. Marching

overland to Spain, Caesar quickly forced the surrender of Pompey's army there. Returning to Italy with amazing speed, he crossed into Greece and at Pharsalus won a decisive victory. Pompey fled to Egypt, but before he could



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THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS

Pompey depended for victory on a massed charge of all his cavalry, but the attack was crushed by six cohorts of picked men which Caesar had hidden behind his cavalry. These cut Pompey's cavalry to pieces and sweeping around Pompey's left end, attacked Pompey's army from the rear

land was basely murdered by his own soldiers. Caesar reached Egypt shortly after and received the submission of the queen, Cleopatra. Caesar then proceeded to Asia Minor where he conquered Pharnaces who had succeeded to the rule of Mithradates. Then turning to North Africa,

Caesar overwhelmed the remaining forces of Pompey's party at the battle of Thapsus. The last resistance of the partisans of the Senate was broken, and in March, 45 B.C., Caesar returned to Rome in triumph.

Dictatorship of Caesar

**Caesar's
reorgani-
zation of
the gov-
ernment**

**Founda-
tions of the
Roman
Empire**

**Honest
provincial
govern-
ment**

**Employ-
ment of
the Senate**

**Municipal
govern-
ment**

Caesar was now absolute master of Rome and its dominions. Having always been careful to avoid Sulla's methods and having taken no personal revenge on his enemies, he might reasonably hope to rule in peace. Clearly he regarded himself as king, just as Alexander the Great had been. He was made dictator for life and imperator (commander in chief of the armies), and received for life the powers of the tribunes, of the censor, and of the high priest of the state religion, thus making him king in everything but name. Many outward forms of the republic were strictly observed, however.

Meanwhile Caesar put into effect numerous reforms. He had already taken the government of the provinces from the utterly selfish Senate and put it in the hands of his lieutenants. Taxes were cut down and honestly collected, and extortion most severely punished. No longer were the Roman nobles and their allies, the Roman money lenders, to be allowed to bleed the people of the provinces. Caesar surely felt contempt for the constitutional forms of the old republic, for he admitted to the Senate enough able men from the provinces to raise its membership to nine hundred. Thus it would become more representative of the whole empire. Everywhere he tried to instill patriotism and pride in one's own city, giving ample self-government to provincial as well as Italian cities. Each city was to have its consuls, praetors, and aediles, and its senate, modeled on that of Rome but concerned only with municipal affairs. The government was to be in the control of one man, Caesar.

Caesar planned sweeping economic reforms. So many persons were hopelessly in debt, owing to long civil wars

and the greed of the money lenders, that he made the first bankruptcy law. The debtor could make over all his property to the persons to whom he owed money. Interest would not be counted. Formerly the debtor was enslaved if his property was too little to pay all. To check the moral decay at Rome he cut the number receiving free grain from 320,000 to 150,000, and later planned to cut this number down still more. He set up a strict police force in Rome to check disorder. Employment was provided by building many fine new public buildings and by a law requiring every man engaged in stock raising to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves. But his main remedy for unemployment was the colonization of the city population on Italian farms and in the provinces. His loyal veterans he distributed very widely in small groups and fitted each one out with a farm and tools. Caesar set up a uniform system of coinage and reformed the calendar in accordance with the Egyptian system, giving a year of 365 days.

**Caesar's
economic
reforms**

These remarkable reforms did not please the old Roman nobility, however. They were deeply offended by Caesar's absolute power, and a group plotted to kill him and so restore the old republican government. He had disbanded his bodyguard, and the assassins gathered around him in the senate house and stabbed him to death (44 B.C.). Many of them had received marked favor from him.

**Murder
of Caesar**

OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY

The result of Caesar's death was only a renewal of civil war. Rome and Italy turned against the murderers, and they fled to the East. Caesar's friend, Mark Antony, and his grandnephew, the youth Octavius who had rallied many of Caesar's veterans to him, combined with Lepidus to form the Second Triumvirate. They fought a decisive battle with the murderers at Philippi and defeated them. Antony then took the East and Octavius the West for his rule. This arrangement lasted only a few years. In 31 B.C., now rivals,

**Civil
war again**

**Second
Trium-
virate**

Octavius and Antony fought the naval battle of Actium (off the Greek coast) for control of the whole Empire. The fate of Antony was decided by Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who,



CLEOPATRA, QUEEN OF EGYPT

in the midst of the battle, withdrew her ships from Antony's forces and sailed away. Octavius won and became the real successor of Julius Caesar, the first Roman emperor.

**Estimate
of Caesar's
work**

The men who murdered Caesar had committed a stupid as well as a base crime. They had killed, not the monarchy, but a most enlightened monarch. Caesar's genius was supreme. Although a master of military science equal to Alexander the Great, he preferred statesmanship. He had less than eighteen months for his work of building the Empire. If he had had twenty years more, what benefits he might have given the people of the Roman world! What bloodshed he might have saved! Yet in those eighteen months he had founded the Empire and had pointed out the way which his less brilliant successors were to follow.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How and why had public lands fallen into the control of nobles? With what effects? State and explain any similar cases in the recent history of the United States. (2) Explain and criticize the plans and work of the Gracchi. Why did they fail? (3) How and why did Marius change the Roman army? With what effects on the army and the state? (4) Why did Marius fail to reform the evils in the Roman state? (5) Who won in the Social War? Give your arguments in full. (6) Was there any justification for Sulla's proscriptions? If so, what? Explain their effects. (7) How were Sulla's laws repealed? (8) Compare and contrast the political plans and ability of Caesar, Cicero, and Pompey. List them in order of their ability and importance, giving your reasons fully. (9) How did Caesar's conquest of Gaul advance world civilization? Prove it. (10) Could Caesar have avoided civil war in 49 B.C.? How? (11) How did Caesar win the people of Rome and Italy to his side in 49 B.C.? (12) Explain Caesar's work of reorganization of the government and economic life. (13) Did this really reform the evils already explained? To what extent? Why? (14) Explain the motives of the men who murdered Caesar. What justification can you find for their deed? Why was it stupid? (15) Contrast the policies of the Second Triumvirate with those of Caesar and give reasons.

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TWO CENTURIES OF PEACE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD AND THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS

Pacifica-
tion of the
Empire by
Octavius

The civil wars that followed the death of Caesar convinced many Romans that one-man rule was needed, and they were deeply thankful when Octavius was firmly established in control of the Empire. A very tactful, shrewd politician, Octavius knew how to make himself popular with all classes of people. He lived simply and went about the city with no pomp of royalty. Two years after his return to Rome he declared the republic restored (27 B.C.). He carefully respected all its forms, hiding his absolute mastery. The Senate gave him the name "Augustus," by which he is now known. Holding the proconsular power giving him command of all the provinces needing an army, the power of the tribunes giving the veto power over all, the office of high priest, and the title of imperator giving command of the army, he was supreme over the Empire. But he took a new title, "princeps," or prince, meaning "the first citizen" of Rome, by which he was commonly called. He gave the Senate much of its old dignity but not its old

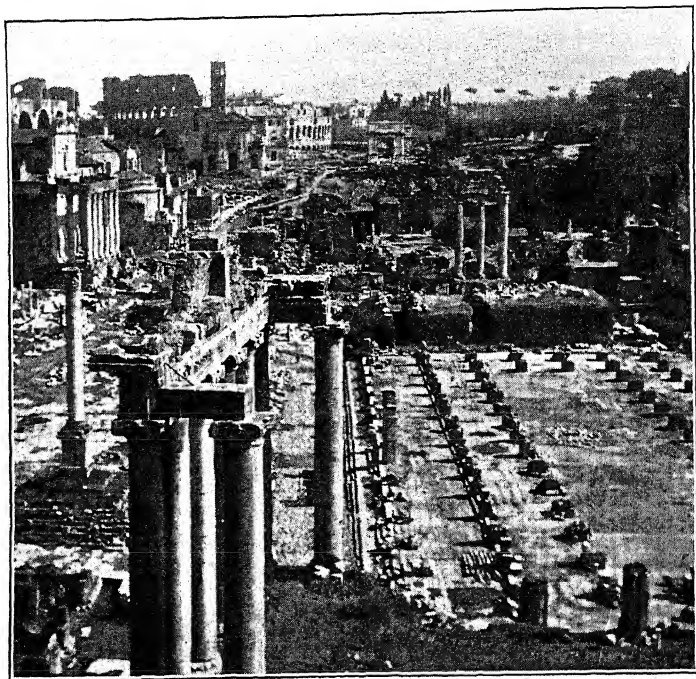


OCTAVIUS, AUGUSTUS PRINCEPS
A statue now in the Vatican Palace at Rome

power. It was now an advisory body. Consuls, praetors, and other officers had little actual power. The work was done by officers appointed by Augustus.

The army

At Rome, Augustus kept only a small armed force, the "Praetorian Guard" of 9,000 men. Most of the army he



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THE ROMAN FORUM AT THE PRESENT TIME

left on the frontiers, and the total force was only about 225,000, composed of volunteers who made service in the army their life occupation. They received regular pay out of the taxes collected throughout the Empire.

Adminis- tration of Rome

Augustus devoted much time to giving the whole Empire good government. At Rome he appointed a chief of police, a chief of a department of detectives and firemen, and a

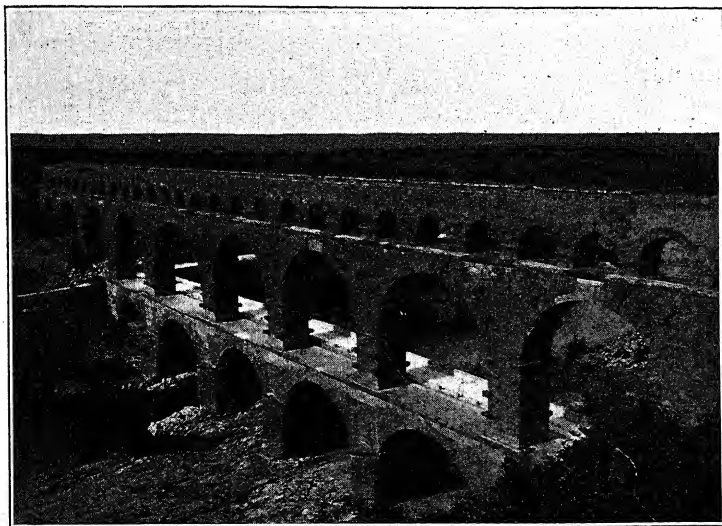
chief to see to the grain supply of the city. Thus life and property were made safe.

Italy was divided into eleven districts each in charge of a responsible officer. Brigandage and all disorder were suppressed with a strong hand.

Government of Italy

For the past century or more the provinces had been wretchedly misgoverned. Now those nearer Rome were still ruled by officers chosen by the Senate. Those that needed armies were governed by special legates or lieutenants of Augustus. They were carefully watched and not allowed

Government of the provinces

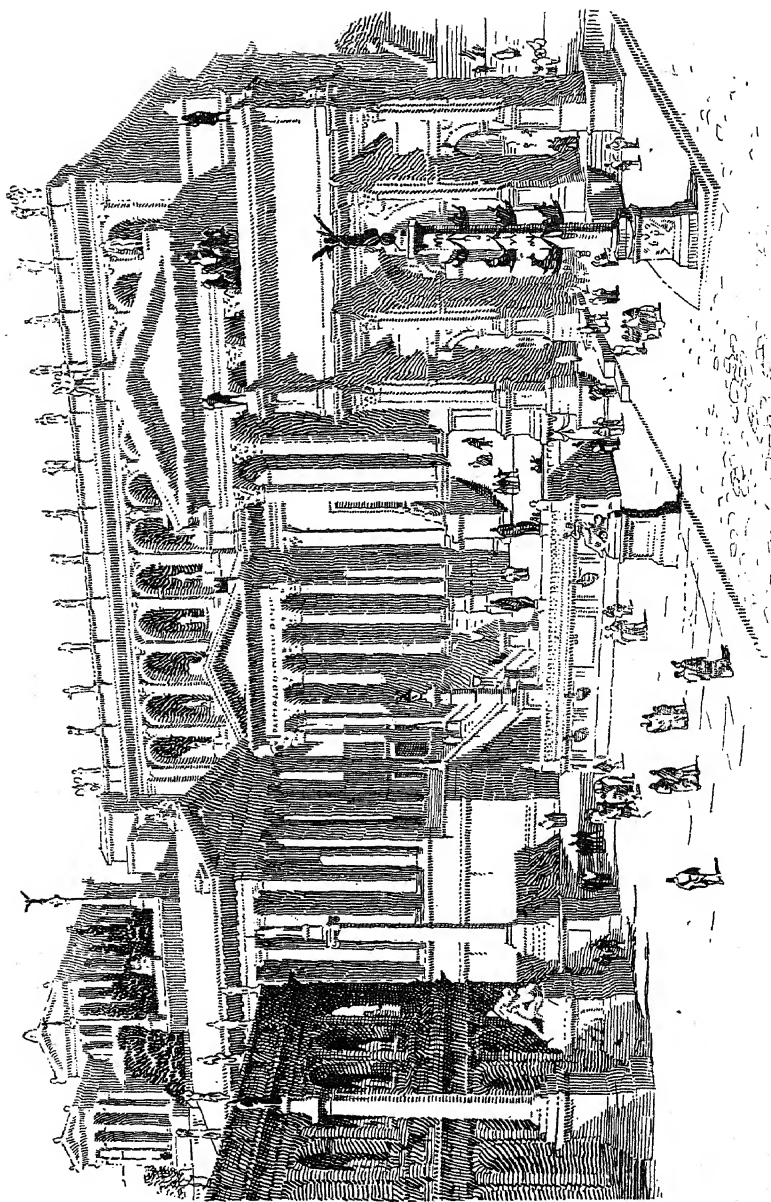


ROMAN BRIDGE AND AQUEDUCT NEAR NIMES, FRANCE

to wrong the people. The governor knew that if he ruled well he would hold his place many years or be advanced to a better one. Everywhere the welfare of the people was sought, and the provinces rapidly regained their prosperity.

No longer were the taxes collected in hit-or-miss fashion. The expenses were carefully estimated, and in the least troublesome ways enough money was collected to meet

Taxation



A restoration by Bechetti, Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Rome

THE ROMAN FORUM

them. Large sums were spent in the provinces on roads, bridges, aqueducts, and public buildings.

Augustus made little effort to extend the Empire except at points where the existing boundaries were hard to defend. North of the Alps he conquered the natives and made the Danube River the northern frontier. His generals tried hard to conquer the Germans east of the Rhine so as to make the Elbe River the frontier instead of the Rhine; but a Roman army was trapped in the forest and entirely destroyed (9 A.D.). After this defeat the Romans made no serious effort to conquer the Germans, and the Rhine remained the frontier of the Empire. Everywhere Augustus sought natural frontiers, either a great river, a mountain chain, the sea, or a desert.

Boundaries of the Empire

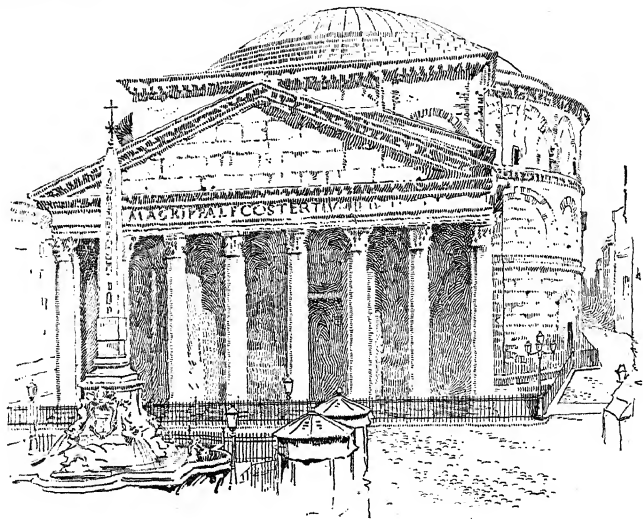
In the preceding two hundred years, as we have seen, the old Roman customs, religion, and ways of living had been passing away. Augustus did all he could to bring them back. He made it easy for the poor to get land and set up as farmers. Laws were made to check divorce, and encourage parents to bring up large families of children, training them in the old Roman virtues of honesty, bravery, industry, and piety. Oriental gods were to be driven out and the rites of the old religion restored in the temples. The efforts of Augustus brought improvement, but the changes had gone too far for laws to work miracles of reform. It is interesting to note that in the reign of Augustus was born Jesus, the founder of a religion that was destined to have an influence for good undreamed of in His own lifetime on earth.

Attempts to restore the old Roman virtues

Augustus is reported to have said he "found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble." A great number of temples, a public bath, a magnificent theater, and an elaborate royal palace certainly date from the Augustan age. Greek and oriental buildings were used as models of many of these. The Romans adopted the arch, made it popular, and handed it on to modern architects. It should

New buildings at Rome

be remembered, however, that only now did Rome begin to erect such fine public buildings as the Hellenistic cities of Alexandria and Antioch had had for over two centuries.



THE PANTHEON

The Pantheon, or temple to all the gods, was built in the "Age of Augustus" by Agrippa, a minister of Augustus. It was reconstructed by Hadrian, who added the rotunda and the great dome

**Progress
in lit-
erature**

Outside of engineering as seen in their roads, bridges, and buildings, the Romans took little interest in scientific investigations. Rome produced no Eratosthenes, no Archimedes, no Aristotle. But in literature the Augustan age was made famous by a group of wonderful writers encouraged by Augustus and his able advisers. Livy wrote an elaborate history of Rome from the beginning to Augustus. It filled 142 rolls, or books. Only parts of it have come down to us. They prove that it was most interesting reading but very inaccurate as history. Livy put into his book any stories that he came across, without investigating their accuracy. Cicero, the greatest writer of Latin prose, orations, and essays, lived before the Augustan age, but now

came the greatest Latin poets. Ovid wrote mythological stories. Horace is famous for his satires on the follies and vices of Roman society, his letters, and his lyric poems. Virgil was the author of the greatest Latin epic poem, the *Aeneid*, the story of a mythical Aeneas who escaped from Troy during its destruction by the Greeks and after many strange adventures reached Italy and founded Rome. This poem "has ever since been one of the leading schoolbooks of the civilized world, and has had an abiding influence on the best literature of later times."¹

Besides these famous authors there were numerous lesser writers in the time of Cicero and of Augustus. Well-to-do Romans had become so fond of reading that people made a regular business of copying and selling books. These publishers trained a large number of slaves to write down the

**Book-
making
at Rome**



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO



VIRGIL

words as a reader dictated. Since slaves were plentiful and cheap, a great number of books could be turned out at a moderate price. Of course, those in better handwriting cost more. Many of these books were bought by public

¹ Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 616.

libraries, of which Augustus founded the first. It became fashionable for wealthy men not only to have fine libraries of their own but to found public libraries in the cities throughout the Empire. The books were in rolls similar to those of the Alexandrian library.

Services
of
Augustus
to world
civilization

During the forty-five years of his reign Augustus rendered great services to world civilization. Most important of all were the blessings of peace and good government which were continued by many of his successors for nearly two hundred years. Thus the people of Western Europe within the Roman frontiers had time to learn and adopt the civilization that the world had produced up to that time.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE EMPERORS FOLLOWING AUGUSTUS

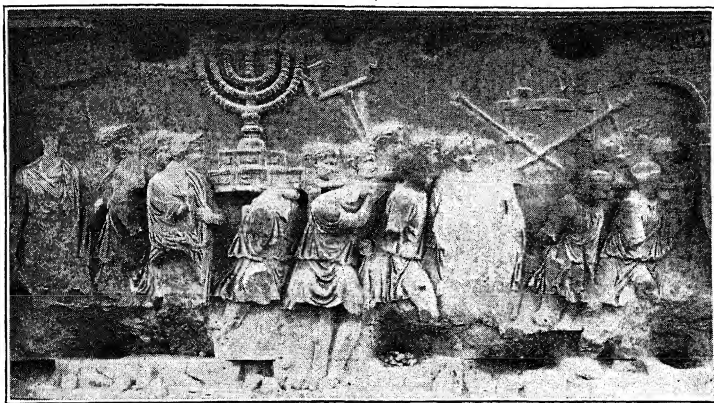
As we continue our study of the Roman Empire it will be noted that the personal character and peculiarities of many emperors had comparatively little influence on the Empire as a whole. There were bad emperors, but the machinery of government continued to work on; and so, gossip about them, though interesting, is not of vital importance. From 31 B.C. to 180 A.D. this state of affairs continued. Hence let us survey rapidly a few main events in the history of the emperors after Augustus and then make a study of the progress in civilization made during these two centuries of comparative peace.

The
three
Flavian
emperors

The place of Augustus was taken by his stepson, Tiberius, an able but personally unpopular ruler (14-37 A.D.). Several of his successors were set up by the soldiers. After much civil war, Vespasian, commander of the legions in Syria, was firmly established as emperor. He was an uncultured but honest, hard-working, and competent ruler. Under his economical rule (70-79 A.D.) the Empire soon became prosperous. In the time of his son, Titus,¹ occurred

¹ Titus was in command of the army which besieged and destroyed Jerusalem, 70 A.D.

the devastation of the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum by the eruption of the volcano Vesuvius. Pompeii has now been partly dug out of the ashes in which it lay buried for



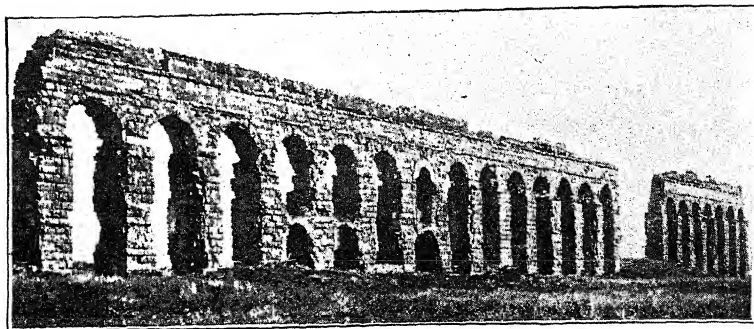
A RELIEF FROM THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS

The Romans are bearing away the spoils from the Temple at Jerusalem

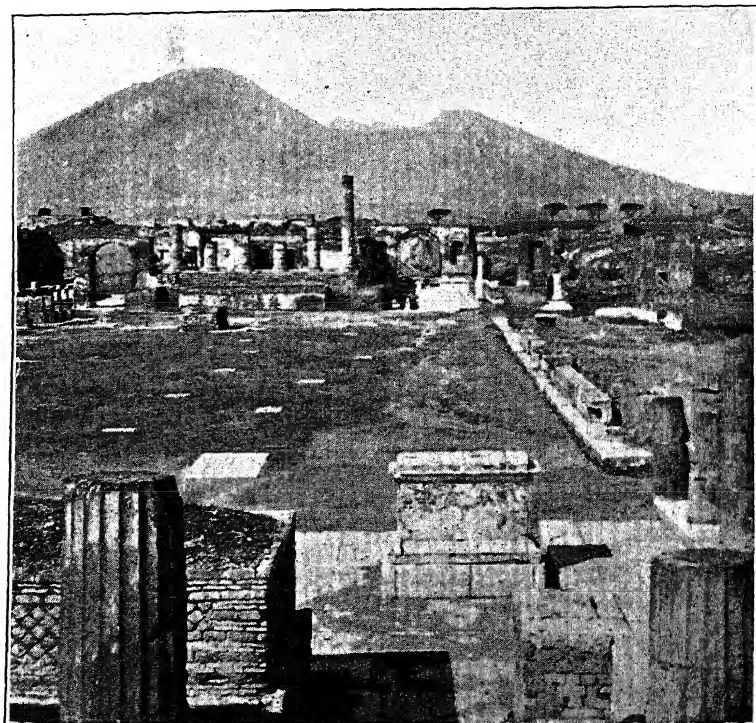
nearly eighteen centuries, making it possible for visitors to see a small Roman city just as it once existed. Domitian, younger brother of Titus, cut down the slender power of the Senate, thus making himself more openly master of the Empire. His general, Agricola, finished conquering Britain as far north as Scotland and built a line of forts between the sites of modern Glasgow and Edinburgh.

The next five emperors are called the Antonines, or the five good emperors. They were friendly to the Senate and governed well. Under them the holding of the frontiers began to be a very hard problem. Barbarian tribes were trying to break through into the fertile regions of the Empire as the Cimbri and Teutons had done. The Dacians north of the Danube began the trouble. The great emperor Trajan (98-117 A.D.) believed they had to be conquered, so he bridged the Danube with boats and led his army through the vast forests until he took their strongholds and subdued them. He then built a great stone bridge across the Danube

The
Antonines



THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT



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THE FORUM AT POMPEII TODAY WITH VESUVIUS IN THE BACKGROUND

and settled numerous colonists north of it. The people of that region today call themselves Romanians because of their supposed descent from the ancient Romans. Next



VESPASIAN



TIBERIUS

Trajan went to the East where he subdued a rising in Armenia and took from the Parthians a territory including the old Assyrian and Babylonian region, thus adding the whole Fertile Crescent to the Empire as provinces. This period marks the greatest extent of the dominions of the Roman Empire.

His successor, Hadrian, like Trajan a Spaniard, was wiser. He saw that it would strain his resources to hold the new eastern provinces and so gave them up, leaving the frontier on the upper Euphrates River. He kept firm hold on Dacia. From the Rhine to the Danube he built a strong wall and another across northern Britain. Behind the walls and the river frontiers his excellent army stood always on guard. He traveled widely through the provinces learning their needs. He built up a carefully trained body of government officers divided into different departments each headed by an expert. These expert heads of

departments formed a council of advisers and these officers usually stayed in office as long as they did good work. Thus the change from one emperor to another did not make a vast difference in the government.

**Marcus
Aurelius**

The reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) was so happy that there is little to tell; but his successor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (161-180 A.D.), the philosopher, met with great difficulties. Barbarian attacks on the Danube, the Rhine, and the Euphrates kept him and his generals at war during most of his reign. A terrible epidemic of Asiatic plague swept over the Empire killing vast numbers and making the survivors frantic with fear. In many places they



HADRIAN



MARCUS AURELIUS

demanding the persecution of the Christians, thinking the Roman gods had been angered by the refusal of the Christians to worship them. The son of Marcus Aurelius, called Commodus, was a most unworthy ruler who committed many crimes and was at last murdered. Thus closed the first two centuries of comparative quiet and prosperity. It will now be worth while to study the civilization of this period.

PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION IN THE FIRST TWO
CENTURIES A.D.

We have already seen how Augustus disguised his mastery of the Empire and made much of the Senate. Gradually, however, these disguises were dropped and it became clear that the emperor was ruler because he controlled the army. The Senate was no longer a closed oligarchy, for prominent men from all parts of the Empire were appointed senators. The weakest point in the system of government was the uncertainty as to who would be the next emperor. Sometimes the Senate chose him, sometimes the emperor appointed his successor in advance, but often the praetorian guards or the legions on the frontiers put their candidate in power. This often led to short civil wars.

Government in the first two centuries

Local government in the first two centuries of the Empire was remarkably free. Each province was divided into cities, including a considerable area besides the town proper, so that each city was about as large as a county in the United States. All over the Empire these cities had self-government. Every year the people met and chose their consuls (to serve as mayor), their aediles in charge of police and public work, and their quaestors, or treasurers. Membership in the municipal senate was highly prized, and it was filled by the ex-magistrates of the city. City elections were often hotly contested.

Local government

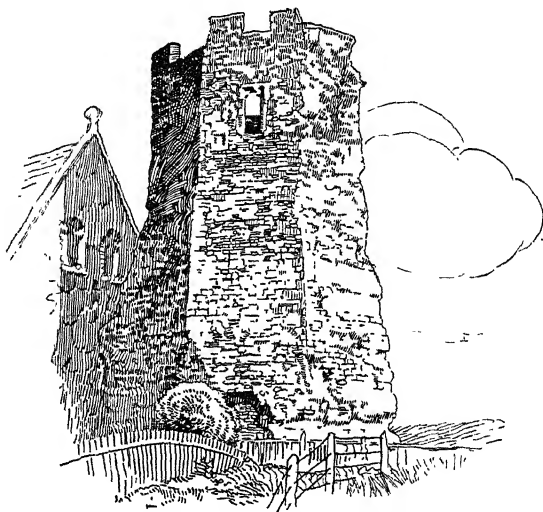
Unfortunately, able rulers seem to have disliked this local independence and took away much of it. But to the end the cities kept some freedom. The provinces, however, had no self-government but were ruled by governors chosen by the emperor. Sometimes assemblies of prominent citizens of the province were called together to give advice, but they never won real power to govern. Representative national government was not developed until a thousand years later.

Lack of representative provincial government

One of the most important duties of the imperial government was to guard the frontiers. For this purpose the emperor kept military and naval forces reaching a grand

**The
army
of the
frontiers**

total of about 400,000 men. They were placed chiefly on the exposed frontiers, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, and some on the northern frontier in Britain. The soldiers were enlisted mainly from the provinces. After serving twenty years they became full Roman citizens and were given lands on which they settled. Very often recruits from one part of the Empire were sent to a totally different part for their service. Letters from such recruits on the northern frontiers to parents in Egypt have been unearthed in recent years, and read just like those which any young soldier would write home. These transfers did much to mix the races of the Empire and weld them into one people speaking one language and proud of being Romans. The

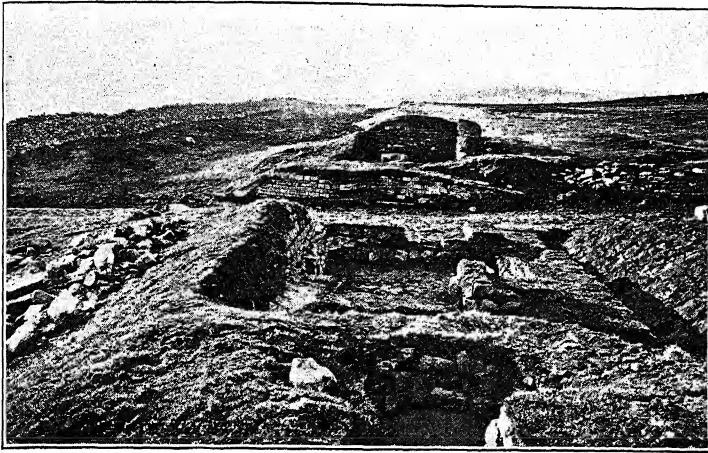


RUINS OF A ROMAN PHAROS OR LIGHTHOUSE AT
DOVER, ENGLAND

legionaries did little loafing. Their training was severe, and they did much public work such as building roads, bridges, dikes, and aqueducts. Their officers studied so diligently that good commanders were seldom lacking.

Where a good river barrier was not available, as in Britain and between the upper Rhine and the Danube rivers, the Romans built frontier walls. In northern England was

**Frontier
walls**



REMAINS OF THE ROMAN WALL AND FORTS IN NORTH BRITAIN

a wall seventy miles long running uphill and downhill almost from sea to sea. On the north side was a ditch and a stone wall eight feet broad and twenty feet high; next a road connecting a series of forts, and south of this a double earthen wall and ditch. Several parts of this wall are still standing.

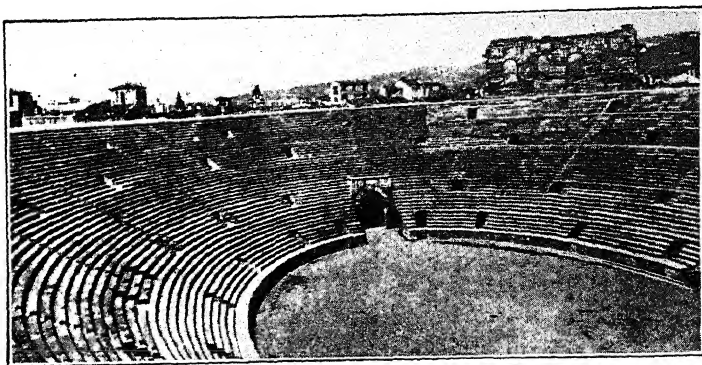
The first two centuries of the Empire were a time of great business prosperity and comparative peace. In most of the provinces agriculture thrived. Where the rains were insufficient, as in North Africa, great irrigation canals were built to carry water for long distances. Thus vast areas were rescued from the desert and made fertile and prosperous. Away out in the African desert of today the explorer can find ruins of great Roman aqueducts and of once populous towns.

**Business
prosperity**

There were a few great cities in the Empire, such as Rome with two million people, Alexandria and Antioch with

**Cities of
the Empire**

half a million each, and Carthage, Lugdunum (modern Lyon), Ephesus, and some others with about 250,000 each. All of these were manufacturing and trading cities as well



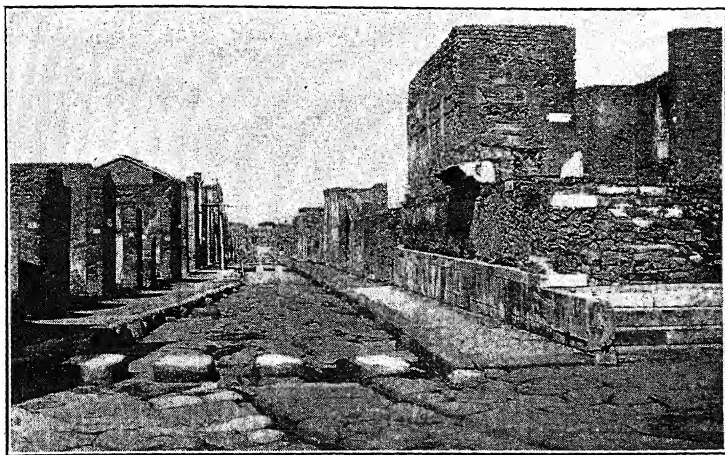
INTERIOR OF THE ROMAN THEATER AT VERONA, ITALY

as leading centers of government. Here were made special goods that were shipped to all parts of the Empire. The majority of the towns had from four to twenty thousand inhabitants. Each of these towns was a center to which the farmers brought their produce in exchange for the manufactured goods they needed. Gaul had had few real towns before Caesar's time, but by about 200 A.D. it had over a hundred prosperous cities. Even the small towns had their fine temples; their magnificent public baths with hot rooms, cold pools, and massaging rooms; and their great aqueducts bringing ample pure water from great distances.

Fortunately we can learn from the ruins of the city of Pompeii exactly what life in a little city was like. Pompeii, a city of 20,000 people, had been covered with ashes thrown out by the volcano Vesuvius in the year 79 A.D. In modern times the city has been dug out so that a traveler can walk through the streets just as its inhabitants did. The streets were paved with stone blocks and varied from thirty-two feet to ten feet in width. One could look into the shops on

business streets, but elsewhere there were no windows on the street. The forum was a large open square where the people met, and around it were markets, temples, and other public buildings looking much like Greek buildings, with many rows of columns. The walls of the houses were used as billboards for advertising which can be read as well now as in 79 A.D. An election was about to be held, and many of the advertisements urged people to vote for certain candidates.

In the cities there were numerous groups of skilled artisans, **Artisans** such as bakers, masons, and weavers, earning a good living. They were usually organized in guilds for mutual advantage. The unskilled laborers mainly were slaves. Above the



A STREET IN POMPEII

artisans was a substantial middle class of merchants, bankers, **Professional men** teachers, architects, physicians, dentists, and other professional men. The nobles regarded themselves as higher than the middle class. They had greater wealth and devoted themselves to managing their landed estates, or became army officers, lawyers, or literary men. In the western half of

Farmers

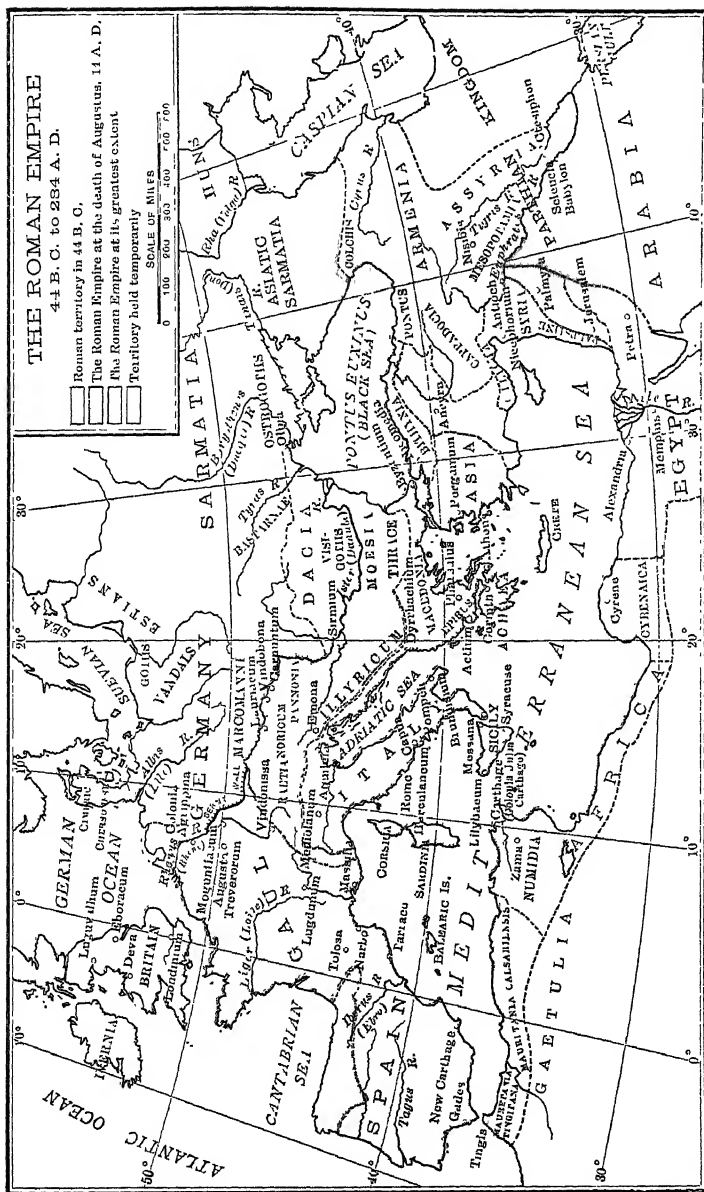
the Empire outside Italy there were many small peasant farmers owning their own lands or making a good living as tenants of the same lands for many generations. They usually lived either in the city or in small villages close to the land which they cultivated, but not in individual houses scattered over the country as in our farming regions. Toward the end of the second century A.D., the great estates were fast swallowing up the small farms, as in Italy four hundred years earlier.

**Trade
and
travel**

In every part of the Roman Empire an extensive trade was carried on. Everywhere ran the magnificent Roman roads over which streamed not only soldiers, but goods of all kinds and hosts of people traveling for business or pleasure. Educated people took pride in having seen the great works of art of Greece or in having visited the pyramids of Egypt. Well-to-do Britons and Gauls traveled to see the sights of the capital city, Rome. Nearly everywhere the Latin language was understood, and so the traveler was spared the annoyance of the variety of languages that today confronts the American traveler in Europe. Travelers usually went in carriages, though the rich often used covered litters carried by eight slaves. A large international trade was carried on. From India, Persia, and China, silks, perfumes, spices, jewels, sugar, and other oriental articles of luxury were imported. The Roman Empire had to pay for these in gold and silver, as the Empire produced little which the Orient required. This gradually drained the Empire of its supply of money, and eventually was one cause of a great decline in business prosperity.

Banks

There was an elaborate system of banks that paid interest on money deposited with them, lending this money out at higher rates than they paid, just as modern banks do. If a merchant wished to pay for goods bought in a distant city, he did not send the actual gold or silver but obtained from his banker a draft on some bank in the distant city. This draft the seller could take to his bank and get the money



it called for. The latter bank would probably soon have occasion to sell some one a draft on the first bank.

Business prosperity was promoted by the establishment of an excellent system of law applied uniformly in all parts of the Empire. Any dispute between a Briton and an Egyptian or between two citizens of Gaul would be settled on the same principles. A body of trained judges grew up who served the emperor well by deciding all disputes on broad principles of real justice. These jurists advised the emperor in making new laws. The great principle of modern law—that an accused person must be regarded as innocent of crime until proved guilty—was taken from the Roman law. The laws of the Empire became more and more humane. Cruelty to slaves was forbidden, and fathers were no longer allowed despotic power over wives and children as in old Rome. This uniform system of enlightened law did much to bind the varied races of the Empire into one people.

**Roman
law**

Besides this, there was a common educational system. In almost every city there was an elementary school for children of the middle and upper classes and a few bright boys from the common people. When the boys had gone through this school they might go to a higher one in the capital of the province. Here they were under well-paid and well-trained teachers.

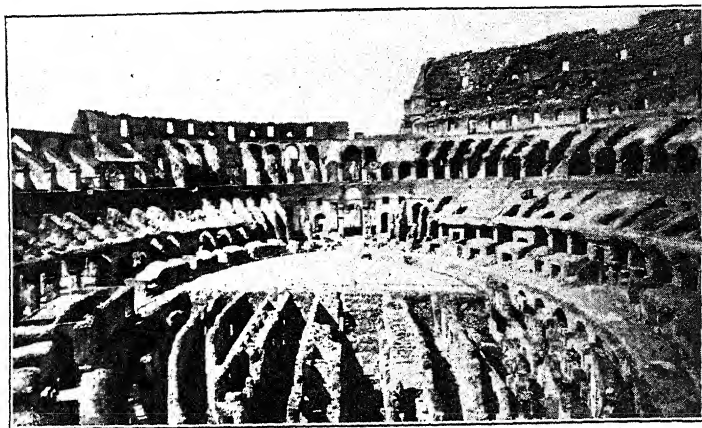
**Educa-
tional
system**

The boys who went farther were taught by famous professors at one of the three great universities at Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. These were the state universities of that age, for they were supported by grants from the government. There were taught the trivium—language, rhetoric, and philosophy—and the quadrivium—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. All cultured people in the Empire thus had the same kind of education. Unfortunately, little was done to give the common people an opportunity to be educated.

The first two centuries of the Empire saw the building of a magnificent mass of great public buildings at Rome and

**Roman
buildings**

lesser structures in the great provincial cities. Rome was now far ahead of Alexandria. There was a vast amphitheater, in modern times called the Colosseum, where 45,000



INTERIOR OF THE AMPHITHEATER AT ROME

people could watch the gladiators. It covers six acres and its walls are 150 feet high—surpassed only by the great structures in which university football games are now played. There were many forums for business, great temples, triumphal arches, and columns such as that built to



ROMAN GLADIATORS

From a relief

commemorate the victories of the emperor Trajan. The Roman builders used vast amounts of excellent concrete. A temple called the Pantheon at Rome has a domed

roof composed of a single piece of cast concrete over 140 feet in diameter. It is now as firm as when the wooden supports were removed.¹

There were great libraries also provided by the imperial government and open to all. Authors and literary men were

Literature



COIN OF NERO



SENECA

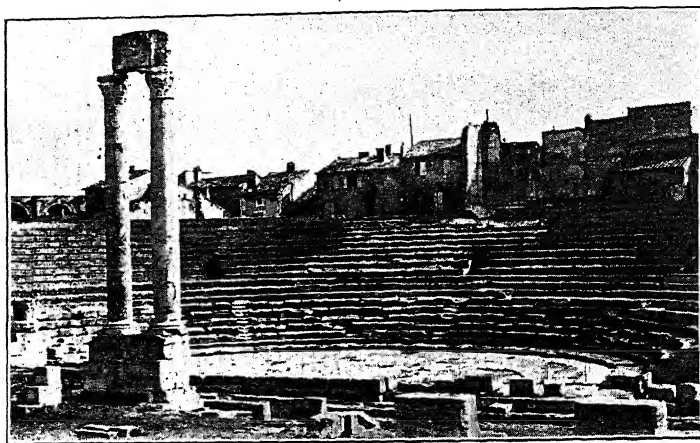
given liberal rewards. A considerable mass of literature—some of it of excellent quality—was written. Seneca, tutor of the Emperor Nero (54–68 A.D.), was a great Stoic philosopher who wrote letters and essays on moral subjects. The names of Pliny the Elder who wrote on natural history, Quintilian on oratory, and Suetonius and, above all, Tacitus, the historians, are famous. The Romans as a people cared little for studies that were not useful, and there was little original literature outside practical fields and little originality in art aside from architecture. Educated Romans were, however, greatly interested in the philosophy of life. The Epicurean or the Stoic philosophy took the place of religion for the upper classes. The teachings of Seneca are of such high moral tone that one might easily mistake him for a

¹See page 193.

teacher of Christianity. There were many Greek prose writers at this time, most famous of whom was Plutarch who wrote a series of lives of great men, pairing a Greek and a Roman and comparing them. In science, aside from building and cement making, the Romans of this time made no original contribution. Their leading scientists were satisfied mainly to put together the knowledge already contributed by earlier discoveries; but they did render great service by these collections, almost encyclopedias, of facts handed down to later ages.

**Influence
of the
Roman
civilization**

This common civilization, the same for all parts of the Roman Empire, was vastly important. Uniformly good government and laws, the Roman peace giving prosperity, the wonderful system of paved roads connecting all parts of the Empire, the common language, literature, and educational system, combined to make nearly all the inhabitants



RUINS OF THE ROMAN THEATER AT ARLES, FRANCE

of the Empire proud of the name of Rome. Gauls, Britons, Spaniards, Dacians, Africans, and Greeks, all called themselves Romans. In the eastern part of the Empire, Greek was more widely spoken than Latin, but everywhere races

of the greatest variety, speaking many tongues, were Romanized. Eventually all freemen were made Roman citizens. The governments of nineteenth-century Germany, Austria, and Russia long tried to force all their subjects to adopt the language of the conqueror and forget their separate racial customs, but failed. Even in the United States the complete Americanization of our mixed population has gone on all too slowly. The Romans succeeded brilliantly in their very difficult task. The Empire was won by the sword, but its people were so Romanized that the sword was hardly needed to hold it together. Rome kept peace for centuries and so fully established Greek and Roman civilization that it conquered the barbarians who overturned the Empire.

The people of modern Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Romania, and parts of Belgium and Switzerland speak languages based on the Latin. Our own English language contains innumerable words of Latin origin. Modern law follows the principles of the Roman, Latin literature still is read by educated people, and modern civilization is indebted in many other ways to the influence of Rome.

DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

REASONS FOR THE DECLINE

The third century of the Empire was marked by a decided decline in government, industry, agriculture, and intellectual progress. On the death of the emperor Commodus, the praetorian guards set up one of the senators, but in three months killed him and sold the high office to a rich noble. The leader of the army on the Danube frontier then marched on Rome and took control. Septimius Severus ruled well for eighteen years (193-211 A.D.) but was followed by a weakling. Until 284 A.D. it is useless to try to list the emperors. In ninety years the army set up twenty-seven

**Septimius
Severus**

different emperors. Only a very few of these ruled well. Barbarian invaders often broke through the frontiers and left devastation and ruin behind. Strong emperors drove them out but could not repair the damage.

**Decay of
agriculture**

In spite of its outward splendor and show of power, the Empire was suffering from internal decay. A steady decline in industrial prosperity was the clearest evidence of this. Agriculture was the most important industry of the ancient world. Under the republic we saw how the small farmers of Italy left the country and went to swell the idle rabble of the cities, while the land was taken by great landlords.

**Rise of
the great
estates**

In their Asiatic possessions the Romans had found a system of landholding in operation, in which the land was held in vast estates by the state and a few great nobles. Now the Romans allowed this system to spread to the West. Such great estates were called "villas." The owner of a villa could produce grain and other crops more cheaply than could the small farmer. He often used his influence to get his tax bill lowered, thus making the burden of the small farmers heavier. The nobles had formerly used slaves to till their land, but now that slaves had become less plentiful and more expensive they gave a plot of land to any man who would agree to work for the landlord part of his time, often about three days a week. Such laborers were called *coloni*. They were not slaves, but they and their descendants had to stay on the estate with no chance of bettering their condition. To be a *colonus* was far better than slavery but far worse than freedom. In the third century of the Empire free farmers were fast sinking into *coloni* or going to the towns, where they lived in idleness. Farming was growing harder because much of the soil was exhausted by lack of fertilization and would not grow good crops. Great areas of unused, weed-grown land were a common sight.

This evil was due partly to insufficient population. Farmers generally brought up large families of children, but

the *coloni* and the idle rabble of the cities often lacked means to provide for them, and so hosts of infants were exposed — that is, put out soon after birth and left to die. For centuries this had been the fate of slave children. Among prosperous artisans and middle-class people there had grown up a desire

**Decline
of
population**



COMMODUS



SEVERUS

for more comfort and freedom from the burden of large families, as in modern France. These and other causes had kept the population of the Empire from growing. Then in 166 A.D. a violent epidemic of Asiatic plague killed about half the population of the Empire. Later the disease returned again and again. The emperors made frantic efforts to increase the population, even offering tracts of land to barbarians from outside the Empire, but the losses were never made up. Of course this scarcity of men made it hard to fill the ranks of the legions, and many barbarians were enlisted. The frontier armies were made up increasingly of brethren of the peoples against whom the frontiers were being guarded.

A more serious effect of the decline of agriculture and of population was the steady decline of business in the towns.

**Decline
of
business
in the
towns**

Hard times came and real prosperity did not return. When population was cut in half there was only half as much business to be done. The owner of a villa usually tried to make his villa as independent of the large cities as he could. Everything needed there was made on the great estate if possible. The disappearance of the free farmers cut off a class that had once bought liberally. As the buying power of the country people grew less, city people had less work to do and wages went down. This in turn helped the decline of city industries. The slave system had also helped to degrade free labor and so make the city people less prosperous. Slaves had been very cheap in the early Empire and were generally used for all unskilled and some skilled labor. Owners often hired out their slaves for low wages. Free laborers were thus kept down, for they had to work for equally low wages or leave. Business was also injured by the lack of gold and silver to coin into money. The old mines near the Mediterranean no longer furnished any precious metals, and payments to the Orient, losses, and wear steadily cut down the supply. The money of the later Empire had very little gold or silver in it, and yet even this money became very scarce. Even the army had to be paid in grain and oil. Soldiers were assigned lands to pay for their service and had to be allowed time to till them. This changed many of the soldiers into militiamen without adequate training.

**Unjust
and
oppressive
taxation**

Decay of the class of free farmers, the decline of population, the coming of hard times in business, all made it harder for the emperor to collect enough money in taxes to support the government properly. Expenses had long been heavy. Road building and upkeep cost much. The armies had to be paid and other armies of government officers as well. The very rich were able to get at least partial if not complete exemption from taxes. The well-to-do people of the cities were obliged to collect the heaviest taxes, and what they could not get from others they had to make up

from their own pockets. Thus many were made poor. Only a few very rich men could keep this up, for hard times had come to stay. The middle class therefore gradually disappeared and left a great gap between the very rich and the very poor.

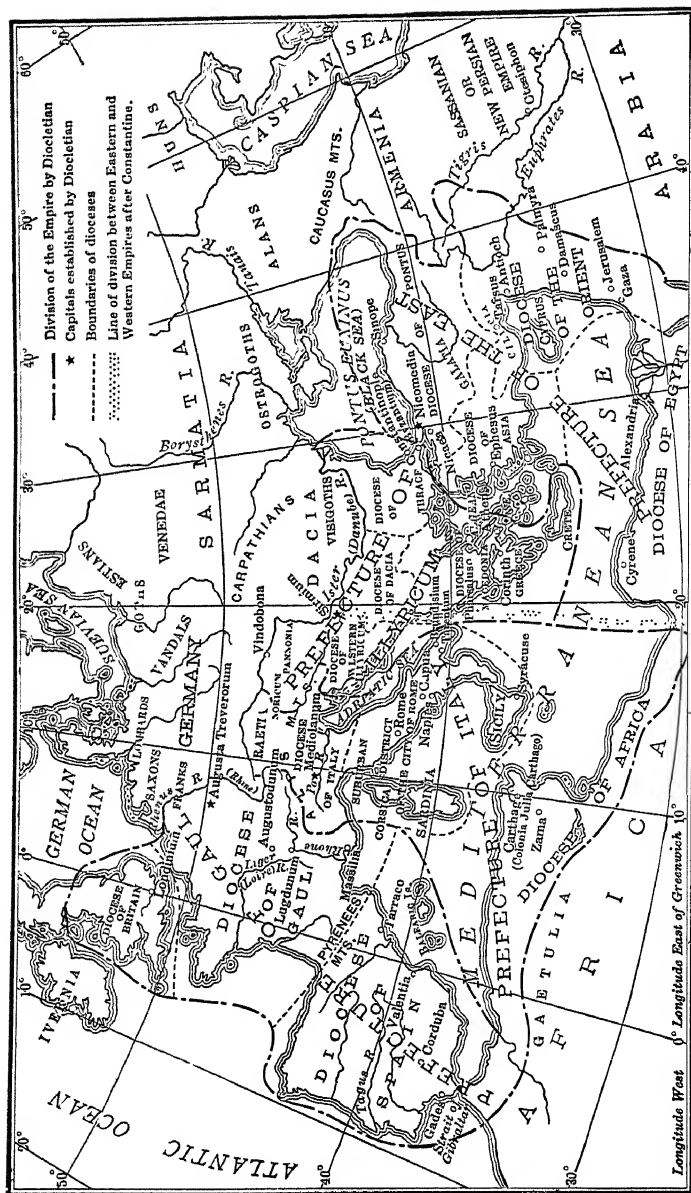
During the third and later centuries of the Empire intellectual and artistic progress gradually stopped. No important works of literature or art were produced, and the mass of the people slowly sank into ignorance.

**Cessation
of
intellectual
progress**

To restore good government and avoid civil wars for the imperial office, the great emperor Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) made some very important changes in the system of government. He took a partner for the work of governing, each taking charge of one half of the Empire. Each partner chose his successor and put him in charge of one half of his dominions. Thus the Empire was divided into four prefectures each under direct charge of its ruler, and when one died his successor would take office almost without dispute. The work of supervising the forty provincial governors had been a very difficult problem for one emperor. Now Diocletian divided the Empire into about one hundred and twenty smaller provinces. These comprised thirteen dioceses, each in charge of a vicar to watch the governors. The dioceses were grouped into four prefectures, each ruled by a prefect directly under one of the four rulers of the Empire.

**Governmental
reforms
of
Diocletian**

This system made less work for the men at the top but required many more government officers and cost much more. The governors and vicars were given no military power, for this was in the hands of special officers directly under the emperor. The officers and councilors of the emperor now became the heads of great departments with many subordinates under each. The emperor was openly a despot and adopted all the ceremony that kings used in the Orient. All who approached him had to bow down and worship. He made all new laws, and the Senate became only a city council. This carefully graded body of officers, each group



DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

responsible to some one above, who in turn obeyed orders from his superior, who in turn was under the emperor himself, resulted in a highly centralized government. This system of Diocletian's, improved somewhat by the later emperor Constantine, enabled the Roman Empire to endure far longer than it could otherwise have done, but the cost was enormous and so hastened the economic decline already explained.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

The age of decline was marked by one important advance, the introduction of Christianity. This most influential of the world's religions started soon after the beginning of the Roman Empire, for Tiberius, the second emperor, ruled when Jesus Christ was crucified at Jerusalem. The time was highly favorable for the spreading of a new faith. The people living about the Mediterranean were all under one government. Wars were few. Travel was easy. People were no longer divided by local loyalty. The Roman government was led by men who usually stood for justice to all, and Roman philosophers taught that all men were brothers.

Conditions
favoring
the
spread
of
Christianity

The Roman government tolerated all religions except those believed to be immoral or treasonable. People were losing their faith in the old Greek and Roman religion and were ready to accept a new religion that had power to win their hearts. Christianity was spread by men of wonderful personality, most important of whom were Peter and Paul. But most important of all factors was the leadership of Jesus. Others could not point to a leader with a life so beautiful, who had such sympathy for the poor and the afflicted. The simple teachings of Jesus appealed most strongly to the vast population of the Roman Empire. There was little joy for them in this world, but to those who lived as well as they could, according to the ideals of the Founder, the heavenly reward offered bright hope. For this they were prepared to endure fiery persecutions.

Why
the early
Christians
were
persecuted

Christianity taught belief in one God only. Its followers must not practice idolatry. In this it differed from all other religions except the Jewish. The Roman government regarded as disloyal all persons who would not take part in the official religion, the worship of the emperor. The Christians could hardly escape punishment for refusal, if this were brought to the attention of Roman officials. The early Christians were hated by the people in various parts of the Empire, because they kept to themselves a great deal, because they met and worshiped in secret,¹ because they often refused to serve in the army, and because the jealous priests of rival religions eagerly spread base rumors about them. In reality the Christians lived cleanly and did all they could to practice the high ideals of Jesus, but their secrecy and aloofness¹ made it easy to spread false stories about them. Often the worst persecutions were ordered by good emperors who were trying to restore the old Roman religion and old Roman customs. Nevertheless persecutions were only occasional and the new religion won many converts.

How
Christian-
ity won

The retirement of Diocletian was followed by civil war. Galerius, his successor in the East, was bitter against the Christians but found it wise to grant them toleration because of their great influence. Constantine, ruler of Britain and Gaul, determined to become emperor and sought the help of the Christians. On his victory, Christianity became the most favored religion, and hosts of people adopted it. Favors were showered upon its clergy, and by the end of the fourth century it had become the state religion of the Empire. Probably Constantine believed that, if all the people of the Empire became Christians, the new religion would help to hold the Empire together.

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

Constantine's reign (312-337 A.D.) is marked not only by the victory of Christianity but by the founding of a new

¹Their secrecy and aloofness were adopted mainly to avoid persecution.

capital city destined almost to outshine the glories of Rome. He chose the old Greek city of Byzantium on the strait forming the outlet of the Black Sea and renamed the city Constantinople (Constantine's city). This site was more convenient as a center from which the eastern as well as the western frontiers could be reached in case of outside attack.

Division
of the
Empire
into East
and West

Its location was far more favorable for industry and trade than that of Rome, and its eastern people were more accustomed to being ruled by a king. The change of the capital from Rome to Constantinople made the Empire more eastern than western. East and West had always remained much divided in language, and the eastern capital now tended to become Greek rather than Roman, though remaining Roman in name. Thus the Empire began to be divided into two parts in government as well as in language.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

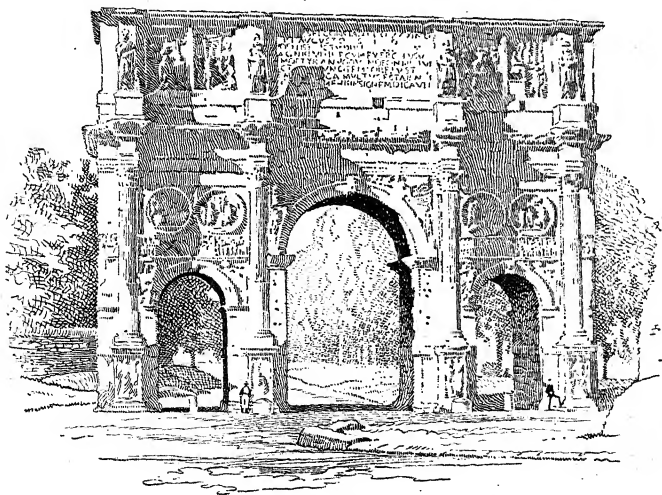
Rome now lost much of its importance, but it gained in one respect—it became the capital city of the Christian church in the West. As the new religion spread, naturally the first church in any province was started in the capital city of the province. Branches of this church were then started in each city. Later, from many of these branch churches other churches were started. Each naturally looked to its mother church for help. Each city church was in charge of a bishop (or supervisor) who looked after the priests, each of whom managed one of the lesser churches. The bishop of the capital city naturally had authority over the other bishops and was called archbishop. The mother church in all the West was that at Rome, and is believed to have been founded by St. Peter. Before Christ's departure from the earth, He had designated St. Peter as chief of His apostles and head of His church. Hence the successors of St. Peter, first archbishop of Rome, gained extraordinary prestige and early received the title of "papa," or pope, a

Organi-
zation
of the
Christian
church in
the West



THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE

mark of deep respect. Moreover, it was easy for all to acknowledge the ruler of the church at Rome as supreme over all the churches in the West, because Rome had so long been the capital of the whole Empire. The roads led to Rome, people were accustomed to taking orders from Rome, and



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America
TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME

the archbishop of Rome led in sending out missionaries to win to Christianity not only Roman citizens but also the hosts of Germans who later invaded and overwhelmed the western half of the Empire.

These missionaries to the Germans rendered wonderful service, for they helped greatly to accustom the Germans to Roman civilization and to induce them to settle down and adopt it. If this had not been done beforehand, the damage done by the invaders would have been vastly greater. Of course some German customs were adopted by Christianity just as some from pagan Rome had been. One of these customs was the observance of the great annual festival,

Service
of Chris-
tianity to
world
civilization

Christmas. Nevertheless Christianity had tremendous influence for good, helping to make slavery less harsh, providing help for the poor and afflicted, and raising the ideals of the people. The clergy kept up the use of Latin in the church services, helped to preserve the Greek and Roman education and literature for later ages, and did wonderful service in keeping Christian ideals alive in a long period of violence and wars. Christianity was the greatest single influence for good in European history. It became a world religion and must be listed as one of the most important contributions of Rome to world civilization.

THE BARBARIANS

Customs
of the
Germans

Outside the bounds of the Roman Empire lived many uncivilized peoples. Most important were the Germans. They were strong but indolent. They loved fighting and gambling, but they also loved freedom and had high standards of morality. They had a rude sort of self-government in their clans and tribes. Above all, they could learn quickly from peoples more civilized. They lived out of doors in the rough, wooded country north and east of the Roman frontiers, which is included in modern Germany, Scandinavia, and parts of Austria and western Russia. Ever since the first century before Christ, German tribes had been trying to force their way westward and southward to win new homes for themselves. The Romans could not conquer them. All the later emperors had done was to put soldiers along the frontiers and keep them out of the Empire.

Rome's
contribu-
tions to
later
ages

These barbarians probably could never have overrun the Roman Empire had it remained strong. Had they not broken through and poured over the West, the Empire might have kept on quietly decaying there for many centuries longer. Rome had already made her contributions to the world. She passed on to people of later ages (1) a wonderful civilization, (2) the Latin language, on which many languages of today are based, (3) a great literature, (4) a great ideal of

good imperial government and unity and a wonderful system of law, and (5) the Christian religion. But Rome had little more to give—progress there had ceased. The Germanic peoples became the heirs of Graeco-Roman civilization, absorbing it and passing it on to us moderns. But it took many centuries for them to learn all that the ancients had to teach.

This long period is called the Middle Ages, or the medieval period, because it lies between the ancient civilization and modern civilization. It used to be thought that there was little progress during that period covering over a thousand years of Western European history. As we study this period, however, we shall learn how erroneous that view is.

Middle
Ages

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Compare and contrast the governmental policies of Augustus Caesar with those of Julius Caesar. Which were the better? Why? (2) Why was the Empire better for the people than the republic? (3) Why did Augustus cease extending the frontiers? Was he wise? Why? (4) How did Augustus try to restore the old Roman virtues? Did he succeed? Why? (5) Give an account of the great works of literature written in the time of Augustus. (6) List the five most important emperors from Tiberius to Commodus in order of the value of their services to the Roman Empire. State your reasons for each. (7) Describe the local government of the first two centuries of the Empire. (8) Describe the imperial military system. (9) Why was business prosperous during the first two centuries of the Empire? (10) Of what advantage was the Roman law to the people of the Empire? (11) How and why did Rome succeed so well in Romanizing its subjects? (12) How did Roman philosophers help to raise moral standards at Rome? (13) Explain the changes in agriculture that took place 1-300 A.D. and the reasons for them. How did these changes help cause the decline of the Roman Empire? (14) Explain the causes leading to the decline of population and its effects. (15) Explain why business prosperity declined in the later Empire and the effects of this decline. (16) Describe the governmental reforms of

Diocletian, explaining their objects and effects. (17) How did the Roman Empire help the spread of Christianity? How and why did it delay it? (18) Explain how and why the church modeled its system of administration on that of the Roman Empire. (19) Give an account of the favorable influence of Christianity on ancient and medieval civilization.

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THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

MIGRATIONS OF THE GERMANS

As the Roman Empire weakened and more Germans filtered through its frontiers, their brethren grew bolder in their attacks. At last one tribe, the Visigoths, was given permission to cross the Danube frontiers and settle in the Empire. Later these Visigoths revolted against the Roman officials, and at the battle of Adrianople (378 A.D.) they defeated the emperor Valens and a strong imperial army. The Germans had broken the frontiers and could not now be driven out.

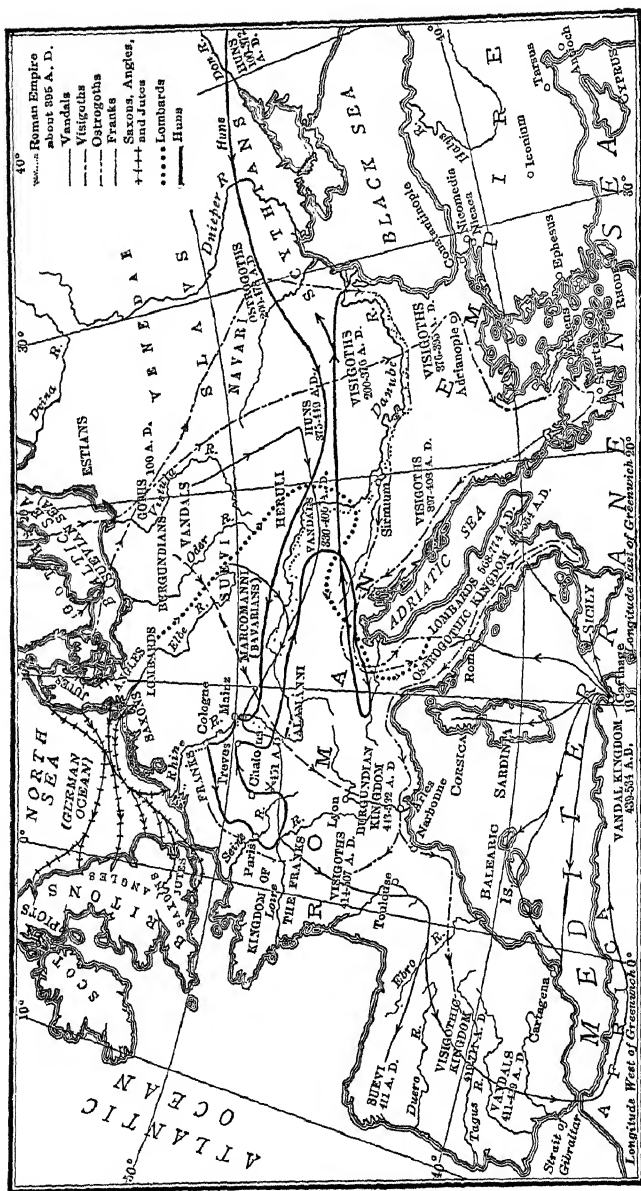
**Germans
break
the
frontiers**

As the invaders moved on with their wives and children and all they owned, their small tribes combined more and more into larger ones like nations. The story of their migrations can merely be outlined here. After their victory at Adrianople the Visigoths had received lands within the Empire and were paid to defend the frontier. But they soon became dissatisfied. Under an able leader, Alaric, they invaded Italy and pushed on to Rome. The city was first ransomed, then besieged again, captured, and sacked. Then the Visigoths marched northward out of Italy to settle in southern Gaul and Spain.

**The
Visigoths**

To drive the Visigoths out of Italy, the Roman legions were taken from most of the Rhine frontier. Long before this many Germans had been settling on the vacant lands within the Empire. Now whole tribes broke through. Some wandered far, others settled down quickly. The Vandals passed through Gaul and Spain, crossed into North Africa, and founded a kingdom there. The Burgundians located in what is now southeastern France, while the Franks settled in the northern part of Gaul. The Angles and part

**Other
tribes**



THE INVASIONS AND MIGRATIONS OF THE BARBARIANS AND THEIR KINGDOMS AND SETTLEMENTS WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

of the Saxons went to Britain. Other tribes stayed in Germany or migrated later.

Throughout the western half of the Empire the conquering Germans helped themselves to a share of the lands and slowly settled down to a more regular life. Soon they began to adopt part of the language and some of the customs of the conquered people. After a time, as the differences between the Germans and the people of the conquered regions slowly disappeared, they began to intermarry.

**Mingling
of
Germans
and
Romans**

In the meantime the emperors continued to rule Italy and as much of Western Europe as possible. But they grew weaker and had to depend more and more on German officers and German soldiers. The legions became German, no longer Roman except in name. The last of the puppet emperors was deposed by his German general in 476 A.D.¹ Thus ended the Roman Empire in the West. The eastern half of the old Empire, with its capital at Constantinople, lasted nearly a thousand years longer.

**Fall
of the
Roman
Empire in
the West**

LATER INVADERS FROM THE EAST— THE SLAVS AND THE MONGOLS

When the Germanic peoples had migrated westward and overwhelmed the old Roman Empire, they were followed by other tribes from the East, most of them of Slavic race. They had settled down to live in Central Europe but, as their population grew, they made very troublesome attacks on the more civilized Germans. Not only did they press hard on the Germans, but they pushed southward and occupied most of the Balkan Peninsula. Thus not only the vast area of Russia but nearly all east-central and south-eastern Europe was peopled by Slavs.

**Slavic
invaders**

Still more terrifying were the various invaders of the Mongolian or yellow race. Their early home was on the great

**Mongolian
invaders**

¹Other Germanic tribes later invaded Italy. Chief of these was the Ostrogoths, whose king, Theodoric, ruled Italy after 493 A. D. Later the Lombards came and occupied the Po Valley.

plateau of Central Asia. They were hard-riding and hard-fighting nomads, living from their flocks and herds and migrating whenever population increased too rapidly or food failed. To keep them from moving eastward into China, the Chinese had built the Great Wall, 1,500 miles long.

The Huns

The Huns under Attila who so terrified Western Europeans in the fifth century were Mongolian. After their defeat at



After a painting by Checa

THE COMING OF THE HUNS

the battle of Chalons (451 A.D.) they returned eastward. Related to them were the Bulgarians, who invaded the Balkans in the seventh century and settled in what is now called Bulgaria. There, almost surrounded by Slavs, they gradually adopted Slavic speech and habits and became members of the Eastern or Greek branch of the Christian church. Later Asiatic invaders were the Magyars, who reached Central Europe a little before 900 A.D. They raided and terrorized eastern Germany and even northern Italy, but were at last defeated by Otto the Great, king of the Germans (955 A.D.). Then they settled down in the region now known as Hungary and adopted Christianity and European civilization.

The Bulgarians

The Magyars

The Tatars

The greatest of all Asiatic conquerors were the Mongols (or Tatars) who in the thirteenth century built a vast

empire under the leadership of Genghiz Khan. At one time it included almost all the mainland of Asia except northern Siberia, India, and Arabia, and a large part of European Russia as well. In the next century the great Tatar empire broke up into a number of independent kingdoms. The Tatar conquest of Russia cut the Russians off from contact with European civilization and delayed Russian progress.

The Mongol conquests drove another group, called Turks, from Central Asia to Asia Minor. There they adopted the Moslem religion. From their chief, Othman, they were called the Ottoman Turks. In the later fourteenth century they took several European provinces from the Eastern emperors and at last (1453 A.D.) seized Constantinople. In the next two centuries the Ottoman Turks many times threatened to conquer Central Europe, but were always beaten back from Vienna. During the past two centuries Turkish territory in Europe has gradually decreased, until now the Turks maintain only a foothold in Europe at Constantinople (1927).

**The
Ottoman
Turks**

CONQUESTS OF THE FRANKS

Now we must follow the history of the Franks, the most important of all the invading German tribes. The Franks lived in the lower Rhine Valley, gradually moving across the river into Gaul. At intervals other clans came over to join their friends. This connection with the savage kinsfolk in Germany kept the Franks from losing their fighting spirit.

**Migration
into Gaul**

Under their king, Clovis, part of the Franks began to conquer all their neighbors. When Clovis died (511 A.D.), they held nearly all Gaul. But later kings could not hold all this region and, after many civil wars, three important divisions began to be marked off. In each of these regions the great nobles who owned the land chose a mayor of the palace. Gradually this officer took the royal power, leading

**Conquest
of King
Clovis**

the soldiers and governing the people. He even handed down his office to his son. In 687 A.D., Pepin, a very able mayor of Austrasia (in the northeast), won a great victory over the mayor of the northwest and united all the north under him as mayor. This victory was the first step in the rise of the Carolingian family, so called from its greatest king, Charlemagne.

**Charles
Martel
and the
battle
of Tours
(732 A.D.)**

Pepin's son, Charles, united all the Frankish realm under him. He was just in time, for a mighty wave of conquering Mohammedans had overrun Spain and crossed the Pyrenees. The invaders threatened to spread over all Western Europe. Christianity would then be driven out. The great mayor, Charles, gathered all his fighting men and near Tours met the Mohammedan hosts. All day their fierce horsemen beat against the Frankish line but could not break through.



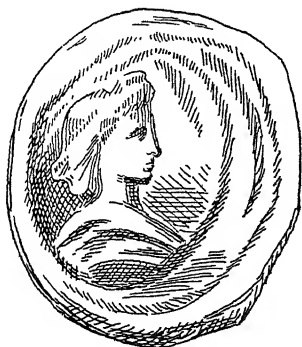
MOHAMMEDANS AT TOURS

Charles led his men in person and dealt such mighty blows against the foe that he was ever after called "Martel" (the Hammer). Next day the Franks awaited another attack. None came. The Mohammedans had fled and Western Europe was saved.¹

¹ For the rise of Mohammedanism see pp. 311-313.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE FRANKISH KINGS AND THE CHURCH

Soon after Charles Martel died, his son Pepin II became **Pepin II** mayor with actual power of king. He was very busy keeping order among his unruly people, suppressing revolts, and



SEAL OF PEPIN II



After Parmentier
COIN OF PEPIN

making new conquests. He tried hard to take powers of government away from the landed nobles and make his own absolute. His fame as a warrior spread even to Rome. At last (752 A.D.) he decided to have the title of king as well as the power. To avoid any trouble he sent a messenger to the pope at Rome asking if the one who had the power ought not to have the name of king. The pope had been greatly troubled by the attacks of the Lombards, a Germanic tribe of northern Italy. To win Pepin's help he gave a favorable answer. Thus began the alliance between the Franks and the popes which was to have important effects on the history of both.

We have already seen how the Christian church modeled its system of government on that of the Roman Empire, and how natural it was for the bishop of Rome to gain the leadership of the churches in the West. During the Germanic invasions people looked to him to direct the defense. More

**Rise of
papal
power**

than once his influence stayed the hands of the marauding Germans. The missionaries who went out from Rome even into the wilds of Britain and Germany had taught their numerous converts to obey the bishop of Rome as the ruler of the whole church. In fact the bishop of Rome governed the city and the region near by. The capital of the Empire had been moved to Constantinople and the emperor was far away. The Roman church also had many unusually able bishops, especially Gregory the Great and Leo the Great, who planned to become head of a single world church. They set to work to make all the bishops obey them. They taught that Christ gave Peter authority over all the others. Peter, they said, was the first bishop of Rome, and so later bishops of Rome had authority over all the churches. This Petrine theory convinced many people.

**Alliance
with the
Frankish
kings**

From 600 A.D. to 800 A.D. the Roman bishops already had great influence. But they needed armed forces to protect them from the Lombard kings who were trying to rule all Italy. The alliance of the pope with the Frankish kings proved of much value. Pepin himself came twice to Italy, defeated the Lombards, and established the pope as ruler of lands stretching across the Italian peninsula both north and south of Rome.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

- (1) What desirable traits did the Germanic invaders have?
- (2) Name the important German tribes that invaded the Empire and locate the final settling place of each.
- (3) Why has the year 476 A.D. been regarded as an important date? What other date would you suggest as a better one to mark the end of the Empire? Why?
- (4) Why is the history of the Franks more important than that of the Ostrogoths? the Vandals? the Visigoths? How were their migrations different from the others? Effects?
- (5) Make a list of the steps by which the Carolingian rulers of the Franks rose to power. Explain clearly how each one helped.
- (6) How did the Roman system of government influence the organization of the church?
- (7) Make a list of the causes and events that helped the

bishops of Rome to win more power than the bishops of any other city. (8) What did the pope gain by his alliance with the Frankish kings? What did the kings gain?

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THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDALISM

EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

FOUR PHASES OF CHARLEMAGNE'S REIGN

The able King Pepin was followed by his son, Karl, known in history as Charlemagne, or Charles the Great. He made a wonderful impression on people who lived at that time, and centuries later men were thrilled by stories of his prowess and his wars. His secretary, Einhard, tells us that he was a very tall, very strong, and dignified man. He was a hard worker and temperate in the use of food and drink. He knew many languages but never learned to write well, for the fingers that had grasped the sword from boyhood could not well be trained to use the pen skillfully in later years.

There are four phases of Charlemagne's reign: (1) his wars and conquests, (2) his coronation as emperor, (3) his system of government, and (4) his encouragement of education.

His great aims in war seem to have been to rule all the German nations within or next to his boundaries and make them Christian. These aims involved him in wars most of the time. The conquest of the savage Saxons took over thirty years but at last they yielded and were forced to accept Christianity as well as to obey Charlemagne.¹ In sixty years their grandsons were as civilized as the Franks. A century later a Saxon prince wore the imperial crown.

¹Compare and contrast the arguments used to justify Charlemagne's conquest of Saxony with those advanced to justify American intervention in Mexico.

By keeping so many Germans under one government, Charlemagne did much good. He kept his subjects from fighting each other, protected their lives and property, and kept out barbarian invaders. Had later kings done as well, the Germans might have been civilized far earlier. This would have shortened the Middle Ages.¹

Importance
of Charle-
magne's
wars

Charlemagne's subjects were restless and quick to rebel. Many of them did not regard him as their king, but simply as the king of the conquering Franks. Charles felt that he could rule them better if he had a higher title, to include all the various nations and tribes under his sway. Many people still looked back to the days when the whole civilized world was ruled by one Roman emperor. Then life and property were safe and wars were few. Charlemagne wanted

Imperial
coronation
of Charle-
magne



SEAL OF CHARLEMAGNE



After Parmentier

COIN OF CHARLEMAGNE

to use this tradition of Roman imperial unity to unite all his subjects into one nation. Naturally he thought of becoming emperor himself.

In December, 800 A.D., he went to Rome at the call of Pope Leo, who had been driven out by his enemies. Charles restored him by force. At the grand Christmas service in St. Peter's Cathedral, the pope suddenly placed on Charles's

¹The middle age between the classical age and the modern age, was really the period during which the Germanic peoples were being civilized.

head "an exceedingly precious crown." Then the great crowd present shouted, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the mighty Emperor, the Peace-bringer, crowned by God!" Thus Charles, king of the Franks, became successor to the ancient Roman emperors.

It is said that the emperor was surprised and not wholly pleased. Probably he preferred not to owe his crown to the pope, for he wished to rule both church and state, superior to the pope. Actually the pope depended on his armed backing. But later popes claimed supremacy over the emperor and made good their claim.

Government of the empire

The government of the empire centered in Charlemagne. He was kept constantly on the move. The roads were so bad that it was very difficult to haul food from different parts of the empire to any one capital. Hence Charlemagne and his court found it cheaper to go where the food was; that is, to move about from one part of the empire to another and use the supplies saved at each farm for their coming.

The government was carried on mainly by the emperor and his officers. The empire was divided into districts called counties, and over each the emperor put a count to be at the same time ruler, general, and judge. The count's task was difficult. The partly civilized Germans were not yet accustomed to a government that did not allow them to rob, to fight, or to take revenge, and one that forced them to pay taxes like the conquered Romans. But they did not want to fight in the emperor's army. They did not want to leave their lands to fight in distant regions like Saxony, which promised few spoils. They felt no national patriotism.

Hence the emperor chose as count some great landholder of the region who could help crush rebellions, keep order, and provide plenty of fighting men for the emperor's service. But such a man was likely to misuse his power and become absolute ruler of his district. Moreover, since money was scarce, the count was given a grant of land instead of a salary. The count's son usually received this land and the office

EUROPE IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE

of count when his father died. But he would probably be less loyal than his father.

Charles did his best to check disloyalty by sending out each year special officers to watch the counts. These were



From *The Story of Old Europe and Young America*
CHARLEMAGNE ON THE MARCH

usually sent in pairs, a clergyman and a layman. Each year they visited a different region, looked into the work of the counts and bishops, and reported back to Charles. This made the counts afraid to oppress the people as some of them had been doing.

Charlemagne also took great interest in education. Earlier Frankish kings cared little for it, because an educated man was then considered a weakling. Often even the clergy were not able to read their prayer books. But no one could call Charlemagne a weakling, and he used his great influence to show his people the value of education, to make them respect learning. He set up a palace school

Culture of
the
Carolingian
Age

where bright youths could get the best teaching to be had, and induced Alcuin, a learned Englishman, to come over from England and take charge of it. The clergy were



From an old print

CHARLEMAGNE AT THE SCHOOL OF THE PALACE

required to have an education and to bring together the children of the freemen and serfs in their neighborhood and teach them to read and write. Charlemagne insisted that books be more accurately copied. This was very important, because all had to be written by hand and it was easy to make mistakes and hard to correct them. Charlemagne's liberality drew to his palace school the ablest literary men of the day, and they did some original writing.¹ During the

¹The best historical work of the period is the *Life of Charlemagne* by Einhard, his secretary.

gradual break-up of the empire, some, but not all, of this gain in culture was lost.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What were the objects of Charlemagne in his wars? Give the facts to prove your statements. How were his policies like and unlike those of the ancient Roman emperors? (2) What did Charlemagne gain by being crowned emperor? What did he lose? Why did the pope crown him? (3) To what extent did Charlemagne's people govern themselves? (4) What difficulties did Charlemagne have to deal with in keeping order and making himself obeyed throughout his dominions? How did he deal with these difficulties? (5) What did Charlemagne do to promote learning?

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EUROPE IN THE FEUDAL AGE

REASONS FOR THE RISE OF FEUDALISM

Breaking
of Charle-
magne's
empire

Charlemagne's great empire did not last long. Only a few years after his death (814 A.D.) his three grandsons were fighting with one another and with their father over their shares. In 843 A.D. they made a treaty at Verdun. Lothar was emperor and held Italy and a strip of land running from northwestern Italy to the North Sea.¹ Charles received all the land west of this middle strip, and Louis all that lay east of it.

This division is important because it marks off the two realms that were to be France and Germany. The subjects of Louis were all Germans, those of Charles were mostly of Romanized Gallic descent. Those of Lothar's middle strip were of mixed race and did not all speak the same language. This middle strip, which had no natural river or mountain boundaries, was doomed to be fought over and divided among the great nations as they grew.

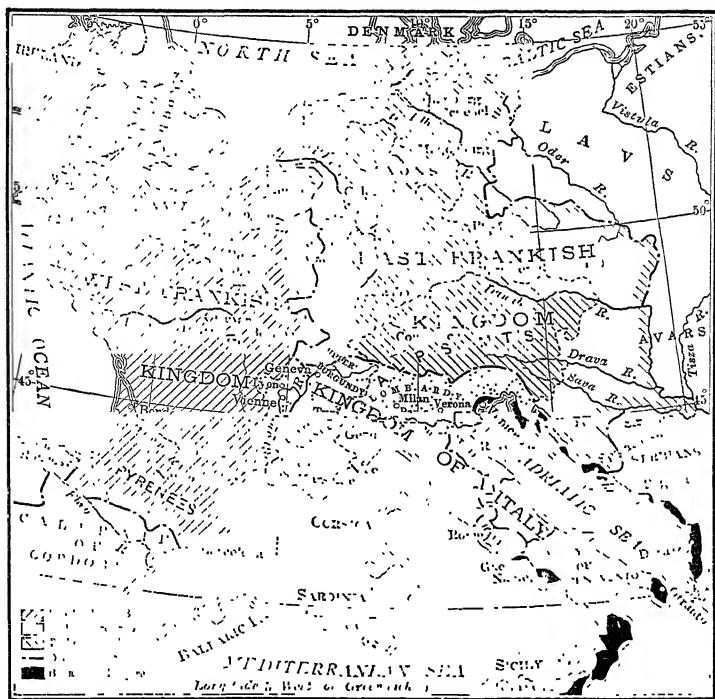
The peace made at Verdun was of short duration. Soon Lothar divided his lands among his three sons. They quarreled nearly all the time and before 900 A.D. Charlemagne's great empire was broken up.

Reasons
for the
downfall

For this, Louis the Pious, the son of Charlemagne, was partly to blame. He was usually the tool of either his wife, the clergy, or his sons. They led him to do many unwise things, but even a very strong king would have had trouble. Charlemagne himself could hardly control his counts and nobles.² The division of lands among the king's sons was an old German custom which led to many civil wars. The people in different parts of the land belonged to different tribes, and had different habits and different languages. They had little loyalty for the king and much for their own leaders whom they knew well. Now money

¹From Lothar's name, part of this region came to be known as Lotharingia or Lorraine.

²See pp. 234-235.

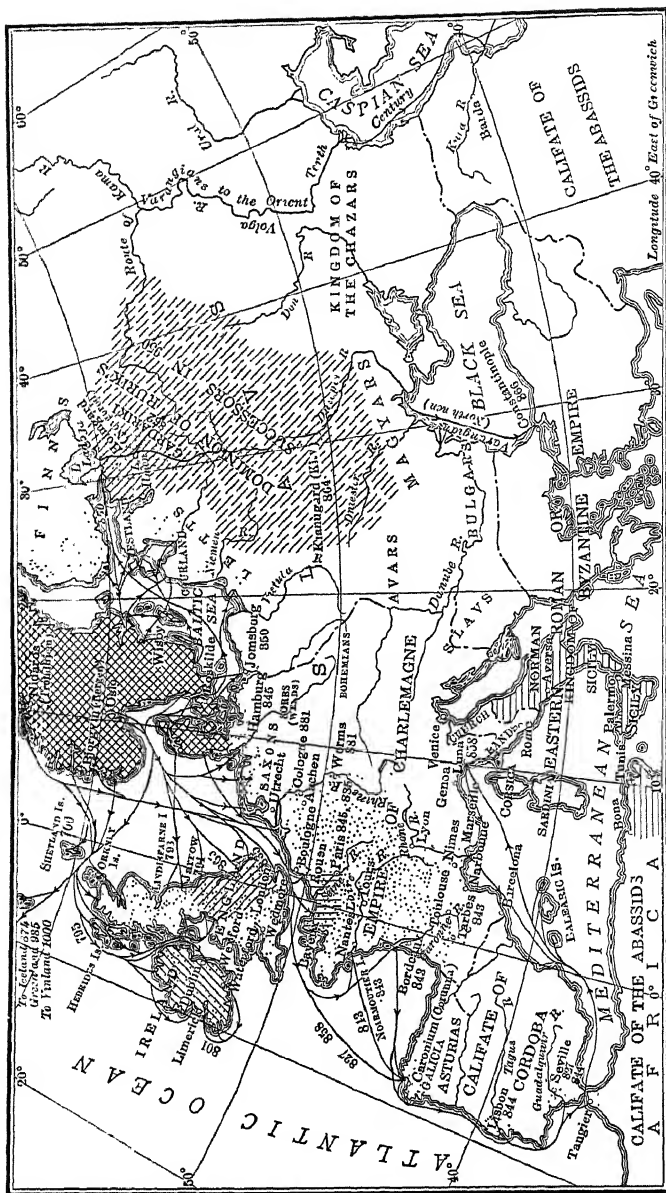


DIVISION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE IN 843 A.D. AND 870 A.D.

was more scarce, the roads were worse, the king's armies smaller, and the disloyal counts bolder and more numerous. When the emperor and his officers visited outlying parts of the empire, they often found that the nobles had built strong forts and castles and behind their walls could defy the royal officers.

Many foreign tribes were breaking through into the empire: Saracens on the Mediterranean coasts, Slavs and Magyars on the east, and the fierce Northmen on the north and northwest. Western Europe seemed about to be overwhelmed by this new wave of barbarians. The Magyars who came in the ninth century were long a terror to the

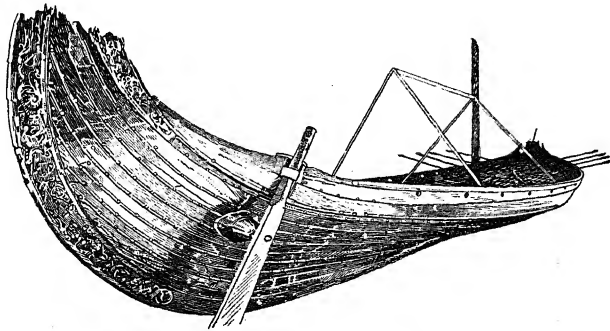
Invasions of the Northmen and other barbarians



Copyright by Isaac McNally & Company
 The Kingdom under
 Use Northmen, 865

people of Central Europe, for they came quickly on horse-back, killed, burned, and carried off vast plunder.¹

The Northmen were even worse. Christianity had not yet reached them and they were the most savage of all the Germanic invaders. They came from Scandinavia in long,



From the original in the Museum at Oslo, Norway
A VIKING SHIP

open boats, some as large as 79 feet by 16 feet, propelled mainly by oars, with a single sail to help. In these they sailed far up the rivers. They feared no danger on the sea. On land only very large forces of the slow-moving Frankish soldiers could stop them. Their attacks began before Charlemagne's death and no part of his empire was safe from them. At first they were savage plunderers who made off with the loot of villages, churches, and monasteries, leaving death and burning ruins behind them. Later they seized lands and settled down in eastern Britain, Ireland, northern France, and elsewhere.

The kings of the ninth century made only feeble efforts to drive out the invaders and the people were left to the tender mercies of Saracens, Magyars, and Northmen. Since the common people received no protection from the kings,

**Effects
of the
invasions**

¹They were much like the savage barbarians, called Huns, who invaded Western Europe in the fifth century. Their awful cruelty and the willful destruction in which they took delight made these Huns notorious.

they looked for help to the strong men of the neighborhood, good fighting men who had bands of armed followers and fortified castles. There was little trade; towns were very



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America
NORTHMEN ATTACKING A TOWN

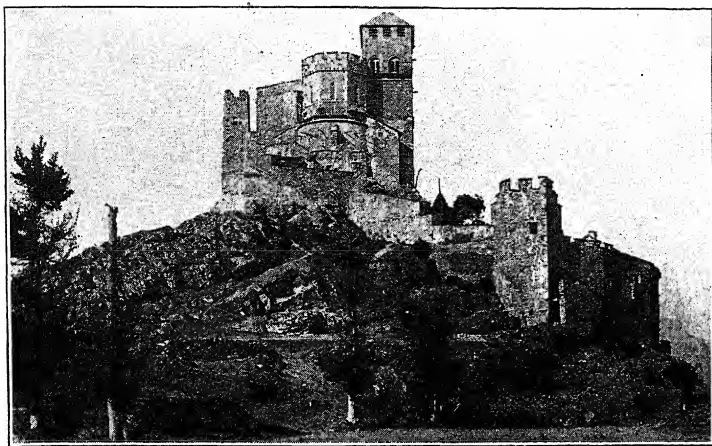
few and very small, and there was no way to get a living except by tilling the soil. People had to have land and protection. Hence anyone who had considerable land and a fort or castle, and could fight and gather other fighting men about him as a leader, could now become lord over the lesser folk of his neighborhood. Many of these leaders had once been officers of the king, while others had been bandits. But each now protected the people of his locality. With his armed followers he was ready to rush out of the castle on horseback and fight the swift-coming invaders. In return, the common people had to work for the fighting

nobles. Sometimes these nobles were greedy and cruel, but their rule was better than no government at all.

CHARACTER OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

This feudal system built up by the nobles was based on force. People who lived in the feudal age were divided into two classes: the nobles, who made fighting their business and held their lands in return for military service; and the common people, who had to work and pay taxes to support the soldier class in idleness. Only a man who owned much land could afford to own a castle and to train and arm himself to fight on horseback. Horses, steel armor, and weapons cost so much that the common people could not

Character
of
feudalism



THE CASTLE OF VALERIA

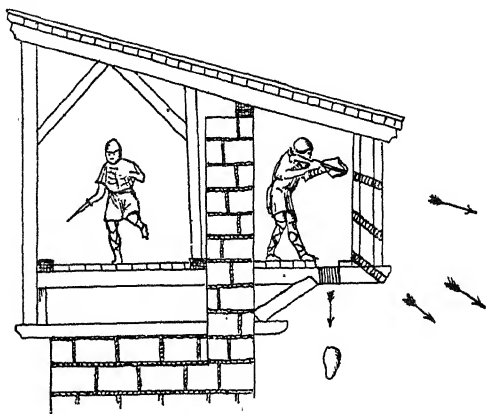
This medieval fortress stands on a hillock in the valley of the Rhone, Switzerland. Built in the shadow of its protecting walls is the town of Sion

afford them. The fortified castle and the armored knight on horseback were the great features of feudal warfare.

Every steep hill commanding a fertile valley, mountain pass, or river crossing had its fort. Up to about 1000 A.D. these forts were usually made of rough timber, like the

Castles

blockhouses of American frontier times, and surrounded by stockades of great logs. Then the richer nobles built towers of huge stones which could resist fire. Later, castles were built larger and larger, until great stone walls studded with towers often inclosed a considerable piece of land.



After Viollet-le-Duc

GALLERIES OF WOOD ON THE CASTLE WALLS

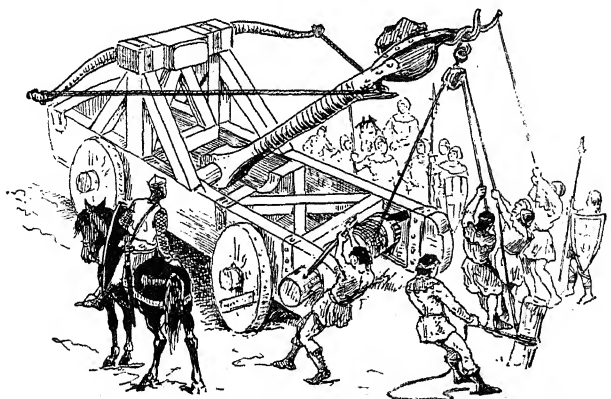
From these structures, stones or boiling pitch could be dropped on attackers and arrows could be shot at any angle. Inside was a gallery for the swift transference of defenders to the point of attack

A friendly visitor entered the castle over a heavy draw-bridge which spanned a great ditch, called the moat. This bridge could be pulled up in case of attack, and was usually commanded by towers. From narrow slits in the walls, archers could send their arrows against an enemy. High up on the towers and on top of the walls, shelters projected from which boiling pitch or great stones could be dropped on the heads of an attacking force. If the enemy should succeed in crossing the moat, he would find further progress blocked by a heavy iron-studded gate, called a portcullis, which could be raised or lowered only from within.

Inside the outer wall were open spaces and many buildings, so that a large castle could give refuge to hundreds

of families with their cattle and food as well as house a large force of soldiers. Provision was made for the storage of food and water, so that besiegers could not easily starve out the garrison. Within the inclosing walls was also a strong tower called the "donjon." This was the last place of refuge when the rest of the castle was taken. It was several stories high, and its walls were often twenty feet thick. Within these walls was sometimes a secret winding stairway which led by an underground passage to the open country, thus providing means of escape if needed. The lowest story of the donjon had no door or window and here were dark cells in which important prisoners were kept. The lord and his family sometimes lived in the donjon, sometimes in a more comfortable building inside the castle walls.

A strong, well-garrisoned castle was very hard to take by storm. Machines were prepared for use in sieges. Some



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America
A BALLISTA

This machine hurled great stones or red-hot masses of iron

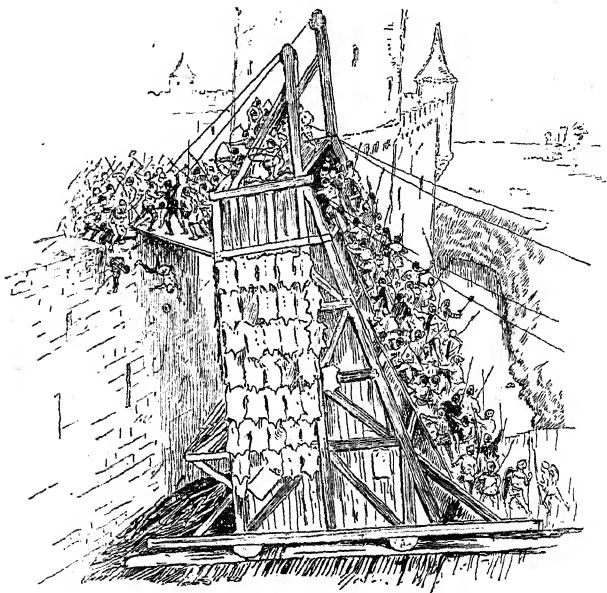
threw large stones and others shot great arrows or bolts at the soldiers on the walls of a besieged castle. Great battering rams¹ were used in trying to break the castle wall,

¹These machines were like those used in the time of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. See p. 112.

and high movable towers were pushed up so close that an attacking force might cross over to the top of the wall and perhaps take the castle by storm. But in spite of these machines, it was hard to take a stone castle until gunpowder came into use. The defenders had the advantage unless starved out. Hence the nobles could defy anyone and became extremely independent.

Feudal
knights

Much of the fighting in the feudal age was done on horseback. The Frankish foot soldiers could not overtake and defeat the swift-moving Saracens, Magyars, or Northmen.¹



A MOVABLE SIEGE TOWER

Hence horsemen had to be used against them and gradually these took the place of foot soldiers. No ordinary freeman could now be a good soldier once in a while and a farmer

¹See p. 241.

the rest of the time. Feudal knights were professional soldiers, specializing in military training.

The Norman nobles of the eleventh century wore leather coats without sleeves, strengthened by small iron rings or scales fastened on the outside, leather thigh protectors



AN ENGLISH KNIGHT
OF THE 13TH CENTURY



A KNIGHT OF THE
14TH CENTURY



A GERMAN KNIGHT
OF THE 12TH CENTURY

of the same sort, and iron caps. Later, chain mail was introduced from Asia. This completely inclosed the body of the warrior with interlocked steel rings set up edgewise. A steel headpiece with a movable opening in front inclosed his head. Still later (after 1300 A.D.) plates of steel replaced the chain mail. Such a suit of armor weighed over fifty pounds. With the great shield and heavy sword added, the knight was so burdened that he could hardly walk. A very strong horse was needed to carry him, and the animal was often protected likewise with steel plate armor.

In battle, opposing knights usually charged one another at full speed. Each carried a long lance, or spear, tipped with sharp steel, which he aimed at his enemy to unhorse him. Then for hand-to-hand fighting, the knight carried a long sword, and for further protection he bore on one arm a large shield. Thus equipped, a band of a dozen knights

could usually ride down a hundred or more peasants. Pitched battles in the feudal age were decided rather by the fighting ability of the individual knights than by organization and discipline. If two bands were at all unequally matched, the weaker usually retired to some strong castle. Hence most campaigns were plundering expeditions and sieges, with an occasional duel and very seldom a real battle.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

Feudalism had three main features:

1. Most nobles were vassals of some other noble or of a king. The vassal swore to be loyal and true to his lord and to follow him in war.
2. In return, the vassal had the use of some of his lord's land. Such a piece of land was called a fief.¹
3. Each noble usually governed those of lower rank living on his lands or holding lands of him.² Each of these features grew out of earlier customs.

A fief might vary in size from one large enough to support hundreds of nobles to another barely large enough for one nobleman. Very large fiefs often were divided up and part of the land given out to other nobles. The king was supposed to be the chief noble, the landlord over all, with a number of great nobles under him, and a much larger number of lesser nobles who were the vassals of the great ones. Actually the feudal system was not so simple as this. Lesser nobles often held land directly of the king, and great lords sometimes held land as vassals of nobles of much lower rank than their own. Even the king sometimes held part of his lands as vassal of a noble, who in turn was vassal of the king.³ Almost every feudal noble was both a lord

¹A fief might be any kind of valuable property such as an annual payment of money, but in the early feudal age it was almost always land.

²This meant to hold courts of law, try and punish criminals, make war, collect taxes, and coin money. Not all lords did all these things, but the greater ones often did.

³This was not true in England, where the king was the supreme landlord.

and a vassal. Vassalage was not dishonorable. Socially a lord and his vassals were quite equal, for a vassal was always a noble. The differences in rank of the nobles, shown by such titles as count, viscount, marquis, and lord, had little meaning until later times. A count might be no stronger than a simple lord, or he might be as powerful as many a king.¹ A great lord's real power usually depended on the number of knights who held their fiefs directly of him and could be counted on to answer his call and follow him in war. Vassals often would refuse at a critical moment, if they dared, and thus get independence. Hence, able nobles gave out as little land as possible and then only in small fiefs. Then their vassals would not have wealth or strength enough alone to risk rebellion.²

On receiving a fief, it was the custom for the vassal to kneel and place his hands together between those of the lord and declare himself to be the lord's man for that fief. Then the lord gave him the kiss of peace. This ceremony was called homage and was followed by the oath of fealty or loyalty to the lord. Then the lord gave his vassal a fief, usually handing him a stick of wood or a lump of earth to represent the land, unless he could in person give him possession of the land. This ceremony was called investiture.

**Feudal
ceremonies**

In return for the fief the vassal owed his lord service of three kinds: military service, personal attendance, and sometimes food or money payments.

He was obliged to come and fight for the lord when called and bring with him a certain number of followers armed and equipped as knights. This was usually for only forty

**Military
service**

¹ In the thirteenth century the count of Champagne owned twenty-six castles scattered over a large area in France. Each of these was the chief stronghold of a separate fief. On account of these fiefs, the count was the vassal of eight different lords, including the king of France. Under the count were about two thousand vassals who likewise might and did hold other lands of some other lords.

² Not until about 1200 A.D. did nobility become hereditary. Before that a good soldier might be rewarded by a fief and thus become noble. After that, all the sons of a French noble were regarded as nobles, though fiefs were not divided among the sons. In England, only the oldest son of a noble inherited the fief and was regarded as a noble.

days a year at the vassal's expense. The vassal also must admit his lord to his castle and help guard that of his lord.

The vassal was expected to appear at his lord's court (1) to give his advice on certain occasions and (2) to help



HOMAGE AND THE OATH OF FEALTY

try any accused person of equal rank. According to custom the lord needed the advice and consent of his vassals before starting any important enterprise for which he would ask their help. Out of this custom grew the English Parliament and like bodies in other lands.

Other
payments

Vassals did not pay regular taxes. Only common people did that. But the vassal did owe his lord a payment, called relief, when he received his father's fief.¹ He helped pay for making his lord's oldest son a knight and for the wedding of his lord's oldest daughter. He also paid heavily when his lord had to be ransomed from captivity.

¹In England, the relief amounted often to one year's income from the fief.

The lord might also visit his vassals in turn and demand entertainment and food free of cost.¹ Originally, this was unlimited, but in time the exact amount was stated. In the thirteenth century when the duke of Aquitaine visited the holder of the fief of Sommières, he expected his vassal to provide him and the knights a dinner consisting of pork, beef, cabbage, roast chicken, and mustard. The vassal was also to serve the duke in person and wear scarlet leggings and golden spurs while so doing.

Entertainment

Personal attendance

If the vassal died leaving a minor as heir, the lord became the guardian and took the profits of the fief until the heir became of age. The same was true of an heiress of minor age. The heiress could not marry anyone of whom the lord disapproved, and often had to pay him for his consent to her marriage. In England, where the king's power was great, these payments were frequently required even from widows who preferred not to marry again. The records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contain many such items as the following: "Hawissa, who was the wife of William Fitz Robert, pays 130 marks and 4 palfreys that she may have peace from Peter of Borough to whom the king has given permission to marry her and that she may not be compelled to marry." In France the lords were less able to extort such payments from their vassals.

Feudal incidents

Wardship

Marriage

If the vassal died leaving no direct heir, the lord had the right to take back the fief and give it to some one else. He could also take it back if the vassal failed to perform any of his duties and was sentenced by the lord's court to forfeit the fief. The lord on his side was expected to protect his vassals when attacked, to see that they received justice, and to keep them in possession of their fiefs as long as they did their duty toward him.

Escheat and forfeiture

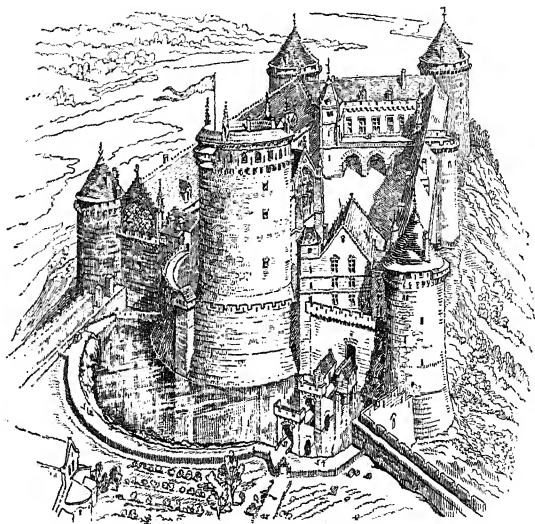
Obligations of the lord to his vassals

Though these duties seem quite clear, it must not be forgotten that force was the real law of the feudal world.

¹ These feudal customs lasted long. The German kaiser, deposed during the World War, often visited his nobles and received entertainment from them.

Force the
real law
of the
feudal
world

From 800 A.D. to 1000 A.D., when feudalism was growing up, and even later, most vassals gave their overlords what they owed, not because of the law, but only because they dared not refuse. Warfare was the chief occupation of the age. If an enterprising noble felt strong enough or if he saw



THE CASTLE OF COUCY-LE-CHÂTEAU

The walls of the donjon, the largest of the towers, are fourteen feet thick at the base. The castle was built in the thirteenth century and stood until the World War, when it was destroyed by the Germans

signs of weakness in a neighbor, he would gather his forces for an attack. Each noble tried to become independent of all higher lords and make as many other nobles as possible dependent on himself. The strong noble who cared nothing for others' rights succeeded; the weaker lost his independence and even his land.

This constant fighting laid waste the land, and its horrors led the church to attempt reform. In the eleventh century the church proclaimed what was called the "Truce of

God." This forbade private war on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of each week, as well as during church festivals and on holy days. The truce was not generally observed, but its influence was noticeable. Later, as the king grew stronger, more settled government took the place of the earlier anarchy. The feudal customs were then followed more closely.

Feudalism not only gained a strong foothold in France, Germany, and Italy, where Charlemagne had ruled, but spread to England, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, northern Spain, and even to the Scandinavian countries. Wherever the central government was too weak to do its work, the feudal system developed.

**Extent of
feudalism
in Europe**

CAUSES LEADING TO THE DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

It ought to be clear that feudalism always meant a division of the work of government among the different lords of the land, leaving very little power to the king and his central government. It was a makeshift to do what the kings failed to do. Its growth was promoted by the lack of any industry other than agriculture. As stronger kings arose and manufacturing and trade grew, feudalism was likely to disappear. Even when the king had almost no power, the nobles always recognized his lordship over the whole land. Through this lordship, able French kings gradually built up real power and became actual rulers instead of make-believe kings.

The clergy usually helped the kings. The people of the growing towns did likewise. Robbery and private wars hindered trade, and so the merchants, as they prospered, usually were willing to pay money taxes. These enabled the kings to hire soldiers who could be trusted to subdue the feudal nobles and keep order. The growth of the towns, the influence of the Crusades, and the better security for life and property given by a strong royal government helped remove the conditions which led to the growth

of feudalism. Thus they hastened its decline.¹ Later we shall consider these movements, but first of all it will be interesting to learn how the people lived in the feudal age.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) State the provisions of the Treaty of Verdun and explain why it was important. (2) To what extent was Louis the Pious responsible for the break-up of Charlemagne's empire? Give proofs. (3) What invaders threatened or broke into the empire? Why did they come? How did their invasions affect the government of the time and the life of the average man? (4) Explain in your own words why the common people of the feudal age worked hard and supported the nobles. (5) Make a list of the conditions in the ninth century that helped the rapid growth of feudalism. Test your understanding of each point by explaining just how it worked to produce feudalism. (6) Describe a strong feudal castle of the thirteenth century. What made it hard to capture? What machines were used by besiegers? (7) Describe the feudal ways of fighting and the different kinds of armor used by the knights. (8) Describe the feudal system of landholding. (9) Give an account of the services which the vassal owed to his lord. Which was most important? Why? (10) To what extent did the lord get his living from these dues owed by his vassals? What duties did the feudal lord owe to his vassals? (11) What influences worked to undermine feudalism in France and England?

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¹Feudal forms, however, remained in common use throughout the period of decline—about 1200 A.D. to about 1500 A.D. Chivalry then reached its highest development.

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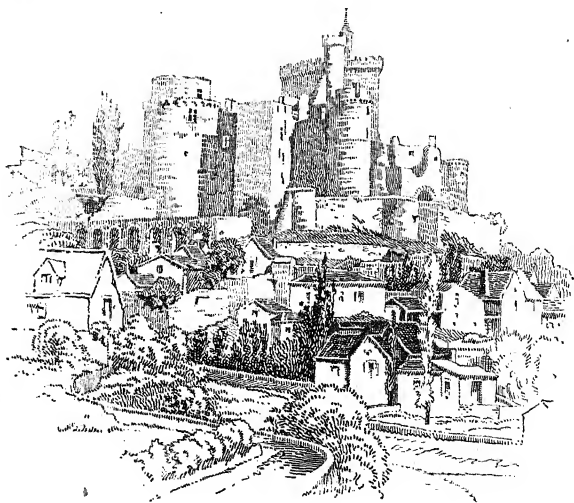
CONDITIONS OF LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGE

LIFE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

During the feudal age towns were few, and almost all the people of Western Europe lived in the country. They were rather sharply divided into a small upper class, the nobles and the high church officers, and the lower class, the common people who worked in the fields and supported the upper class.

**How the
land was
divided**

Each noble had at least one large farm which he kept for his own support, after giving out land to his vassals who agreed to fight for him. The greater nobles kept back many farms so they could feed and clothe the soldiers they kept in their castles. Such farms were called manors. Each manor included a little village where some twenty-five or fifty rude huts lined a single street. Here the farm laborers or peasants lived. Around the village lay the fields on which they worked under the orders of the lord's overseer.¹ A short distance from the village was the church where they met on Sundays and the graveyard where they were finally



A CASTLE RISING ABOVE THE VILLAGE HUDDLED AT ITS FOOT

buried. Near the village the lord usually had his own house where he or his overseer lived. In large and prosperous manors, a castle instead of a manor house might frown down from a commanding height on the village. At the

¹There were no farmhouses out in the open country. This was largely because of the dangers of the feudal age. Even now the peasants of France live mainly in little villages and go out each day to till their fields for miles around.

edge of the village was the lord's blacksmith shop. Near by, wherever a stream furnished water power, was the lord's mill for grinding the grain.

Each manor was usually divided into the cultivated land, the meadow land from which the hay was cut, the pasture



A YOUNG SQUIRE



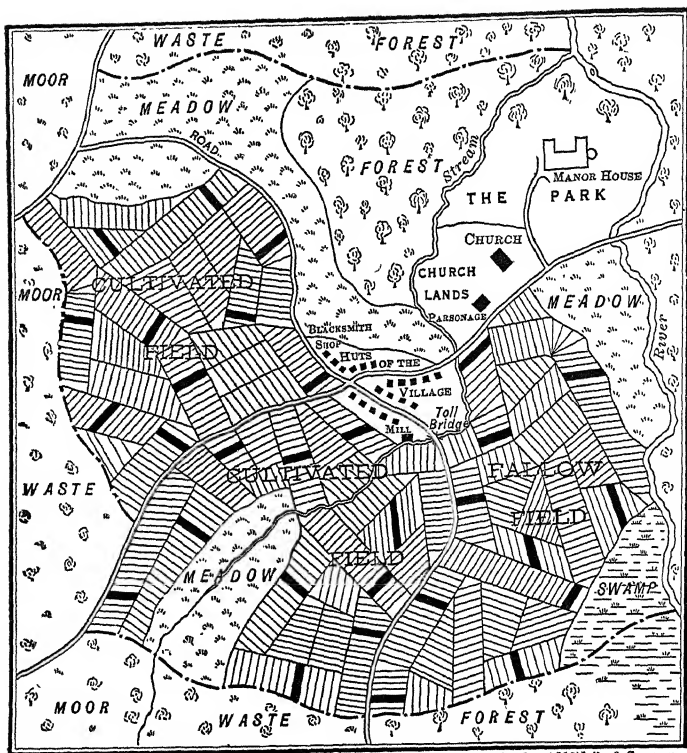
From a fourteenth-century psalter
PEASANTS IN THE FIELD

**How the
land was
cultivated**

land, and the wood land. The cultivated land was divided into two parts: one was called the lord's domain, the produce of which belonged solely to him, and the other was divided among the peasants of the village.¹ The system of farming was very poor. The peasants' lands were usually divided into three great fields, of which two were cultivated at once, the third being left to lie idle or fallow in order not to lose its fertility. This had to be done because fertilizers were not used. Each field in turn was used the first year for wheat sown during the previous fall and harvested in summer, the second year for oats or some other grain sown in the spring, and the third year it was left idle. Each great field was divided into strips separated from each other by a foot or two of turf but no fences. The strips were usually forty rods long by four rods wide, making each plot one acre.² In fact, this was the origin of our system of

¹In many parts of England the domain land was mixed with the strips of the tenants in the three great fields. The lord's domain was sometimes as large as half the manor. In some localities there were only two great fields of which one was left fallow every year.

²Some strips were only two rods wide, thus making half an acre in each.



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PLAN OF A MEDIEVAL MANOR

The fields are shown divided into strips. The strips shaded black show the usual holdings of a peasant family

land measurement. Usually a peasant family had ten strips scattered about in each of the three great fields, making thirty in all. On the produce from these strips they lived.¹

Using this system, all the villagers had to plant the same crops and do their farm work in about the same way. Their rude wooden plows could not be drawn by less than eight oxen. Few peasants had more than two, and so they had

¹Some less fortunate peasants had fewer strips, occasionally only four or five acres or less.

to combine their teams for plowing. There was little to encourage an intelligent peasant to work very hard or to try new ways of doing his work. It was hopeless to try hard to clear one's land of weeds, because seed would surely be blown



From a fourteenth-century psalter

SERFS PLOWING

over from the neighboring strips. Everyone kept on doing everything just as his father had done.

The forced labor¹ of the peasants for their lords was usually badly done, for serfdom, like slavery, encouraged laziness and ignorance. Crops were small. The yield was only about eight bushels of wheat to the acre. Even less was not uncommon, for most peasants were satisfied if they harvested three times as much grain as they had sown. Often the yield was much less than that.

Wild hay grew on the meadows along the streams. This was a very important crop, because on it the cattle were fed during the winter. In summer the horses, cattle, sheep, and swine were pastured on the waste and wood lands of the manor and on the idle field. After harvest, they were turned out on the other fields and meadows. But winter feed was so scarce that it was hard to keep enough animals for the next year. Hence much of the livestock was killed in the fall and the meat was salted down. Salt meat and bread comprised the main food of the people. Potatoes were unknown, and few root foods, such as turnips or carrots, were grown. The narrowness of the diet caused much illness.

¹See p. 261.

Homes
of the
peasants

Most people of the village lived in poor one-room huts of wood. These were dark and dirty, for they had no floor and no openings but the door and perhaps a hole in the straw-thatched roof through which the smoke could go out. Just back of each hut, and often under the same roof, was the stable¹ with a little garden near by. There was only the simplest furniture in the peasant's home. Often all his possessions consisted of a couple of rough benches, an iron kettle or a pot to put on the fire, stones or a handmill for crushing the grain, and a very few farm tools. The miller, the blacksmith, and the parish priest usually were better off. The miller was often able to make enough profit to become quite well-to-do. The priest was better educated, though commonly of peasant birth, and was free. He spent part of his time cultivating the lands around the church.

Narrow-
ness of
life on
the manor

In most cases almost everything the people needed was produced on the manor. Their food came from the soil, and their farm animals provided the meat. Fish and eels were caught in the streams. Near the coast, sea fish were eaten. The wool and leather for their clothes came from their own farm animals, and the women did the spinning and weaving with rude tools. A little iron and salt and the indispensable millstones usually came from the outside world, and sometimes a few other articles. Once in a while a peddler might stray in with trinkets to sell, but this did not become common until after the real feudal age was past. The peasants saw little of the outside world. Their life was very dull and sordid, with little pleasure and much hard work. Dense ignorance was the rule, and war, famine, and disease killed large numbers.²

Slight
connection
with the
outside
world

¹Peasants in parts of Germany and France, as well as in Eastern Europe, still live under the same roof as the horses and cattle.

²Feudal wars were far more terrible to the peasants than to the nobles. It seldom happened that a nobleman was killed if he could be taken prisoner, because he was worth a good sum of money. This ransom his unlucky vassals and peasants were compelled to pay. But peasants had no one to pay ransoms for them, and so their lives were not spared. An invading army usually plundered the villages and then burned the peasants' homes and their crops.

Most peasants were serfs. The lord allowed them their huts and some farm animals and tools. They had definite strips of land which they tilled for themselves. In return for these they owed many duties to the landlord. Usually a serf holding thirty acres of land had to work three days every week on the lord's domain.¹ He had also to work several extra days at plowing and harvest time. More than half his time usually was taken up by work for his lord. In the few days that were left each week he had to labor on his own scattered acres in order to raise enough food for himself and his family.

Besides this labor, the serf had other burdens. He must bake his bread in the lord's oven and grind his grain at the lord's mill and must pay well for it. He must take his disputes to the lord's court and pay fees to him. He could not leave the manor or marry outside it without the lord's consent. When he died, the lord's overseer could come and take his best farm animal, leaving the bereaved family with reduced means for winning an already scanty living from the land. It is clear that the serf was far from being a free man.

The serf was far better off than the slave, who was a mere beast of burden. He could not be sold by the lord, as could horses, cattle, or slaves. His condition, however, was much worse than that of the free tenants who owed the lord only payments in money and produce in return for the lands they held. These free tenants correspond to the little farmers of today who rent their small farms from the large landowners.

The hard life of the serfs was eased by a few pleasures and privileges. Village merrymakings and church holidays gave them some enjoyment. Every three or four weeks the heads of families in the village met in the court of the manor, over which the lord or his overseer presided. Here all sorts of disputes were settled and fines fixed for offenses such as failure to do work for the lord, making forbidden

¹Those who had less than thirty acres of land worked less for the lord.

paths across the fields or meadows, or injury done to a fellow serf. The villagers themselves helped decide important questions here. They chose their local officers. All this gave them training in self-government and prepared for the growth of the democracy which Great Britain, France, and the United States have today.

How the
lot of
the serfs
improved

Even before 1200 A.D. the condition of the peasants in Western Europe began slowly to improve in spite of famine, disease, and warfare. After that the improvement was more rapid. Discontented serfs were likely to run away from a bad master to live on the land of a better one. As laborers were needed, wise landowners began to treat their serfs better and even to free them in order to keep plenty of contented laborers on their lands. Lords in need of money sometimes sold freedom to their serfs. Others gave it to win God's favor before death. Some serfs won freedom by becoming clergymen. Many became free by escaping to some town and staying there for a year and a day. When towns won their independence, many serfs won freedom. In France and England these changes went on much faster than in Germany, Italy, or countries in the East.

LIFE OF THE NOBLES

Where
the nobles
lived

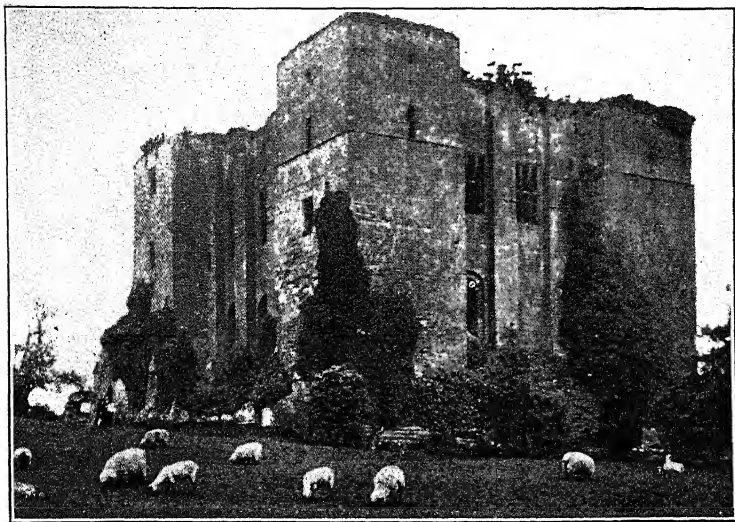
The nobles lived far more comfortably than the peasants, though their lives seem rude and coarse when compared to those of well-to-do people now. Each important noble had his castle where he lived when at home. Lesser nobles usually had only manor houses with walls of such strength that ill-armed peasants could not easily take them. The towers of the castle, especially the donjon,¹ were dark, damp, and cold. Real windows were uncommon, and the narrow slits in the thick walls through which arrows were shot, let in very little light and air.

Within the outer walls nearly every castle had its hall, which was far more comfortable than the dark towers. The

¹See p. 245

hall was the living room, dining room, and sleeping room of many of the castle folk. Often there was no floor. The ground was strewn several inches thick with rushes and straw. Tapestry was hung on the walls to help keep out

Interior
of the
castle



THE KEEP, KENILWORTH CASTLE, ENGLAND

the cold wind in winter. Windows were few and glass so costly that shutters were often used instead. An open fire in the center gave out heat, but not enough to keep the lord and his family wholly comfortable in winter. The hall was usually furnished very plainly. At mealtimes a row of rough movable tables was set up along the side walls. Rude benches were provided to sit on. At the end of the hall was a better table for the lord and his family and guests, some of whom might have chairs. At night the tables were removed and rude straw mattresses were spread on the floor, where most of the household slept.

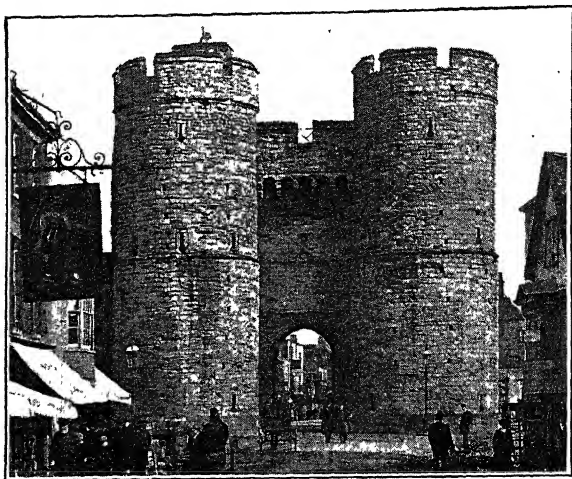
Very often the lord and his family had a smaller room opening from the hall where they and their guests sat in

the daytime and slept at night. This was better furnished, had more windows, and was warmer in winter. Under it was a deep cellar where the best stores of food were kept.

The kitchen was usually a separate building not far from the hall. In the larger castles other buildings were provided for the living quarters of men at arms and servants and for storage purposes.

Occu-
pations of
the lord

The great noble usually had a large household. There were many servants and soldiers in his pay. Many boys and girls of good birth came to his castle to be trained. The chief business of the lord and his sons and soldiers was military training and fighting, for wars were going on

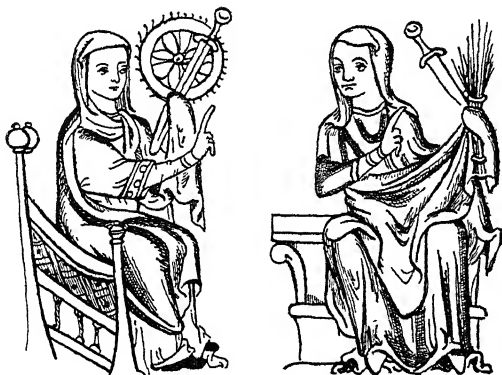


TOWERS PROTECTING A CITY GATE, THE WEST GATE, AT
CANTERBURY, ENGLAND

almost all the time up to about 1100 A.D. Barons fought against their neighbors or, in league with one another, rebelled against the king. But the lord also ruled his subjects and managed his farms. He usually tried to get as much income from the land as possible because of his wasteful habits. If he were taken prisoner, he was forced to pay

a ransom to be free. That might well get him so deeply in debt that he oppressed his tenants to obtain money.

The chief task of the lady of the castle was to manage the household. Under her orders the maidservants did all



From a medieval manuscript

LADIES' COSTUME IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

but the finest of the spinning, weaving, and sewing. She supervised all the other housework and saw to it that the stores of food and other materials were not wasted. She herself did some of the finest spinning and sewing for the clothing of herself and her husband. She spent a great deal of her spare time embroidering on tapestry. The famous Bayeux tapestry picturing events of the Norman Conquest of England is a good example of this. Other tapestries show scenes from feudal life. At times the lady served as a nurse. When her husband was away, she sometimes took command of the castle and defended it bravely.

Occupations of the lady of the castle

The lord and his men often went hunting both for pleasure and to provide meat for the table. Bear, deer, or wild boars were hunted with the help of dogs that drove the animals to a point where the hunter could use a spear or sword to kill them. Trained hawks, called falcons, were used in hunting rabbits and game birds, such as wild ducks. Otherwise,

Pleasures of the nobles

lacking the shotgun of today, the hunter would have killed little. A special servant in the castle trapped young falcons and trained them to hunt. The falcon was taught to perch on the wrist of the hunter, usually with a hood over



From the Bayeux tapestry

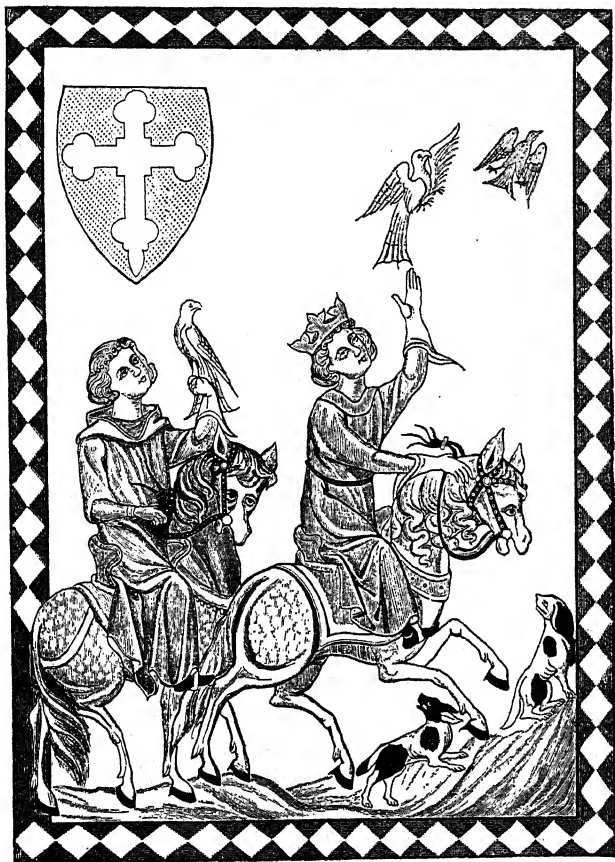
NORMAN KNIGHTS

its eyes. When game was seen, the hood was removed, and the falcon rose at once into the air, swooped down on its prey, and brought the game back to its master or mistress. Ladies as well as lords were very fond of this sport. The nobles did not allow the common people to share this, their chief pleasure. A peasant might be blinded for killing even a wild rabbit.

Indoor
pleasures

Indoors the nobles enjoyed various social pleasures. Chief of these was feasting. Usually many hours were spent at the midday dinner and the late-afternoon supper. Except in the castles of the very great nobles, the whole household sat down at once in the hall. All persons were seated according to rank, the lord and his family and guests at a table on a raised platform at the end of the hall. At dinner there were usually different kinds of meat, which was the chief food. A whole roast pig might be brought in, or a huge venison pie. Other game too was eaten in great quantities. Each person had a spoon and every couple a silver or pewter cup. Each gentleman usually carried his own knife, with which he cut off meat for his lady partner and himself. Each had a large slice of bread,

called a trencher, on which he put his portion, which was then eaten with the help of the fingers. Forks were almost



From a medieval German manuscript

HUNTING WITH FALCONS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

unknown. The trencher might be eaten after the meat or thrown to the cats and dogs which snarled under the tables. A dessert often followed the many meat courses. Much wine usually weakened with water was drunk with the meal.

Jester
and
minstrels

During the meal there was usually lively conversation. Guests told of their travels and the lord's jester told amusing stories. The jester was often dressed in a ridiculous way and wore a cap and bells. Sometimes the company was amused by wandering minstrels who sang or recited stories of the strange adventures and knightly deeds of some hero. Acrobats and jugglers also traveled about the country giving entertainments like our vaudeville shows of today. The tales of the minstrels were first handed down by word of mouth and only later put in writing. Details which pleased the listeners in the castle were usually repeated and those that displeased were left out next time. Hence the tales of the bravery and hairbreadth escapes of the knights and their disregard for human life picture truly the life of the feudal nobles. The most famous of the stories, such as those of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table and of Parsifal, were translated into many different languages and became known in many countries.

During leisure hours many different games were played in the castle. Chess, checkers, or dice throwing amused



From an old manuscript

A PERFORMANCE BY MEDIEVAL JUGGLERS

some. Others preferred dancing or such games as blind-man's buff.

Tourna-
ments

Training for war took much of the nobles' attention. When no war was going on, they took keen delight in sham battles, called tournaments. In the real feudal age

these were nothing but fights in the open fields between two knights or companies of knights. After 1200 A.D. they became more elaborate, with strict rules and greater festivity.

Kings and great nobles held tournaments to celebrate such special events as a marriage or a victory in war. Many



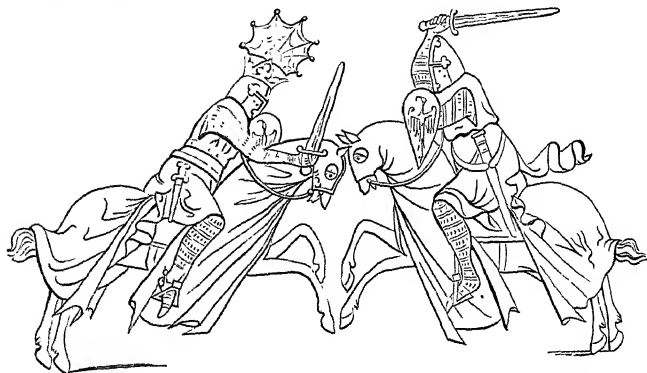
After Parmentier

MINSTRELS ENTERTAINING THE LORD AND HIS COMPANY

contests between single knights, and larger combats with prizes and honors for the victors were announced. Sometimes even contests in wrestling and archery were held, so that the commoners might take part. These "events" were similar to a modern field day or "track meet," and sometimes lasted several days. Many different classes of people came. Knights had the chance to profit by their skill, for the defeated knight lost his horse and armor to the victor and had to pay a ransom for himself, just as in actual war.

Besides many knights, merchants came to sell their goods at the tournament, jugglers to make money amusing the

crowds between the "events," and thieves to ply their trade. Hosts of sightseers came to sit in the galleries around the field, especially if the "lists," as the place of combat



From an old manuscript

KNIGHTS IN COMBAT

was called, were set up near a town. The story of the tournament at Ashby in Scott's *Ivanhoe* is so fine that every student should read it.

Chivalry

"Chivalry" was the name given to a set of customs closely connected with feudalism. These did not become very common until after 1200 A.D. The real feudal age was then nearly over, but these customs had great influence on later medieval life. Feudal life was so rough and cruel that the clergy tried to teach the young nobles better ways.

Education of a page

After the customs of chivalry were fully developed, there were three stages in the education of the knight. Often the young noble was sent as a boy to the castle of some great lord to serve as a page for seven or eight years. There, with other boys, he learned to wait on and obey his superiors. Out of doors he learned to ride, to hunt, and to shoot with a bow. A common exercise was to ride at a wooden figure of a man holding a shield in one hand and a club in the other. If the rider struck the shield evenly with his lance, all was well; but if not, the dummy turned on a pivot and

struck the rider a blow with the club as he went by. Indoors the page learned a little reading, writing, and singing.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen he was made a squire. As such he was his lord's helper at all times, caring for his horse, armor, and weapons. At the hunt or in a tournament or in battle, the eldest squire went with his lord to give help. He carried fresh weapons and even protected his lord with a shield in time of danger. Within the castle the squires carved the meat at the table, served the guests, and waited on the lady of the castle. Thus the young squire learned all that a knight ought to know.

**Training
of the
squire**

When the squire reached the age of twenty-one, he might hope to be made a knight. The advancement was made with much ceremony. The young man had first to bathe

**Making
of a
knight**



PAGES WAITING ON THE LORD AND MISTRESS

and then watch his arms in church all night, thinking and praying. Next morning he confessed all his sins to a priest, heard Mass, and received the Holy Communion,¹ after which the priest blessed his sword. The final scene usually took place in the castle yard. Having given his sword to his lord, the candidate knelt and with a solemn oath promised

¹See p. 291.

to defend the church, to fight the wicked, to protect the ladies, to help the poor and distressed, and to be a true and loyal knight. Usually there were many visitors, both



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America

A LORD CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD ON A SQUIRE

knights and ladies. The squires and ladies then helped him to put on his armor and weapons. As the youth knelt, his lord struck him on the shoulder three times with the flat of the sword,¹ saying, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I make you a knight. Be worthy, brave, and loyal." Then the new knight mounted his war horse and showed his skill in knightly deeds. At the close there was feasting, and the new knight made liberal gifts to the squires, his former companions.

¹These blows were called the "accolade."

Sometimes a squire might be made a knight on the field of battle in return for some very brave deed. Then there was no ceremony but the blows on the shoulder and the formal words making him a knight.

The knight was supposed to be a member of a company of Christian soldiers united by the same duties. Chivalry did something to lessen the cruelty of war, but not as much as we might expect. Moreover, knights felt that they owed kind treatment only to ladies or at most to other nobles. Too often they were very cruel to the common people. But chivalry did help to teach the nobles to be more honorable, and to be more courteous to ladies. It did much to build up our modern ideals of how a gentleman should act.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Describe a medieval village and the homes of the peasants. (2) Describe the way a manor was divided up and how the land was cultivated. How did the serfs get their living? (3) Make a list of the miseries and pleasures which life offered to a medieval serf. (4) What influence worked to better the conditions of life for serfs? (5) Compare the life of the medieval peasants with that of the unskilled laborers of today. Compare it with that of the skilled laborers of today. (6) Make a list of the sources of income from which a feudal noble got his living. Which was the most important? Why? (7) What was the difference between a vassal and a common tenant on a medieval manor? Did a vassal pay regular taxes? (8) Give an account of how a feudal noble spent his time. (9) Write an essay on one of the following subjects: A Day in a Feudal Castle; Pleasures of the Feudal Nobles; A Famous Tournament. (10) Compare and contrast a medieval tournament with a modern college or school "field day" or "track meet." (11) What was chivalry? What were its customs and influences? (12) Would you prefer to live in the feudal age or today? Give your reasons.

REFERENCES FOR READING

Historical fiction. Scott's novels exaggerate the glories of the feudal age, but give interesting pictures. Best for this period are

Ivanhoe and *The Talisman*. CHARLOTTE YONGE, *Little Duke*, and STOCKTON *Story of Viteau*, are good.

SPECIAL TOPICS

How a nobleman spent his time. MUNRO, *The Middle Ages*, 312-317; DAVIS, *Life on a Medieval Barony*, 16-69.

Character of typical knights of the feudal age. CORNISH, *Chivalry*, 120-150.

A medieval tournament. SCOTT, *Ivanhoe*, chaps. vii-xiii; CORNISH, *Chivalry*, 86-108.

Training and education of the young knight. CORNISH, *Chivalry*, 58-67; DAVIS, *Life on a Medieval Barony*, 176-207.

The ceremonies and customs of chivalry. CORNISH, *Chivalry*, 179-193; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, I, 111-121; MUNRO AND SELLERY, *Medieval Civilization*, 240-247; CUTTS, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 353-379, 406-438.

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Life in the medieval manor house. TRAILL, *Social England*, I 536-550; II, 164-181.

Life of the peasants during the Middle Ages. JESSOPP, *The Coming of the Friars*, 87-112.

THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS QUARRELS WITH THE CHURCH

CONDITIONS IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

From the historical point of view, the great states of Central and Western Europe may be considered as forming two separate groups. In England, France, and Spain the kings won power enough really to rule the whole land and make the nobles obey them. The result was the defeat of feudalism there and the rise of united national states. But in Germany and Italy the nobles won the victory over

the king and became independent. Let us first study the history of these latter countries from about 900 to about 1300 A.D., and learn why the kings were defeated by the nobles.

GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE EARLY FEUDAL AGE

When the empire of Charlemagne broke up,¹ the five great dukes of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Lotharingia (Lorraine) were all powerful in Germany. The throne was held for a time by the descendants of Charlemagne, but the line soon died out. The German dukes needed a leader and so they elected as king, Conrad, duke of Franconia. Conrad attempted to unite Germany by crushing the dukes and failed. At his death, Conrad recommended for the throne his most powerful rival, Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony. Though he had little power outside his own duchy, Henry drove out the Magyars who had been laying waste the land. This made him so popular that his son Otto was elected to follow him as king.

**Feudal
states of
Germany**

Otto I determined actually to rule all the German people himself. This led to long struggles with the dukes and nobles, in which the clergy helped the king. He utterly defeated the troublesome Magyars, and began to push the Slavs back to the east. Clergy were sent to civilize them and make them Christians. As the German frontier was moved eastward during the next centuries, German colonists followed, and so Germany was gradually extended to the east.

**Reign of
Otto the
Great
(936-973)**

The reign of Otto I was a turning point in German history. He set up a strong government and checked the civil wars between nobles which had made the common people suffer so terribly.² He had far more power than the French kings of that time. If he had stayed in Germany and if his successors had determined to build up their power in Germany alone, the German people would have been

**Importance
of Otto's
reign**

¹See p. 238.

²See pp. 260-261.



EASTWARD EXPANSION OF THE GERMANIC PEOPLES

united under one government far earlier than the French. This would have made the common people more prosperous and happy than they were during the hundreds of years of civil wars that followed. Germany would also have played a far greater part in the history of Europe than she did.

But Otto I was lured to Italy, where he attempted to revive the empire of Charlemagne.¹ He wished to add Italy to his dominions, control the pope, and be a second Charlemagne. Several times Otto led an army into Italy. In 962 he was crowned emperor at Rome, but he won no lasting power in Italy and lost his firm grip on the nobles of

¹See p. 233

Germany.¹ Succeeding kings also tried to rule Italy and the popes as well as Germany, but the task was too great. They were involved in a long struggle with the popes and their allies, the German nobles, which resulted in the independence of the nobles. Not one strong German state, but many small and weak states, grew up and the union of these was delayed until the nineteenth century.

CAUSES OF THE PAPAL-IMPERIAL CONFLICTS

The details of the long struggle between the popes and the German kings cannot be studied here, but its causes should be understood. Among them was the rise of a great institution, monasticism. Rise of monasticism

By about 500 A.D. it had become common for several men to go away from their fellows and live as monks in a little group by themselves. They did this mainly because they believed that they could be more sure of happiness in the next world if they kept away from the wickedness of this world, did hard tasks, and thought only of holy things. After a time many houses were built for such groups of men, and for women as well. The buildings for men were called monasteries, and those for women, convents.

St. Benedict started many of them and made rules for the monks to follow. Monastic rules The monk had solemnly to promise (1) poverty: that is, never to have any private property of his own; (2) chastity: that is, never to marry; and (3) obedience to the abbot, the head of the monastery. He denied himself much pleasure, wore rough clothing, ate coarse food, and worked hard. Many women, called nuns, also followed these rules. The monks and nuns were so much admired that many persons gave them rich lands and jewels. Their vow of poverty did not keep them from owning property in common. Some monasteries thus became very rich.

¹Even Otto I feared for his life while in Rome. On one visit to the Cathedral of St. Peter, he ordered his sword bearer, "While I am praying, keep your sword close to my head. When we get back again, you shall have time to pray as much as you like."

numbers in ages when few laymen thought it worth while. In monastery libraries were kept copies of the great works of Latin literature. If the monks had not saved them, many of the best works of earlier times would have been lost



From a medieval psalter

PRIESTS TILLING THE SOIL AROUND THE CHURCH

forever. The monks gave hospitality to travelers and asylum to fugitives. Their hospitals were almost the only places where the sick and suffering could find help. To the monks came the poor and distressed and were sure of charity. Because of these services and the example of holy living that they set to men of a rough age, the world will always remain deeply indebted to the monks.

It is true some bad tendencies appeared. Sometimes the monks became worldly and did not obey their rules strictly. But it was not long before pious leaders arose to check these tendencies. Hence a new monastery was started at Cluny in southeastern France (910 A.D.) with far more strict rules. Soon monks from Cluny went out everywhere to found new monasteries or reform old ones. Then they started out to reform the secular¹ or ordinary clergy according to their own ideas, almost making them monks.

**The Cluny
reforms**

Many men became clergymen in those days and worked to become bishops or abbots merely because thus they could get wealth and power. Bishops and abbots were nobles with vast tracts of land often given by the king. In

¹ The monks who lived by a rule (*regula*) were called regular clergy; the ordinary parish clergy were called secular clergy, because they lived in the world (*seculum*).

return they had to work for him and to send knights to fight for him according to the feudal custom.¹ Many had little time left for church work. The king usually appointed the bishops and abbots and sometimes sold these offices. Purchase or sale of church office was called "simony."² It was a great evil, for a bishop who had bought his own place would often sell offices under him. Thus many unworthy men obtained church offices.

Clergymen had long been forbidden to marry, but had often disobeyed. The reformers felt that unmarried clergy were holier and would serve the church better because free from family cares.³

To get rid of these evils, the Cluny leaders proposed (1) to put down simony, (2) to stop marriage of the clergy, and (3) to have pope, bishops, and abbots all chosen by the clergy only, without any outside interference.

THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT⁴

Success in these plans would take from the kings their control of the clergy who were most useful allies against the nobles. The Cluny program would make the popes, not the emperors, rulers of all Western Europe. Able German kings would not yield without a contest.

This came late in the eleventh century when the German king, Henry IV, was an inexperienced youth and the papal throne was held by Gregory VII, one of the greatest popes in history. The son of a poor Italian peasant, he early became a monk devoted to the Cluny ideals. Physically weak, but full of energy and enthusiasm, a clever diplomat

Pope
Gregory
VII

¹See pp. 249-250. Bishops often served as the king's high officers, especially in Germany.

²From "Simon Magus." See Acts of the Apostles, 8: 9-26.

³They also felt that a married clergyman might wish to hand on his position and the lands that went with it to his son. If this were allowed to become a regular custom, bishops could no longer control the appointment of parish priests, and much church land would be lost.

⁴So called because the question was whether the king or the clergy should give to the new bishop the symbols of his office, the ring and the staff. This ceremony was called investiture. The real issue at stake was who was to control church appointments.

and an able manager, he seemed likely to win. He was fully convinced that God had made the pope absolute ruler of the world-wide church, above all kings and princes, and incapable of error.

In the course of the bitter struggle, Gregory VII seemed at first to win, for he forced Henry to hurry to Canossa, Italy,



MONEY COINED DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV

where the pope was staying and there to stand out in the winter snow three days in succession humbly begging forgiveness. But on receiving it Henry returned to Germany, won back his power there, and later drove Gregory into exile. After both were dead, their successors compromised, leaving the king some control over church appointments.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE POPES AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN KINGS

But after many years of quiet, other quarrels broke out in the reign of the ambitious King Frederick Barbarossa, head of the Hohenstaufen family. Frederick believed that the German kings were successors of the Caesars, that the imperial crown had been bestowed upon them by God, and that the sanction of the pope was not necessary to their kingship.¹ He planned to restore the ancient Roman Empire. He would be the absolute lord of the whole world. These plans were much like those of Pope Gregory VII. In trying to carry them out, Frederick was opposed by (1) the German princes,² who wanted merely a figurehead emperor,

**Plans of
Frederick
Barbarossa**

¹See p. 234. It is clear that Frederick was trying to be another Charlemagne.

²The Guelph family led the opposition of the German princes against the emperors.

give up the struggle, however, but arranged a marriage between his son and the heiress of Naples and Sicily. This would make his grandson ruler of southern Italy as well as of Germany and so enable him to attack the pope on two sides



SEAL OF HENRY VI



SEAL OF FREDERICK II

and probably defeat him. But Frederick went on a great crusade to the Holy Land and was drowned on the way. His son, Henry VI, died before he could carry out Frederick's great plan and then the greatest pope of the Middle Ages, Innocent III, ascended the throne of St. Peter. Innocent's plans were like those of Gregory VII,¹ and circumstances helped him to far better success. Frederick's infant grandson, Frederick II, with all his lands in southern Italy, was put under the pope's guardianship.²

Pope
Innocent
III

VICTORIES OF POPE INNOCENT III

Civil wars in Germany now enabled the pope to set up and depose kings almost at will. Disappointed in Otto IV, his first choice as king, Innocent III excommunicated³ him and set up his own ward, Frederick, in opposition. Although only eighteen years old, Frederick was a well-educated, able,

Papal
supremacy
in
Germany

¹See p. 281.

²This was according to the feudal customs. The kingdom of Naples was held as a fief of the pope. Hence when the pope's vassal was a minor, the pope was his guardian. See p. 251.

³This made it the duty of all clergy to refuse him the services of religion, and the duty of laymen to shun him.

and very charming prince. His interests were more Italian than German, but he could not resist the call of adventure. With only a few followers, he secretly traveled the dangerous road to Germany (1212) and was soon at the head of the Hohenstaufen forces there. With the support of the pope and the king of France, he defeated his rival, Otto, and was soon recognized as king. Innocent III had won.

How
Innocent
III
humbled
the king
of France

France had to be dealt with differently. With the approval of the highest clergy in France, Philip Augustus, one of the strongest and ablest of medieval French kings, had divorced his wife and married again. The injured woman had appealed to an earlier pope without avail. Innocent III ordered the king to give up his new wife and take back the divorced one. When he refused, the pope put all France under an interdict.¹ Churches were closed throughout the country. The people feared to be without their usual religious services, and some were on the point of rebellion. The king's enemies were about to attack him. Hence, after holding out seven months, he yielded and obeyed the pope's command.

King John
of England
defeated
by the
pope

In England the pope was even more successful. There was a disputed election to the archbishopric of Canterbury (1205). King John backed one of the claimants, but Pope Innocent III would not accept either one and chose Stephen Langton, a capable and worthy Englishman then living at Rome. King John, however, would not let him land in England, and a bitter conflict began. The pope laid all England under an interdict (1208). The godless king answered by persecuting the clergy. Next the pope excommunicated John, but without effect, and finally (1211) Innocent threatened to take away John's crown and give it to his bitter enemy, the king of France. The latter made ready to invade England, and, terrified at last, King John begged the pope for mercy. He accepted Langton as archbishop of

¹Interdict was applied to all the people in a certain district or country. Excommunication applied to one person only. Otherwise the two forms were much alike.

Canterbury, promised fair treatment for the clergy, became the pope's vassal, and even agreed to pay 1,000 marks a year as tribute. Thus England became a vassal state of



KING JOHN RECEIVING NOTICE OF HIS EXCOMMUNICATION

the papacy, and later popes were able to interfere in English affairs and collect large sums of money from the clergy and people of England. Because of this, many Englishmen hated the pope.

Elsewhere the pope won similar triumphs. He had humbled the strongest kings and forced them to obey him. He had made himself the greatest ruler of Western Europe. Besides this worldly power, Pope Innocent III had won more power over the clergy than any earlier pope had had. To his courts great numbers of lawsuits were brought for decision, for his decrees were regarded as the highest earthly law. The large fees paid there greatly increased his power.

Other
triumphs
of Inno-
cent III

In Germany the investiture struggle had given the pope much power in the appointment of the bishops, but in distant countries such as England the pope had not yet won control. Innocent III began to appoint the higher church



SEAL AND COIN OF INNOCENT III

officers throughout all Europe. In this custom he was followed by later popes, until by 1400 all such appointments were made at Rome. The highest point in the career of Innocent III was reached at the Lateran Council of 1215. Over two thousand bishops and abbots came to Rome from different parts of Europe. They followed his wishes in stating that certain doctrines were wholly wrong, thus recognizing the pope's authority in matters of doctrine.¹

FREDERICK II AND THE POPES. CLOSE OF THE PAPAL-IMPERIAL CONFLICTS

Why the
struggle
was
renewed

As long as Pope Innocent III lived, the young king, Frederick, gave no trouble. After Innocent's death, however, Frederick II started to carry out his grandfather's plans to rule both Germany and Italy.² His first task was to win the Italian cities that lay between his southern Italian kingdom and Germany and thus make the pope his subject. In fact he cared most about ruling all Italy. But the pope and the cities were determined to keep their independence. The result was a long conflict (1216-1250). Occasionally pope and emperor made peace, but their aims were so opposed that it could never last.

Frederick made his kingdom of Naples and Sicily very prosperous. He governed wisely, levied regular taxes, and

¹The pope was not declared infallible until 1870.

²See pp. 281-283.

used the money to keep up a well-trained standing army and navy and a staff of judges and other officials. The people were safe and prosperous and almost worshiped this most modern ruler of his time. His Mohammedan subjects had religious freedom and served loyally in his armies.

Fred-
erick's
govern-
ment in
Italy

In Germany the great nobles had won so much independence that the emperor could not make such thorough reforms. He did make laws to keep the public peace, but he was not strong enough fully to put down disorder. Whenever he needed help from Germany, he found it to his interest to win over the nobles by adding to their independence.

His
German
policies

After Frederick had built up his southern kingdom, he began to conquer the north Italian cities and seemed likely to win all Italy. But the pope stirred up revolts against him, collecting great sums of money from the clergy and people throughout Europe, and using all the tricks of worldly diplomacy and war as well as his special weapons of excommunication and interdict. Frederick was equally active, but his resources were not so great. He did not have the support of the clergy of Europe.

After Frederick's death, the struggle was kept up by his sons. But the pope called to Italy Charles of Anjou, a French soldier of fortune, and declared his expedition against the Hohenstaufens a crusade. His soldiers were offered the inducements usually given to those who went to fight the Mohammedans. Charles defeated and killed Frederick's grandson (1268) and the Hohenstaufen family was ruined.

RESULTS OF THE PAPAL-IMPERIAL CONFLICTS

One very important result of the long conflict was to hasten the break-up of Germany into hundreds of small states. Every time the emperor went to Italy he had to give the nobles more power in order to get their help. Each noble founded a little state which he enlarged by wars with his neighbors or the king. The pope helped the nobles

Germany

whenever he could. When an emperor died without an heir, the nobles hastened to elect a weak successor, in order to increase their own power.¹

The
Great
Inter-
regnum

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen family there was no king or emperor in Germany for twenty years. Several claimants fought for the crown, but none could win. Meanwhile the German people suffered terribly from the civil wars. This period (1254-1273) is often called the "Great Inter-regnum." There were kings in Germany after this period, but the real power belonged to the great nobles. For centuries German soil was the battleground of the nations which had earlier won their unity under able kings. Germany did not become one empire and take her place among the great world powers until 1871.

Italy

Italy, too, was left without a king, and divided between independent cities, the pope, and foreign rulers. Not until 1871 did Italy win unity.

The
papacy

The popes had won a great victory, but at a high price. During the long struggle their attention had been given largely to worldly matters. Their frequent use of the interdict and excommunication and their numerous appeals for money made many people feel that the popes were too little interested in religion. Respect for them was thus weakened. Popes of the early sixteenth century, such as Julius II who donned the armor of a knight to go into battle, and Leo X who used his high office to gratify his taste for worldly luxuries and paid little attention to his spiritual duties, were very different from the conscientious Pope Gregory VII. Moreover, while the German kings were being defeated, those of France and England were growing stronger. Fifty years later they defeated the pope's attempt to subdue them, and the papacy fell into the hands of the French king.

¹In France there was no break in the royal family from 987 to 1328. During all these years there was always a son ready to succeed his father on the throne. The nobles lost their right to elect the king. In Germany the nobles had frequent chances to exercise this right, and so the German monarchy remained elective.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How was the history of feudalism in Germany different from that of feudalism in France? (2) Why did Otto I attempt to add Italy to his dominions and to control the pope? Was it good for Otto I and Germany? Why? (3) Why did so many people of the Middle Ages become monks and nuns? How was the life of the monks different from that of ordinary people? (4) State the reforms proposed by the Cluny leaders. (5) What were Pope Gregory's ideals and objects? Why did he quarrel with Henry IV of Germany instead of with the king of England or of France? (6) Which one was more nearly right, Henry IV or Pope Gregory VII? Give your reasons. (7) Did the emperor or the pope win the investiture struggle? Give proofs. (8) Compare the objects of Frederick Barbarossa in Germany and Italy with those of Pope Gregory VII. Which do you think more justifiable? Why? (9) What issues were at stake at the battle of Legnano? Do you believe that the emperor Frederick ought to have won? Why? Why was he defeated? (10) Which do you believe was better in the Middle Ages, a settled hereditary succession of the royal power or a line of elected rulers? Why? Which is better today? Why? (11) Explain how Pope Innocent III was able to carry out his plans in dealings with the kings of Germany, France, and England. How did he add to the pope's powers over the church? (12) Was the war between Frederick II and the popes inevitable? Explain how each could have avoided it and why he did not. (13) How did the papal-imperial conflicts affect the later history of Germany and Italy? Why? Would the people of Italy and Germany have been better off later, had the Hohenstaufen kings won the victory over the popes? Why?

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Histories. TOUT, *The Empire and the Papacy*, and BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire*, are the best one-volume accounts, but both are too difficult for high-school pupils. HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, I, 49-101; MUNRO, *The Middle Ages*, chaps. xiv-xxiv; and THATCHER AND MCNEAL, *Europe in the Middle Age*, 139-252, are better for them. But the period covered by this chapter is

not a good one for required reference reading by all members of a high-school class. MUNRO, *The Middle Ages*, 395-1272, chap. xxvii, and EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, 135-149, give good brief accounts of monasticism.

Historical fiction. SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Anne of Geierstein. The Monastery*.

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THE CHURCH IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

TEACHINGS OF THE CHURCH

Differences
between
the
medieval
church
and
modern
churches

The medieval church was very different from most churches of today. All persons in Western and Central Europe were members of it and to doubt or question its teachings or its authority was treason punishable by death and eternal torture afterward. Its clergy, especially those of high rank, had large incomes from taxes, special fees, and vast estates. The church had its own government with its own king (the pope), its own courts, its own language (Latin), and its own officers in every country of Western and Central Europe.

The clergy had great power over the people. The sacraments, which they alone could give, were thought necessary to save the soul. Excommunication or an interdict usually brought disobedient people to terms.¹ Moreover, almost the only educated people of the time were clergymen. Few laymen could either read or write. Up to about 1200 even the strongest kings had to depend on the clergy to keep their business records and help manage their governments.

**Power
of the
clergy
over the
people**

The chief work of the clergy was to administer the seven sacraments, five of which were believed desirable for every adult soul. Soon after birth the sacrament of baptism took away all traces of sin and made the individual a member of the church. This was necessary for salvation but could be administered in emergency by anyone. After twelve to fourteen years, every child was taught to be sorry for his sins and confess them to a priest. The priest told the sinner what he must do to show that his sorrow was real. Then the priest gave absolution; that is, told the sinner that his sins were forgiven.² This was the sacrament of penance. It was followed by the Eucharist (or the Holy Communion), the most sacred of all the sacraments. When the priest blessed the bread and wine of the Communion, it was believed that they were miraculously changed into the actual body and blood of Christ, and that one partaking of the Eucharist actually ate of Christ's body. This change was called "transubstantiation."³

**The
seven
sacraments**

Baptism

Penance

**The
Eucharist**

¹See pp. 283-284.

²The church taught that this absolution removed only the danger of eternal punishment. The sinner had then to do what the priest gave him as penance. This was a form of punishment in this world and must not be confused with the sacrament of penance as described above. This punishment might vary greatly. It might be praying, fasting, making difficult journeys to sacred places, or doing something else hard or unpleasant. If the penance done in this world were not sufficient, the soul would have to stay in the fires of purgatory until it was cleansed from the effects of sin before going to heaven. Penance could sometimes be changed into a money payment to some worthy or pious work, like the building of a church. This was the origin of indulgences. See p. 422.

³It should be understood that this is an account of the teachings of the church in the thirteenth century and so the past tense is used throughout. The Roman Catholic Church of today has almost the same doctrines and practices.

Confirmation Some time after this first Communion, the bishop touched the children's foreheads with holy oil and balsam. This sacrament of confirmation increased the benefits given at baptism. After this every one was expected to accept penance and receive the Eucharist at least once a year during the Eastertime. When a person was about to die, the priest came, gave him absolution and the Eucharist for the last time, and anointed him with holy oil. It was believed that by this sacrament of extreme unction all sin was removed so the dying man would be sure of heaven.

Extreme unction

Marriage The other two sacraments were marriage and ordination. By insisting on the permanence of marriage¹ the clergy did much to raise moral standards among the rough and ignorant people of the feudal age. Ordination or the conferring of holy orders made a man a priest and empowered him to give most of the sacraments. But it was only the pope or the bishops who could confer the sacrament of ordination.

Ordination or holy orders

The form of worship Up to about 1250, sermons were not common. The ceremony of blessing the bread and wine of the Eucharist, called the Mass, was the main feature of the service. Persons for whom Mass was said were believed to get special benefit from Christ's death on the cross. Masses were often said privately as well as at the church service.² This gave priests great power and honor.

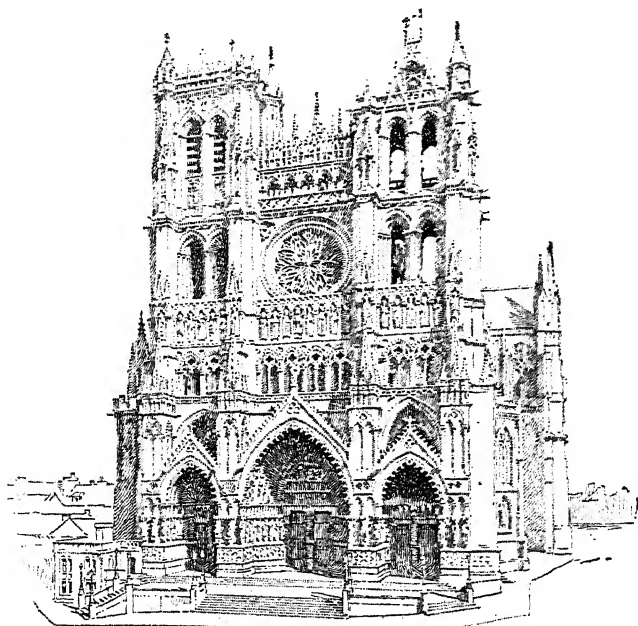
ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

The pope The pope was head of the church. He could make laws for the clergy and through them for the laity as well. He usually decided what the clergy should teach the people. The pope was the supreme judge of the church courts. A great many persons appealed to him to right wrong

¹No divorces were allowed nor are they permitted by the Roman Catholic Church today. See p. 284. In some cases a marriage might be declared null and void from the beginning; for example, if a couple learned after marriage that they were near relatives.

²Masses might also be offered for the souls of the faithful in purgatory for the remission of the temporal punishment due to sin.

decisions in other courts.¹ His consent was needed for the election of every archbishop, bishop, and abbot in all Western Europe, and gradually he took to himself the



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America

FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF AMIENS, FRANCE

right to appoint nearly all of these and many other lower officers. Of course he could dismiss from office or transfer a bishop.

Under the pope at Rome were his advisers, the cardinals, and a host of other officers. The cardinals alone elected the pope. Most of them were Italians.

The
papal
court

¹The church courts took notice of a great number of cases now heard in the civil (or ordinary) courts, such as cases concerning marriage, wills, agreements made binding by oaths, and all cases to which any clergyman or a monastery was a party. Appeals to Rome were encouraged, owing to the income and power they gave the popes.

How the
pope and
his court
were sup-
ported

To pay these numerous officers the pope needed a large income. This came partly from his lands, from certain monasteries, and from vassal kingdoms. From several countries he received a tax, called "Peter's pence," consisting of one penny for each fireplace or hearth in the land. For special purposes such as crusades the pope levied a tax of one-tenth of all church property. He kept on collecting this after the crusades were over. Heavy fees were collected in the law courts of Rome and from newly appointed archbishops, bishops, and abbots. Often they had to pay fees equal to the first year's income of all their lands.

Arch-
bishops

The archbishops were next in rank to the pope and the cardinals. Each ruled as bishop over his own diocese and supervised the other bishops in his province. Some provinces included the dioceses of as many as twenty bishops, others only three or four.

The
bishop
and his
duties

The bishop looked after the work of all the clergy in his diocese. He alone could give the sacraments of confirmation and holy orders. Many lawsuits were tried in his court. He had his especial church, the largest and finest in the diocese, which was called the "cathedral."

The bishop also had important worldly duties. He was often an adviser and officer of the king and spent much time in the king's service. As feudal lord he had to govern the people living on his lands. Often he had his own armed forces. Sometimes he himself put on the armor of a knight.¹

Parish
priests

Every diocese was divided into parishes, each having its church in charge of a priest. He carried on the church services, gave all the sacraments except confirmation and holy orders, and looked after the welfare of the people in his parish. He taught them and did much to help and to induce them to live better lives. The priests lived close to the common people and did much good.²

¹ See p. 280

² Another great branch of the clergy, the monks, has already been considered. See p. 278.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) In what respects was the medieval church different from most churches of today? (2) What gave the medieval clergy such great power over the laity? Why is the church of less importance in modern life than it was in medieval times? (3) Make a list of the sacraments as taught by the medieval church and explain in your own language what each meant. Which are kept in Protestant churches now? (4) Describe the way the church was governed, naming the different officers and explaining the duties of each.

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Parish priests and their people. CUTTS, *Scenes and Characters from the Middle Ages*, 195-213; CUTTS, *Parish Priests and Their People*, 127-183, 214-231.

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MEDIEVAL CULTURE

MEDIEVAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

To many persons there seems to have been almost no education in the Middle Ages. Modern scholars now recognize that at no time after the barbarian invasions did learning wholly disappear, and that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was literature, learning, art, and general culture of a high order. Let us first consider the languages and literatures of the Middle Ages.

Latin

Latin was then a living language. All educated people spoke and wrote it. It was used by the pope and the clergy in doing the business of the church and in conducting its religious services. Kings often used it in letter writing and in keeping the records of their government. Teaching in the universities was all done in Latin, and the students must first learn it in the schools. Many landowners had their overseers make yearly reports of the farms under their care. These reports were usually written in Latin. But it was a simple Latin without the difficult constructions and terms used by Caesar and Cicero.¹

The
Romance
languages

But the common people knew only the ordinary language of the region where they lived. These tongues may be divided into two great classes: the Romance languages based mainly on the Latin, and the Germanic in which the Teutonic influence was strongest. The Romance languages grew up in those countries where people had fully adopted the vulgar Latin. This was not the literary Latin written by Cicero or Horace. It was simpler, having many different words and easier constructions. It changed more rapidly, as does the slang of today. In the early Middle Ages this simplified Latin changed in each locality, and, as people traveled little, many local dialects grew up. By the eighth century most of the new dialects had become very different from vulgar Latin. Later, in each country, some one dialect was spoken more than the others and became the national language. The most important of these are the French, Italian, and Spanish.²

¹Such constructions as the accusative and infinitive, which trouble young readers of Caesar, were not used. Instead of this an objective clause introduced by *quod* was used, as in modern English we use a clause introduced by "that." In each country some words were adopted from the language of the people. For example, if the writer did not remember the proper Latin word, he sometimes put in the corresponding word in the popular language, gave it a Latin termination, and wrote on without further delay. Thus we find in the Latin of medieval England such words as *shopa*, "shop"; *imprisonare*, "to put in prison," etc.

²Other Romance languages are the Portuguese, the Provençal of southern France, the Romanian, and the Romansh or Ladin, spoken in eastern Switzerland and western Tyrol.

The Germanic languages grew out of the dialects spoken by the Germanic peoples before the barbarian invasions.¹ These movements lessened the number of German-speaking people. The tribes which invaded the Roman Empire largely disappeared among the conquered peoples. The German lands toward the east left vacant by the migrations were soon occupied by the advancing Slavs. In what is now western Germany two main dialects of German grew up: the High German in the South and the Low German in the North. This was taking place from about 500 to 800 A.D. Later each grew separately and spread eastward as the Slavs were driven back, the High German gaining perhaps a little more than its half.²

Our own English language is made up mainly of Germanic words from the language of the Anglo-Saxons, and Romance words introduced later by the Normans who invaded and conquered England (1066 A.D.). In the course of the Middle Ages these elements gradually formed into one language, the English.

The earliest medieval literature was written in Latin by clergymen. Such were the monastic chronicles. Most of the larger monasteries kept books in which important events of the year were noted. Gradually these were enlarged and sent from one monastery to another. In England such a chronicle was started in the ninth century by King Alfred's order and continued in several different monasteries. Contrary to the usual custom, this *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was written in the language of the people, Anglo-Saxon.³ Now and then a monk in charge of this work showed ability in telling the events of his time and used the books of his own and near-by monasteries to write a history.

¹See pp. 223-228.

²Besides these, several other Germanic languages were growing, such as Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish, and the Dutch and Flemish of the Low Countries.

³See pp. 344-345.

From 1100 to 1300 A.D. several monks wrote histories in which they tried to explain the causes and results as well as merely to tell about events. And as the clergy were in a position to know what events were taking place, these histories give the modern historian much valuable information.

Lives of
the saints

The clergy wrote many lives of the saints in order to lead people to imitate their virtues. Learned men also wrote numerous Latin books on philosophy and theology.

Literature
in the
popular
languages

Before 1000 A.D. there was little writing in the language of the people. The earliest great works that have come down to us are the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*¹ and an epic poem called *Beowulf*, which dates from about the year 800 A.D. Both were written in Anglo-Saxon. Later, however, France became the greatest literary center of Europe.



MATTHEW PARIS, A THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH HISTORIAN,
AS DRAWN BY HIMSELF

This is the signature of Matthew Paris on a manuscript illumination

The best French works were translated into other languages and so became known throughout Europe.² This literature may be divided into two classes: the romances and lyrics

¹See p. 297.

²Germany and England were not without original works of this time

which were recited mainly to the nobles; and the stories, which amused the merchants and peasants.

The romances dealt usually with the adventures of some great hero, and were recited or sung by wandering minstrels. Charlemagne was a leading figure in many of them.

The
romances



From Green's *History of England*

A MONK WRITING AND ILLUMINATING A MANUSCRIPT

The *Song of Roland*, most famous of the earlier romances, tells of Charlemagne's retreat from Spain and how Roland with the rear guard was surrounded and killed after a brave fight in the mountains. The legendary deeds of King Arthur and his companion knights, and the search for the Holy Grail, the sacred vessel that held the blood of Christ, were woven into many romances. Others told of the deeds of Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great and of the siege of ancient Troy. These ancient worthies were represented as living and fighting like medieval kings and knights.

Those who heard these poems saw nothing strange in believing that the customs of centuries ago were just like their own: that Julius Caesar was made a knight after watching all night in the church and receiving the sacrament.¹



CLOISTER AND SCRIPTORIUM, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

In each window niche on the left were a stone bench and table used by the monks in their literary labors

Lyric poetry

Lyric poetry was written first in the south of France. This was the home of the Provençal language, softer and more musical than the French of the north. Southern poets sang of love rather than of war or adventure. In Germany, too, the Minnesingers, those who sang of love, composed and sang many beautiful lyrics. One of the most noted of these singers was Walther von der Vogelweide.

Fabliaux

Both the romances and the lyrics were the literature of the upper classes. It was largely serious, while the literature of the people consisted mostly of *fabliaux*, which were short comic stories in verse. They dealt with events of ordinary life. They scoffed at human frailties, especially those of the gentler sex, and made fun of the clergy, the knights, the townsfolk, and the peasants. From France these stories passed into the literature of other countries.

¹See p. 291.

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are good examples of this sort of literature.

Fables in which animals were made to talk about human affairs were very popular. The most famous of these animal stories was the *Roman du Renart*, or the epic of Reynard the Fox, which tells of the strange adventures of this fox among the other animals, who act just like foxes, wolves, cats, and dogs, but speak and reason like human beings.¹ Both fabliaux and fables were well known over nearly all Europe, being told in the local tongues of each country.

Fables

MEDIEVAL ART, ESPECIALLY ARCHITECTURE

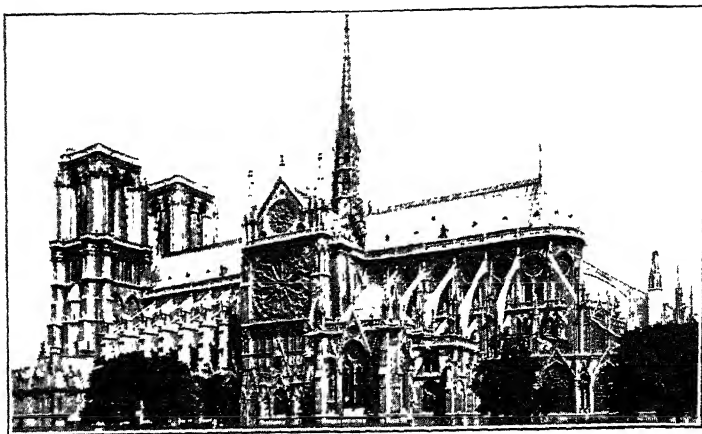
Until almost the close of the Middle Ages art was not studied for its own sake. Pictures and statues were made, not to beautify the world or make the artist famous, but to teach the Christian faith. In the earlier Middle Ages pictures were painted only in manuscript books, usually religious ones. The figures in these little pictures were stiff and unnatural, but the colors were rich and beautiful. A little before 1300 A.D. a few artists painted larger pictures, usually to adorn altars or shrines in churches. Statues of ordinary persons were not made, but there were many sculptured figures of saints or royalty on the walls of the great cathedrals and churches.

Paintings
and
statues

Architecture was the most important form of medieval art. The planning and building of castles required much skill, but as the castles were not highly ornamented, the great architects of the Middle Ages did their finest work

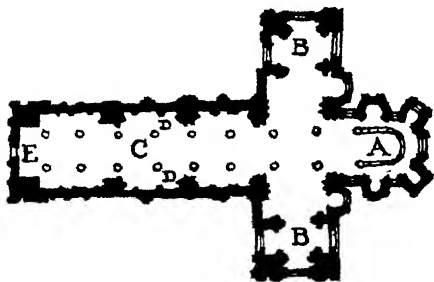
Cathedrals

¹ From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, several other varieties of literature became popular. Many allegorical poems were composed. The best of these, the *Roman de la Rose* was popular throughout Europe for three hundred years. In this story of the wooing of a maiden, human qualities and feelings are personified. Many simple dramatic works were also composed in the later Middle Ages. To the later period belong also the beginnings of prose literature, chiefly in the form of historical chronicles in the language of the people. The manufacture of paper had been started by the Moors in Spain in the twelfth century and it was rapidly taking the place of expensive parchment for literary writing. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many factories in Italy, France, and Germany were making book paper in large quantities. A good account of medieval literature in France may be found in Saintsbury, *Short History of French Literature*, pp. 1-126.



CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS

on the cathedrals and larger churches. These were usually built in the shape of a cross with a row of pillars extending along each side wall. The spaces outside the rows of pillars were called "aisles" and the ceiling over them was



TYPICAL PLAN OF A MEDIEVAL CATHEDRAL

A, the choir, B-B, the transepts, C, the nave,
D-D, the aisles, and E, the entrance

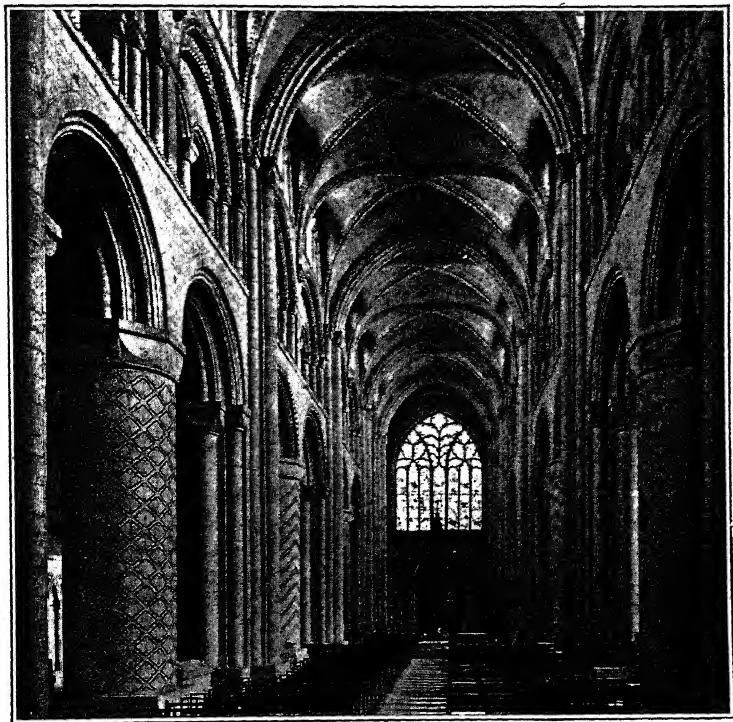
low. The pillars supported walls which rose much higher than the aisle ceiling. The top of the cross faced the east, and this part was called the "choir." It was reserved for the use of the clergy and choir boys.¹ The high altar was

¹ There were no women singers in the church choirs then, only men and boys.

at the east end of the choir. The northern and southern wings were called "transepts." The main part of the building west of the transepts was called the "nave." Here the laymen worshiped, standing or kneeling on the stone floor, for usually there were no seats. Over the center of the building where the arms of the cross met, a tower was usually raised. Often two other towers were placed at the corners of the west end, generally the main entrance to the building.

At different times in the Middle Ages the fashions of cathedral architecture changed. From the tenth to the twelfth century, many of the cathedrals were built with

Roman-
esque
style



THE NAVE OF THE CATHEDRAL AT DURHAM, ENGLAND

Gothic
style of
architecture

round arches and very heavy, thick walls, much like the Roman law court buildings. This general style was called Romanesque or, in England, the Norman style. Later the architects of Northern Europe built cathedrals in an original style called Gothic.¹ This became common early in the thirteenth century, though some of its finest examples were built later. Its main features were thinner and higher walls with larger windows topped by pointed arches instead of round ones. These great windows were filled with stained glass of most beautiful colors.² On the walls both inside and out were many curious figures carved from wood and stone. The west front of the building was the most richly



GARGOYLES, NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL

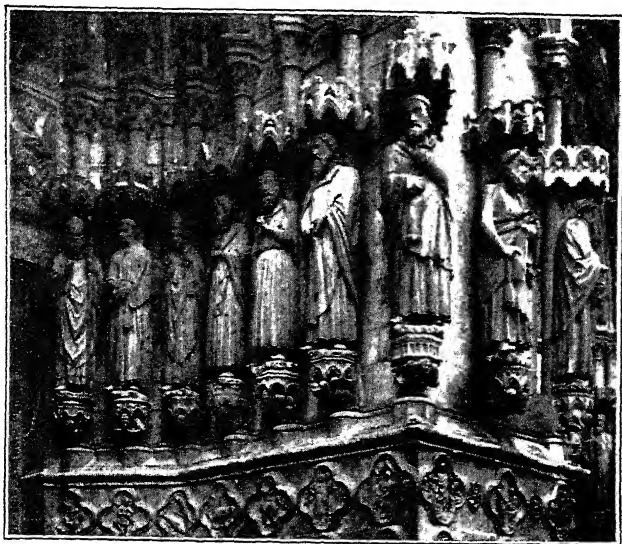
decorated. Here were often figures of Christ and the apostles cut in relief on the stone. Above them were rows of saints or kings. From many places ugly faces in stone

¹In Italy, few Gothic churches were built. Architects there clung more closely to the Roman models near at hand.

²Experts say that the best modern stained glass does not equal that of the Middle Ages. This is plain even to the ordinary tourist who sits at noon in the north transept of Notre Dame at Paris and sees the sunlight stream through the great rose window of the south transept.

leered down at one. These strange monsters, half man and half beast, were called gargoyles.

The cathedral played an important part in the life of the people in every city that had one. Its clergy often



FIGURES OF SAINTS CARVED ON THE SIDE OF THE DOORWAY
OF THE CATHEDRAL OF AMIENS, FRANCE

kept a school in which the boys of that city had a better chance for education than in others. It was the local art museum and an object of intense local pride. The citizens lauded their own cathedral as superior in size and beauty to any cathedral of rival cities. Its spires towering above all other buildings were always a visible reminder of God, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe.

MEDIEVAL LEARNING

In the early Middle Ages most of the schools were near cathedrals or large monasteries. There a boy had first to learn Latin. Then he was taught the seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy,

**Monastic
and
cathedral
schools**

and music. These subjects were broader than they seem, for grammar meant general literature, and rhetoric included some history and law. Out of some of these schools grew



After Viollet-le-Duc

A TEACHER AND PUPIL OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

the great universities of the Middle Ages. Most noted of all were those at Bologna in northern Italy, and at Paris. Bologna was the most famous law school in Europe, with 5,000 students (about 1200 A.D.). The students at Bologna formed guilds or clubs and through these managed the affairs of the school, choosing the teachers, fixing the amount of the fees paid them, and exercising discipline over the students.

Rise of the
University
of Paris

About 1108 a brilliant and charming teacher named Abelard came to teach in the large school near the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris. His fame drew such hosts of students to hear his lectures on logic and theology that other new teachers came to help in the work. The teachers, or masters as they were called, formed guilds and managed the schools as did the student guilds at Bologna. Thus Bologna was managed by the students and Paris by the

masters.¹ Each became the model of other universities, many of which grew up in this period.

Several popes and kings gave special favors to the universities. The teachers and students were often freed from taxes and military service and could not be arrested by ordinary policemen.² When a student was elected a member of the masters' guild or union, he was licensed to teach. After a time nearly all the students tried to obtain this license. Gradually university degrees developed from these licenses to teach. Whenever the masters or students felt that they were being illtreated by the townspeople or the rulers, they usually stopped work. Then, if still dissatisfied, they moved to some other town or country. This was easy because the early universities had no buildings of their own. No costly libraries or laboratories were needed. In fact, not the buildings, but the teachers and students formed the university. The University of Cambridge in England had its real beginning in such a migration from Oxford in 1209 A.D.

The studies were the seven liberal arts, especially logic and mathematics. History and literature were little studied. Modern chemistry, physics, and biology were almost unknown.³ After the arts course came theology, law, or medicine, for those who could go on.

Courses
of study
at the
universities

The methods of teaching and study were very different from those of today. As books had to be copied by hand, few students could buy them. The master first read the textbook and then explained its meaning. The students, squatting on the straw-covered floor, wrote down carefully

Scholas-
ticism

¹It was to these and other guilds that the term "university" was first applied. Every organization in which different people governed themselves in common (such as a monastery or a guild of merchants) was commonly referred to as *universitas*. Only gradually did the term get its later special meaning.

²Relics of this custom may be seen in the exemption of modern German university students from control by the ordinary city officers.

³In science and mathematics, the Mohammedans of this time, especially in Spain, were far in advance of the Christians of Western Europe; but of course many of the fundamental principles of modern science were quite unknown in the Middle Ages. See p. 322.

all that was said, and later tried to learn it by heart. Then they used this knowledge in debates carried on in Latin.¹ These debates helped to develop some ability to think. Learning the lectures simply trained the memory. The writings of the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle were most highly regarded. Many teachers did nothing but explain his sayings. Few dared to question anything taught by the church or by Aristotle. They did not ask, "Is this true?" but only, "How and why is it true?" Thus they could hardly learn any great new truths. The telephone or the aeroplane would never have been invented in this way. These methods of teaching and study are called scholastic, and the learned men, Schoolmen.

Even before 1300 A.D. a few critics cried out against the scholastic methods. Roger Bacon, an English monk, declared that the best way to get knowledge was to watch the wonders of nature about us, not to debate in detail every statement made by a great philosopher of ancient times. But scholasticism lasted until the Renaissance.²

The students at the medieval universities did not spend all their time in study. In fact, many medieval sermons give us the impression that the universities were dens of wickedness. Robert de Sorbonne said that the student is much more familiar with the text of the dice "which he recognizes at once, no matter how rapidly they are thrown, than with the text of logic." There was much rough fighting and drinking among the looser sort of students.³ Fights between students and townspeople were not infrequent.⁴ Hazing seems to have been common. Freshmen at different universities were made to go through various humiliating

¹Most of these debates were about questions in theology and philosophy. After the teachers and students had debated all the good subjects many times, some turned to silly questions such as "How many angels can dance on the point of a needle at the same time?" and "Do angels have stomachs?"

²See pp. 395-415.

³See Charles Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," in *American Historical Review*, III, 203-239.

⁴For details see R. S. Rait, *Life in the Medieval University*, pp. 124-132.

experiences and pay the cost of a dinner or a liberal supply of wine for all the older students who tormented them.¹

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Make a list of the ways in which the culture of Greece and Rome influenced that of the Middle Ages. (2) Prove that Latin was not a "dead language" in the Middle Ages. (3) Explain how the Romance and Germanic languages grew up. (4) Describe the different forms of medieval literature. (5) What subjects were studied in the medieval universities? How were they taught? Can you show why little progress in science was made in the Middle Ages? (6) Make a list of the features of the medieval universities that were like and unlike our schools of today.

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¹See accounts of the "Jocund Advent," or initiation ceremonies, in Rait, *Life in the Medieval University*, pp. 109-123.

MOVEMENTS THAT HELPED THE DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

THE CRUSADES

CAUSES. THE RISE AND SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM

Causes
of the
Crusades

In Germany and Italy the feudal nobles and the cities won almost full independence. There feudalism triumphed. But in the western countries feudalism weakened and slowly died out. Among the most important events that hastened this decline were (1) the Crusades, (2) the growth of commerce and the towns, and (3) the rise of the great national states of France and England.

Before studying the Crusades we must learn something about the Eastern, or Byzantine, Empire and about the spread of Mohammedanism. While the German invaders were fighting and settling in Western Europe, the eastern half of the Roman Empire most of the time stood firm.¹ Gradually its enemies cut off outlying provinces on all sides, but Constantinople, its capital, and the lands near by could not be taken. This region was saved by its great wealth, derived from trade, its easily defensible position, and its powerful army commanded by able despotic rulers. Many barbaric invaders from Asia were kept out of Europe, where civilization thus had a better chance to develop. This was a great service to Europe. Moreover, the city of Constantinople was itself a noted center of civilization. The city contained many magnificent churches decorated with wonderful carvings and mosaic pictures. Its schools were famous centers where the learning of the ancient world was studied and preserved. Its clergy were ruled by the

¹Though Roman in name, Greek was the language used by most of its people. Latin had never supplanted Greek in the eastern Mediterranean regions.

patriarch of Constantinople instead of by the pope. They were active in carrying Christianity to the Russians and to the numerous peoples invading the Balkan Peninsula, and in giving them a share in the great legacy of Greek and Roman civilization. Ever after, those peoples looked to the head of the Orthodox Greek church, as it is often called, for religious and intellectual leadership.

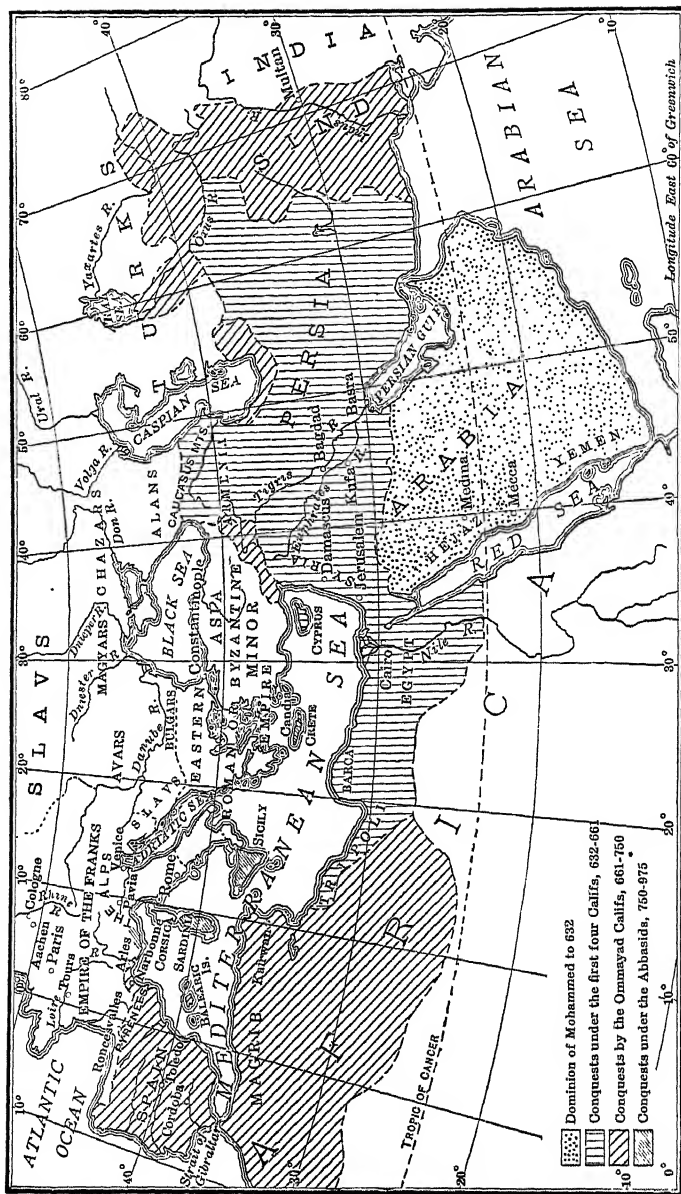
One wave of invaders that cut Egypt and Syria from the Eastern Empire came from Arabia. Early in the seventh century A.D., a great religious teacher, Mohammed (Mahomet), had risen in Arabia and won the people to his teachings that there was one God, Allah, and that Mohammed was his prophet. In many respects Mohammedan beliefs were like the Jewish and the Christian beliefs. They condemned idolatry and accepted the Hebrew prophets, but regarded Christ merely as a great prophet. They believed that the dead would rise on the last day, that heaven would reward the good, and that all others would suffer eternally. The soldier who died fighting for Islam, as the new religion was called, would go at once to Paradise, where he would enjoy the finest food and drink and every physical pleasure. These teachings of Mohammed were inscribed in a book called the Koran, regarded by his followers as a holy book.

Conditions
in the
East. The
rise of
Mohamme-
danism

Very soon western Arabia was united under the influence of Mohammed's religion. After Mohammed's death (632 A.D.) another "caliph," or leader of the faithful, was chosen. Under him the Mohammedans rapidly conquered all Arabia, Persia, and Egypt. Then they marched on, occupying all Northern Africa, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, and conquered most of Spain. They were checked only by Charles Martel and the Franks at the great battle of Tours (732 A.D.).¹ Toward the east and south, however, Mohammedanism continued to spread, until now it is the religion of vast numbers of people in Asia and Africa. Its influence rivals that of Christianity.

The Mo-
hammedan
conquests

¹See p. 228.



CONQUESTS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS UP TO 975 A.D.

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But the countries ruled by the caliphs were too vast to be held together. The governors of provinces became independent of the caliphs at Bagdad. The Turks came down

Coming
of the
Turks



From *The Story of Old Europe and Young America*
A TURK OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

from Central Asia and took many provinces. They became the leading soldiers of the caliphs. Finally their leader became king or sultan, the caliph keeping only his religious headship.¹ Later the Turks took most of Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople. At last (1095 A.D.) the Eastern emperor begged the pope for armed help.

Other circumstances also aroused the pope's interest. Jerusalem and other sacred places connected with the death and resurrection of Christ had early been taken by the Arabs. But since the Arabs also regarded these places as sacred, Christian travelers visiting them were usually not molested. When the Turks took possession, however, visitors from the West were treated with

¹ This changed caliphate was overthrown later in 1258.

such terrible harshness and cruelty that Western Europe was aroused to a high pitch of indignation.

**Conditions
in the
West**

Just when the appeal of the emperor Alexius reached the pope, conditions in the West were favorable for a great religious movement. The monastic revival, started in Cluny,¹ had spread over Europe. People feared the torments of purgatory and hell. It was believed that the best way to win safety was to seek discomfort in this world as the monks did.² Another good way was to make a difficult journey, called a pilgrimage, and pray at the shrine of some saint. Holy relics, such as bones, clothes, or objects used by the saint, were believed to have miracle-working powers. These relics could sometimes be obtained by the pilgrims. The greatest shrine of all was at the Holy Sepulcher of Christ, and many other shrines near it. The journey to Palestine was very long and difficult, but it was believed that prayers offered there would surely be answered. Hence a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a popular way to win certain salvation.

**Prevalence
of the
ascetic
ideal
of life**

**The
Council of
Clermont**

In 1095, Pope Urban II called a great council of clergy and laymen to meet at Clermont in southern France. There, in the open air, the pope preached to a vast multitude. Speaking in the French language, he described the sufferings of the Christians in Asia Minor, and how they were robbed, tortured, and murdered, or carried off to slavery by the infidel Turks. Their cries of agony rang in his ears. He showed the great danger of Turkish conquests in Europe. He pictured the Holy Sepulcher of Christ in infidel hands, and appealed to the knights to go on an armed pilgrimage to wrest it from the heathen. Those who lived might return home rich with spoils of victory over the infidels. Heaven would reward those who died fighting for Christianity. He urged all Frenchmen to keep bright the name of Franks by bravely fighting for the cross.

¹See pp. 279-280.

²See p. 277.

As the pope stopped speaking, the crowd started the cry, "God wills it! God wills it!" Thousands at once took the vow to go, and received the crusader's badge, a red cross, to be fastened on their armor. The pope then put the families and property of all crusaders under the special protection of the church and forbade private warfare. The clergy were ordered to preach the Crusade throughout France.

When the people returned home from the council, they spread the tale throughout the land. Everywhere was the greatest excitement. Wherever people met, they talked of nothing else and grew wild with desire to go on the Crusade.



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America
PREACHING A CRUSADE

This was not strange, for medieval knights hungered for adventure and loved fighting. Many felt that this was their chance to win new lands, especially the younger sons who had to shift for themselves because of the rule giving the father's lands to the eldest son. The Crusades seemed to offer wealth and power, adventures and plenty of fighting, all in the service of God and with all the advantages of a pilgrimage.

**Prelimi-
nary expe-
ditions**

Most people knew nothing about the distance they must travel or how hard the journey. Hence wandering preachers, chief among whom was Peter the Hermit, were able to stir the people to frenzy. Often nearly all the people of a village would leave their homes to follow such a leader. During the winter (1095-1096), Peter the Hermit won about 15,000 followers in France. These started for Jerusalem in March, 1096, and as they marched overland through Germany, thousands more joined them. Not all stayed together, for some grew impatient of any delay and pushed on toward Constantinople. These disorderly bands plundered as they traveled and often had to fight with the natives of the lands



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America
CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH

through which they passed. Those who lived through the trip reached Asia Minor only to be cut to pieces by the Turks. Their bones were found lying white all over the plain when the main crusading army came through the next year.

THE GREAT CRUSADES

**The real
First
Crusade**

After more careful preparations, the First Crusade really set out (1097). More Normans and French than any other

people took part. Over one hundred thousand set out. Each of several leaders such as Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse had his own following, and there was



THE CRUSADERS STORMING ANTIOCH

no single commander in chief. The different divisions traveled eastward by different routes. They met at Constantinople where they quarreled with the emperor Alexius, who feared this great army. The crusaders forced their way through Asia Minor and took Antioch, only to be besieged in their turn by a large Turkish army. Each of the leaders selfishly sought his own advantage, which led to many bitter quarrels. Just when the Christians were utterly discouraged some one dug up a piece of iron said to be the holy lance with which the side of Christ had been pierced. With new fury they now attacked and defeated the Turkish army.

Not until June 6, 1099, did the crusaders reach Jerusalem. By this time so many thousands had fallen or stopped to hold what they had won that those who were left were too few to surround the strongly fortified city.¹ In about a

The siege.
of
Jerusalem

¹It is probable that there were hardly more than 15,000 fighting men left in the main crusading army.

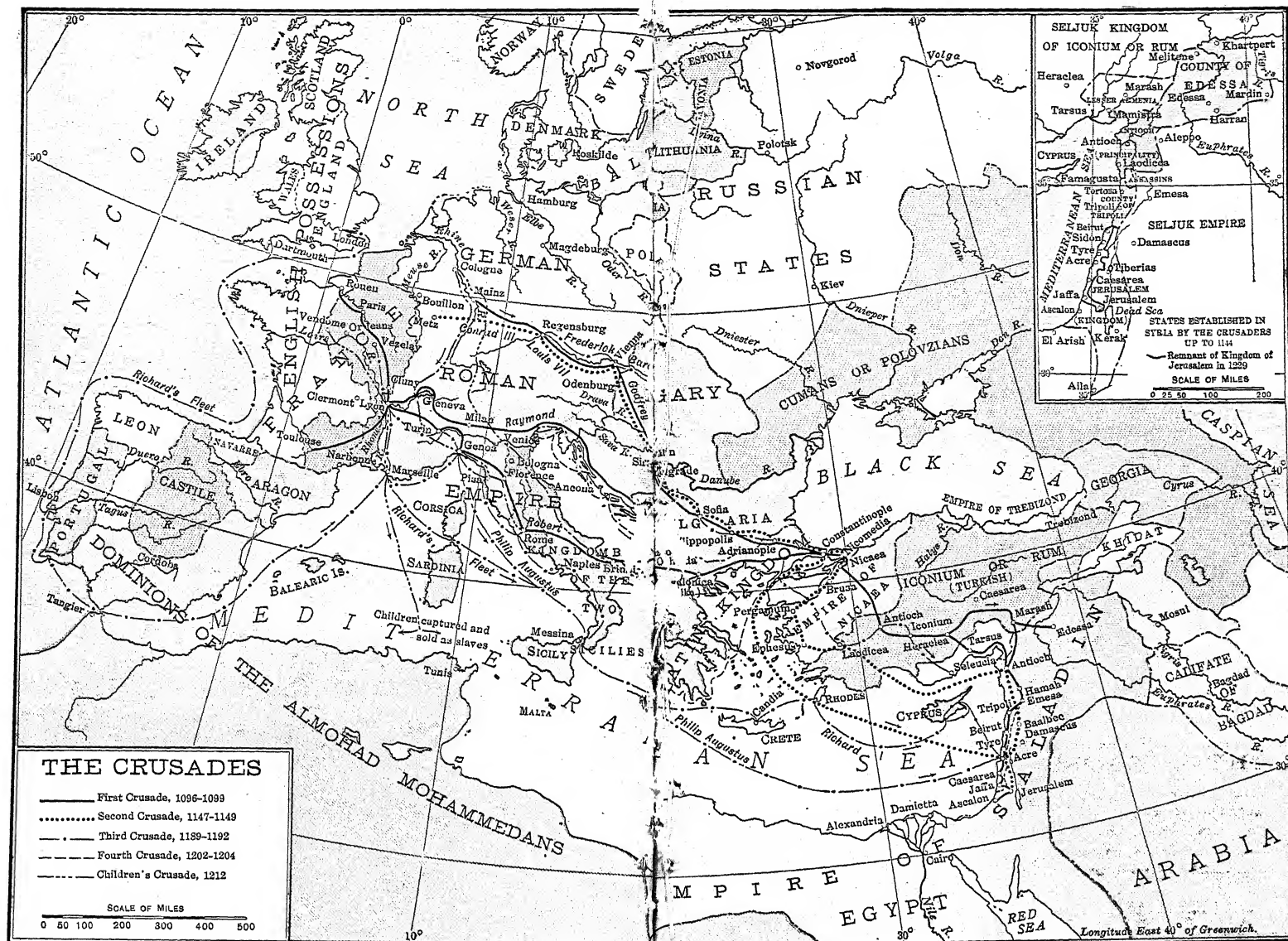
week they made a great attack but were beaten off. Food and water ran very low and many of the leaders kept quarreling. It seemed as if the city would escape capture. But a few worked hard to get heavy timber from the woods over thirty miles away. With this they built two great movable towers, fitted them with many engines for throwing stones and arrows, and set them up near the city walls, one on the north and the other on the south. About the same time the whole army marched around the city in procession headed by the priests and bishops, singing hymns and saying prayers for the fall of the city.

Next day the great assault was begun and continued the following day. The lesser and outer walls were broken down and the ditch filled up so the wooden towers could be moved up toward the walls and scaling ladders placed. At last on the third day (July 15, 1099), Godfrey of Bouillon's stone slingers drove the defenders from the walls. Then a great bridge was let down from the north tower to the top of the wall. The crusaders dashed over in a great, victorious rush. The city was sacked and the Mohammedans were robbed, tortured, and slain with the most awful cruelty. The streets were choked up with their bodies. From looting the Christians turned to prayer and then back to murder. A chronicler of the time says, "Such a slaughter of pagan folk had never been seen or heard of; none knows their number save God alone."

**Capture of
Jerusalem**

After a few more battles with the Mohammedans, most of the crusaders returned home, leaving a mere handful of interested persons to hold the land. Godfrey of Bouillon was made protector of the Holy Sepulcher. After his death a king was set up over the various feudal nobles who had won lands in Palestine. But he was only a feudal king with little power. The crusaders had won large territories, but found it difficult to hold them. There was a long frontier to be constantly defended against the fresh hordes of Mohammedans, and the defenders needed frequent

THE CRUSADES



reinforcements. Pilgrims found the way from the coast to Jerusalem still unsafe.

To care for the sick and protect the pilgrims, two great monastic orders were founded: the Knights Hospitalers and the Knights Templars.¹ Their members took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience but, unlike other monks,² spent their lives in helping the pilgrims and fighting the Mohammedans. These orders became very popular and rich. They used the income from their lands to carry on the war in Palestine. But even with their help the Christians began to lose their hold on the land. The Second Crusade, organized for their relief, was entirely unsuccessful, only a few thousand escaping annihilation by the Turks.

Founda-
tion of the
great mili-
tary orders,
the Tem-
plars and
the Hospi-
talers

At the close of the twelfth century A.D. the Mohammedans were ruled by a very able king, Saladin, who often defeated the Christians and at last took the city of Jerusalem (1187). A wave of anger swept over the people of Central and Western Europe. Three kings, Philip II of France, Richard I of England, and Frederick I (Barbarossa) of Germany, took a vow to lead a great crusade. It seemed that they must win. Frederick and the Germans moved first, but suffered terrible losses in Asia Minor. The king himself was drowned (1190)³, and only a few thousand men of his host reached Palestine at all. Next year the kings of France and England brought their forces by sea. They took Acre after a hard siege, but did not at once attack Saladin, the real danger. The kings soon quarreled, and Philip returned home to win lands there. King Richard, left in charge, was a brave knight but had too few soldiers for his task. He wasted his time and strength and at last made a treaty with Saladin which, for a period of three years, allowed unarmed Christian pilgrims to enter Jerusalem. This and a narrow strip of coast were all that the Third Crusade had won. King

The Third
Crusade

¹They were followed a little later by a third order, the Teutonic Knights.

²See p. 277. ³See pp. 281-283.

Richard was shipwrecked near Venice on his return voyage to Europe. Trying to cross Germany overland, he was taken prisoner there and held until the English people paid an enormous ransom to free him.

**Later
Crusades**

During the next century other crusades took place, but none came as near to success as had the third. The fourth expedition simply overturned the Greek Empire at Constantinople and set up a Latin kingdom there. After about fifty years the Greeks regained the city.

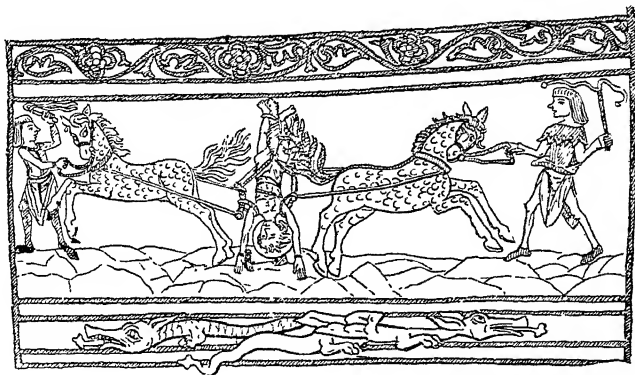
**The
Children's
Crusade**

One of the strangest movements of the time was the Children's Crusade. In 1212 a French peasant boy, about twelve years old, named Stephen, came to believe that Christ had called him to lead the children to take the Holy Sepulcher from the Mohammedans. Thousands of children went wild with enthusiasm and followed him. Other boys also went out preaching the Crusade and won many followers. As many as sixty thousand children are said to have started southward from France and Germany in different bands. Of course many thousands turned back or fell by the way because the journey was so hard. Those that reached the Mediterranean were bitterly disappointed because the sea did not open a path for them to walk direct to the Holy Land as the waters of the Red Sea had parted for the Children of Israel. Most of them then started back toward home. About five thousand children are said to have accepted the offer of two merchants to furnish ships to take them to Palestine free of charge. Two of the ships in which the children sailed were wrecked, but the other five reached Mohammedan ports, where the merchants sold the children into slavery.

**The end
of the
Crusades**

The Mohammedans slowly pushed the Christians back until in 1291 the last Christian stronghold in Palestine was taken and all Syria lost. The popes tried in vain to induce the people of Western Europe to go on further crusades. But times had changed, and no great enthusiasm could now be aroused. The Templars and Hospitalers still held the

islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, but the chief reason for their existence was gone. In most countries of Western and Central Europe in 1307 and 1308 the Templars were arrested and imprisoned. Under horrible tortures several of them



From an old manuscript

AN EXAMPLE OF A MEDIEVAL EXECUTION

confessed to awful crimes. Later when they thought they were before a fair court they swore that these confessions were all false.¹ Nevertheless the order was dissolved by the pope (1312). The Templars' pride and wealth were their undoing. The Hospitalers continued to fight in the East. The Teutonic Knights, a third military order, went to fight the heathen Slavs along the coast of the Baltic Sea, reconquering the land and peopling it with Germans.²

The down-
fall of the
Templars

RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES

Apparently the Crusades had failed. But it will be seen that their indirect results were very important. From the point of view of government, the chief result was that the

Effects on
government

¹One of them declared he was quite willing to endure death for the sake of the Temple Order, even the fate of being boiled alive in oil, but that, under the fiendish tortures to which he had been put, he had been willing to confess any lie just to escape the awful pain.

²This continued the work of Otto I. See pp. 275-277.

Crusades helped to destroy feudalism. Many rebellious barons sold their property and left for Palestine. Some never returned, and those who did return found that the king had grown stronger and they weaker. The Crusades helped undermine feudalism further by developing trade. The pope, too, gained influence as the director of the Crusades.

**Increase of
shipping
and trade**

The effects on commerce were most important. The early crusaders traveled mostly by land, but the journey was so difficult that nearly all the later ones took the water route over the Mediterranean. Many new ships were built to take them and the needed supplies to Palestine. The merchants of the Italian cities, especially Venice, were the most active in this work and seized the chance to buy goods in the East. Thus they built up great business houses and became rich from the profits of the trade.

**Broadening
of men's
minds**

The peoples of the East, the Greeks and the Mohammedans, were more advanced in material civilization than those of Western Europe. Their large cities had fine houses and wide streets, while the cities in the West had narrow lanes deep in mud and lined by wretched hovels. The Arabs used better methods of farming and knew much more of medicine, chemistry, and biology. The Mohammedan universities of Spain, early in the twelfth century A.D., were far in advance of those in Christian Europe. Crusaders and business men who followed them to the East discovered all sorts of new articles of dress and food and new objects of comfort and luxury. They wanted such comforts for themselves and spread knowledge of them in Western Europe. They learned also of many new lands and peoples, and their minds were broadened by travel. Some of them saw that the people of other religions were honorable men of much polish and culture, and began to realize that they were not perfect themselves. This broadening of the mind was one of the most important results of the Crusades. The growth of curiosity about foreign lands led men to explore new

countries and strange seas. The discovery of America was one of the later results of this curiosity.

The great increase in trade caused by the Crusades promoted the growth of cities. The citizens who wanted better government and better security for trade and travel helped the king subdue the feudal nobles and paid taxes to him in money. This money came into more general use as travel became safer. A larger income in money enabled the kings of great states like England and France to hire regular soldiers and get rid of the troublesome feudal knight's service. By undermining feudalism and building up the new national states, by preparing for a mental awakening, and by promoting trade, the Crusades did much to modernize Europe.

Growth of towns

Undermining of feudalism

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Compare and contrast the main beliefs and teachings of Mohammedanism and Christianity. Which spread more rapidly in its first three centuries? (2) How was the coming of the Turks in the East like and unlike the Germanic invasions of Western Europe in the fourth century A.D.? (3) Explain why men went on the Crusades. (4) Give an account of the First Crusade. Was it a success? Why? (5) What led to the later Crusades? Which were successful? Why? (6) Why did the Crusades help to raise the civilization of Western Europe? (7) Make a list of the different ways in which the Crusades affected Western Europe under the headings of (a) government, (b) trade and commerce, (c) religion, and (d) intellectual growth.

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THE GROWTH OF COMMERCE AND OF TOWNS

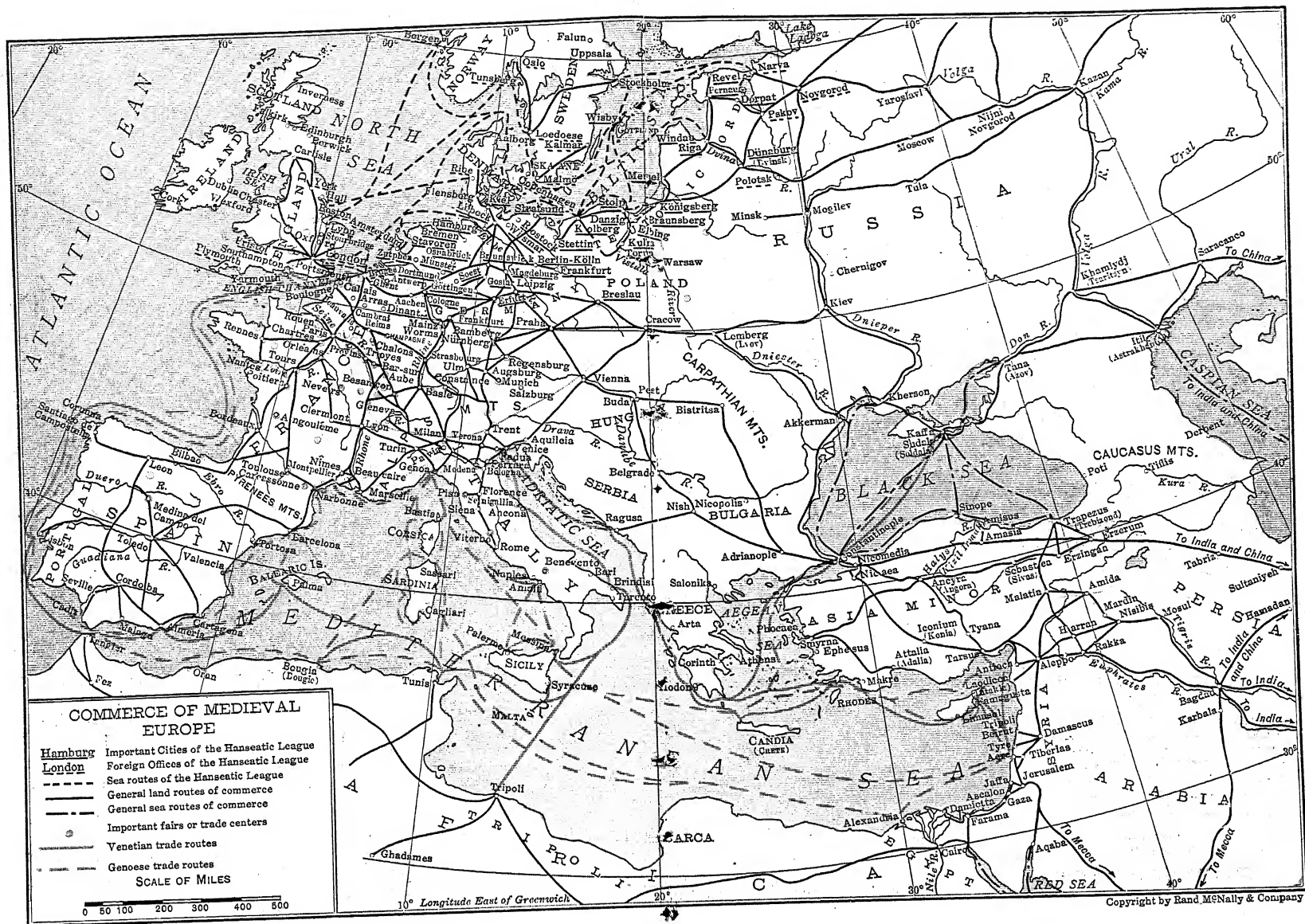
DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE

Why there
was so
little trade
in the
early
Middle
Ages

During the early Middle Ages there was little trade. People did not often buy anything outside their own villages. This narrowness had helped the growth of feudalism.¹ The Roman roads and bridges had fallen into decay, robbers were numerous, and the prince of each little region taxed goods taken across his lands. If the people had any scanty savings, they hid the money instead of using it in trade. During the later centuries of the Roman Empire, people were sinking deep in ignorance and poverty. Hence they wanted less and were less able to buy what they wished. The German invasions had put a new ruling race over all

¹See pp. 255-262.

COMMERCE OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE



Western Europe.¹ These Germans were rude people, almost savages, and their wants were few. Hence there was very little demand or ability to pay for anything more than the barest necessities of life, coarse food, rude clothing, and a hovel to live in.

But even during the darkest centuries commerce did not wholly stop. The church needed imported cloths and spices for its services, and the nobles used a few imported articles of luxury. The Venetians carried on some trade between the East and the West as early as 800 A.D. But the Crusades really made this trade.

Commerce
never
wholly
ceased

The West wanted the articles of luxury which came from the East, such as spices, perfumes, precious stones, carpets, tapestry, and fine cloth. These came largely from India by way of the Mohammedan states of Western Asia. The people of India wanted very little from the West except horses and weapons. Hence much gold and silver had to be sent eastward. The eastern goods were bought from the Mohammedans and taken home by the European merchants, mainly Italians from Venice and Genoa.² They then were carried up into France or Germany, where great fairs were held. To these fairs came merchants from the North who traded their produce for the goods of the East and South. The most famous of these fairs were those of the county of Champagne in eastern France. In the later Middle Ages the Italian sailors grew bolder. Fleets from Venice and Genoa sailed out into the Atlantic Ocean and reached England and North Germany by sea.

The trade
routes and
the chief
articles of
commerce

The North was the great producer of raw materials such as grain, wool, hides, tallow, pitch, timber, and furs. These products were traded for the manufactured goods and spices of the East and South. After 1200 A.D., many important towns grew up in Germany. Northern cities, led by Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Cologne, Magdeburg, and Danzig, formed the great Hanseatic League, which at

¹See pp. 223-230.

²See p. 407.

**The
Hanseatic
League**

the time of its greatest strength (1350-1500) included eighty-five cities. It had its own parliament, its own money, and its fleets and armies. It had tremendous influence even outside Germany. The king of Denmark was defeated by the League and forced to submit to it.

GROWTH OF THE MEDIEVAL TOWNS

During the German invasions all the Roman cities declined in population and many actually disappeared. The Germans for the most part settled in the country and were slow to acquire any taste for town life. At that time farmers did not go to town to buy clothes or shoes. They



A MEDIEVAL FAIR

usually made such articles at home, leaving little work for weavers, tailors, or shoemakers to do. Thus, as nearly everyone had to get his living by farming, there could be very few towns and those that did exist remained small.

But during the feudal age many people sought the protection of the town walls. New settlements, too, grew up near monasteries, cathedrals, and castles, or at favorite river crossings. Gradually people prospered and wanted



From an old German print

THE WALLED TOWN OF NABBURG, GERMANY

better houses, clothing, and shoes. To make them, certain men gave all their time to such trades as weaving and shoemaking, earning their living by them instead of by farming, and so the towns slowly increased in size.

Most medieval towns were very small in comparison with ours of today. There were only a few with more than five or six thousand people. Usually they were governed by a near-by nobleman or sometimes by a bishop or abbot. The lord of the town regarded the people as his serfs, as most of them legally were. Hence he laid heavy taxes on them when he wished and sometimes tried to keep them from moving about freely to trade. The nobles and the townsmen were natural enemies. The noble despised and hated those who by hard work made good profits from trade. He usually robbed them if he could. In France and England, where strong kings ruled, this was not often possible, but in Germany many knights, called "robber knights,"¹ made a business of attacking merchants, even when they

Why the towns wished freedom from their lords

¹See p. 382.

traveled in armed companies. They swooped down on the unlucky travelers like birds of prey, and robbed and murdered them or carried them off captives to be chained



From an old print

A CARAVAN OF MEDIEVAL MERCHANTS

up in some dark dungeon until heavy ransoms were paid.

As the towns prospered, they resented the attitude of the nobles, especially the way their own lords treated them. Then began a series of struggles for liberty much like the struggles of those modern nations which have worked and fought to overthrow absolute monarchy.

**Freedom
by revolts**

During the two hundred years from 1050 to 1250 there were many open revolts. Only after the hardest struggles did they succeed. Often the first revolts were put down and cruel revenge was taken on the leaders. Many a brave townsman died under torture in the castle dungeons. But if the revolt succeeded, the lord was obliged to grant a charter giving the townspeople the right to govern themselves. Cities that won full independence were called communes. There were many in Italy and some in the southern and western parts of France. Many German communes were set up after the fall of the Hohenstaufen kings. But where the kings were strong (as in England and in northern and

central France), they did not allow their towns to become fully independent.

It was much easier and more common for the townspeople to buy their freedom than to extort it by force. Many lords and even kings were quite willing to grant charters limiting their right to tax the people and giving much self-government in return for liberal gifts of money. Many such grants to towns were made by nobles trying to raise money to go on the Crusades.¹ Such towns did not get full independence, as did the communes, but they did get considerable liberty. This was the common way in England, where the king did not allow communes to be set up.

**Freedom
by pur-
chase of
charters**

Many intelligent kings and lords granted charters to towns of their own free will. They saw that contented

**Charters
granted**



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America

TOWNSMEN IN REVOLT AGAINST THE NOBLE'S OPPRESSION

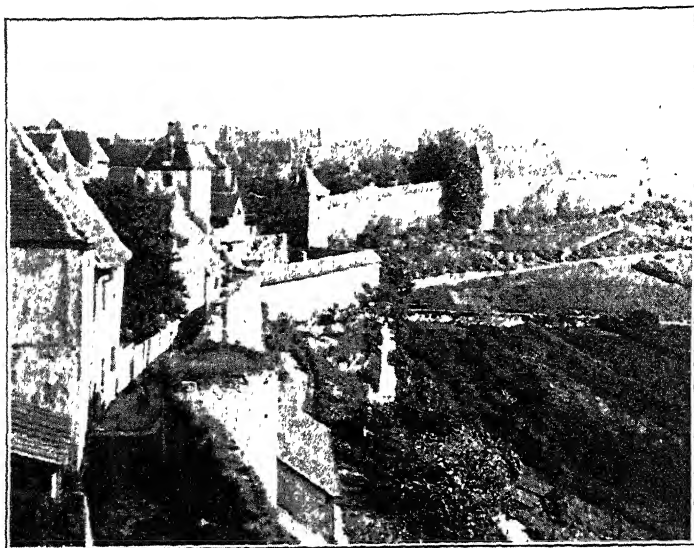
people made a prosperous town. Such a town would attract more people to come there to live. It was worth while for a lord to promise low taxes and some liberty to get more people to pay taxes. In this way he would get more money

¹King Richard I of England granted many such charters just before he started on the Third Crusade.

in the end and keep his control over the town. This method was often used by the kings of France.

Charters

Town charters varied greatly, but they limited the lord's right to tax, sometimes forbidding it, and provided that the



THE WALLS OF ROTHENBURG, GERMANY.

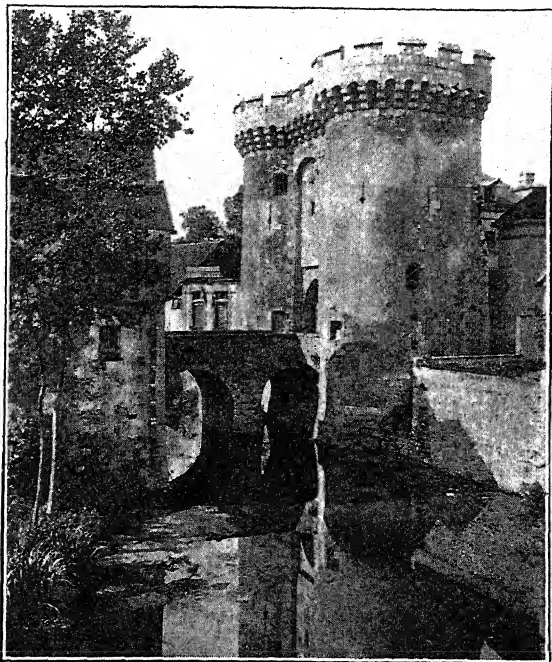
townspeople have their own officers and their own courts. At the head of the town government was the mayor or burgomaster assisted by a council of aldermen, usually the chief members of the merchant guild. Often these officers had the sole right to collect the taxes owed to the king or lord.

Merchant guilds

Before the charter was issued the leading merchants¹ of the town had usually formed a guild or association to help one another. The lord generally agreed to allow none but members to buy or sell anything within the town

¹ The term "merchant" had a broader meaning in the Middle Ages than it has now. A medieval merchant manufactured and sold instead of merely selling what others had made, as do most merchants of today.

without the consent of the guild members. The English kings often added that they should be free from all tolls anywhere in England. The members were engaged both in making and in selling goods. Membership was not limited



A MEDIEVAL GATE OF THE CITY OF CHARTRES, FRANCE

to any one trade. A merchant guild was very much like a fraternal order of today. Members had their social meetings and feasts as well as their business meetings. They helped any of their brethren who might be in trouble. But the merchants often refused to admit the laborers to membership in the guilds or to give them any share in the town government. As years went by, the merchant guilds became more and more like the employers' or manufacturers' associations of today.

The
craft
guilds

Gradually, after 1300 A.D., the workmen in the different trades began to form guilds of their own. Usually there was one of these craft guilds for each trade, such as weaving or shoemaking. The merchant guilds resisted these new organizations, and there were many struggles much like those of today between capitalists and laborers. After a long conflict the merchant guilds were defeated and forced to allow the craft guilds their share of influence and power. In England such a conflict did not take place, for there the merchant guilds split into different craft guilds.

The craft guilds looked after the activities of their craft, seeing to it that the work was well done, and carefully regulating hours and conditions of labor. Membership was usually gained by passing through the three grades: apprentice, journeyman, and master. First, one had to serve as



From an old German print
A GUILD MASTER INSTRUCTING A JOURNEYMAN AND AN
APPRENTICE

an apprentice without pay for a term of years in order to learn the trade. Then one might become a journeyman and work for regular wages. Finally, when the journeyman showed enough skill, he might be advanced to full membership as master, and he might set up a shop of his own. As the work was nearly all done in the homes of the

craftsmen, there was far less difference of position between master and journeyman than there now is between employer and employed in the modern factory. Besides regulating the work, the craft guilds had also their social and fraternal features.

In many respects the craft guilds were similar to the trade unions of today. They tried to make it hard to learn the trade. They were careful not to do any work that ought to be done by a member of another craft; for example, a shoemaker would not repair old shoes; that was for a cobbler to do. Their rules regarding the quality of the work sometimes lessened the amount done by each workman. The guilds helped the brethren and their families when in need, thus providing a sort of insurance similar to that of some trade unions today.

Comparison with
trade
unions
of today

Life in the towns was quite different from that in the country. The descendants of serfs who had lived in the country in rude one-room huts with no windows and had often gone cold and hungry through the winters, might live in the towns in comfortable and even luxurious homes and have plenty of good food. Not all the townspeople lived so well, but it is probable that very few fared as badly as the serfs in the country. Many towns were rich enough to build imposing town halls and cathedrals and to spend large sums on public festivals and shows.

Town
life

In many ways, however, medieval town life seems to us very crude. As a protection from attack it was necessary to have high stone walls around the town. That caused the builders of the town to make its area as small as possible. Hence the streets were dark and narrow, often only eight to twelve feet wide, and they had no pavements, no sewers, and no lights. Filth beyond description often lay deep in the streets, for garbage was thrown out of the windows. Troops of swine roamed about at will. The people crowded within the walls of a prosperous town fell easy prey to epidemics of disease. There was no regular police force or

fire department, and so each citizen had to take his turn at watching. Prosperous merchants dared not leave their homes at night without their arms and some stout servants



A TOWN STREET IN THE MIDDLE AGES

to help beat off robbers. There was often much poverty and misery among the poorer people. They lived in one-story huts of wood plastered with mud, crowded together in the back lanes.

Passing along almost any street one could see the craftsmen at work in the shops. A merchant in those days was only a successful craftsman who employed several laborers. He would stop his work now and then to sell some goods. His shop was the front room of his home. The second-story front room usually projected over the edge of the

ground floor. Often beneath this projection a large window shutter was let down in front of the house to form a counter. Here some goods were placed on sale. Men in the same trade usually lived in the same street. Great signs pictured what each shop had to sell.

Goods were made almost wholly by hand. Usually each man made an entire article himself and took much pride in his finished work. The working day lasted from sunrise to sunset, but there were frequent holidays. When work was steady a skilled workman's wage was enough to provide for his family fairly well.

Besides shops where goods were made and sold, the larger towns had a number of finer shops concerned chiefly with selling goods made elsewhere, often abroad. Such goods were hardware, spices, and silks. Somewhere near the center of the town was usually a large open space where a market was held once a week. Some merchants had wooden sheds or booths for their goods, others sold in the open.

The rise of the towns not only hastened the decline of feudalism but marked the beginning of democracy in national government. The townsmen rose from the mass of peasants and became a separate class together with the higher classes of clergy and nobles. Kings were glad to consult with the owners of such wealth, and so in England the kings asked the townsmen to send representatives to the Parliament and in France to the Estates-General. For hundreds of years the people of this newly risen class looked down on the classes below them with contempt. Yet their rise was the entering wedge in the destruction of the absolute power of the kings. When townspeople were admitted to a partnership in the government, the lower classes were sure to get a share later.

**Influence
of the
towns**

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

- (1) Why was there so little trade in the early Middle Ages?
- (2) What routes did trade follow? What were the chief articles

of trade? (3) What countries and cities profited most by this growing trade? Why? (4) What grievances did the medieval townspeople have against their lords? Compare these with the grievances of the American people before their War for Independence. (5) What methods did the townspeople use to win freedom? Which succeeded best? Why? (6) Why were intelligent lords and kings often quite willing to grant charters of liberty to townspeople? (7) Describe the merchant guilds of the medieval towns. What did they do for their members? Compare them with the chambers of commerce in American towns, or to retail grocers' or dry-goods merchants' associations of today. (8) What did the craft guilds do for their members and for the public? In what respects were they like and unlike the labor unions of today?

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THE UNION OF FEUDAL STATES TO FORM FRANCE

GROWTH OF FRANCE UNDER THE CAPETIAN KINGS

The Crusades, the rise of commerce, and the growth of the towns were strong forces leading to the decline of feudalism. But the rise of the great national states with their kings in full control was an even stronger force. One of the most important was France.

After Charlemagne's empire finally broke up (887 A.D.),¹ the feudal nobles took control of the western part. In 987 they elected as king one of their number, Hugh Capet. His descendants reigned in France for over eight hundred years. The new king was count of Paris and had under his own actual rule a region in north-central France including the cities of Paris and Orléans. This was called the royal domain. Over the rest of France the king was merely a feudal overlord. He could not call on the subjects of the great nobles for war service nor could he tax them.² For soldiers he had to depend mainly on knights from his own domain.

France
under the
early Cape-
tian kings

¹ See p. 238.

² If the king invited the great nobles, his vassals, to come to a fine Christmas dinner, they would probably come with many followers. But if he wanted their help to fight a hard campaign, most of them were likely to refuse.

French
history
compared
with that of
Germany

Reasons
for the
unification
of France

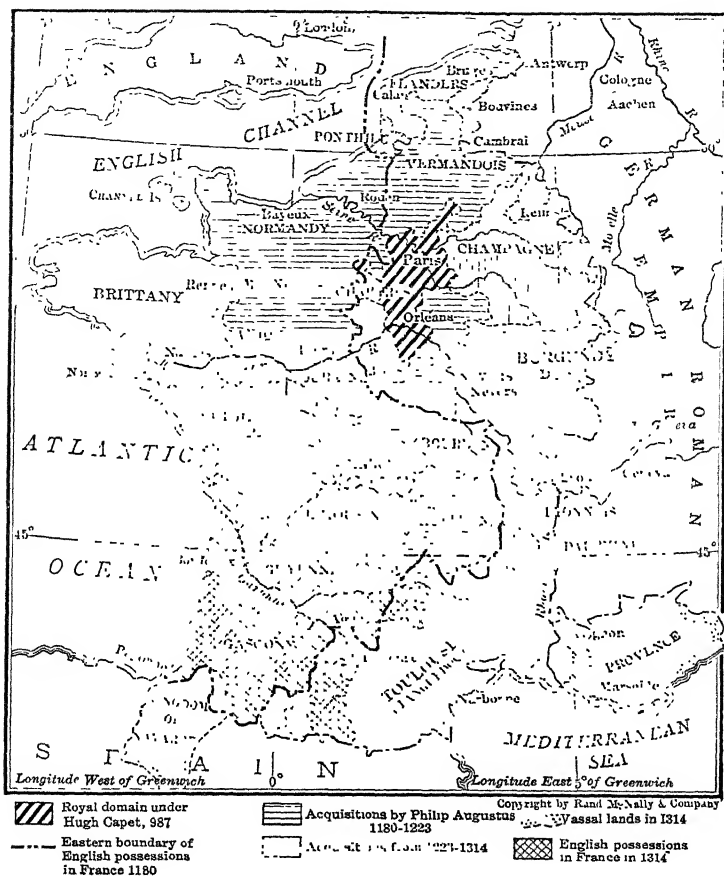
About 1050 A.D. the king of France had far less power over the people of France than had the emperor in Germany over the German people. France was divided among a host of feudal princes almost wholly independent, while the German emperor ruled the German nobles with a heavy hand. Yet two hundred and fifty years later France was almost wholly united under strong kings and Germany was divided.¹ The reasons for this were these: (1) The clergy of France helped the kings to obtain more power and subdue the nobles, and seldom quarreled with the kings as did those of Germany. (2) The nobles gradually lost their right to elect the king because, for three hundred years after 987 A.D., each Capetian king had a son ready to take his father's place. For two hundred years the new king was always chosen and crowned before his father's death. Several German royal families died out in that time, thus giving the nobles a chance to elect a king. (3) Most French kings stayed at home and attended strictly to the business of governing well. Most German kings went on expeditions to Italy, which lessened their power at home. (4) The French kings steadily added to their royal domains until at last they won direct control over most of France and forced the nobles of the rest of the country to recognize their authority. The German kings gave away their lands to knights who would follow them to Italy, and so lost their domains.

Work of
King
Louis VI

At first the French kings gained little power. Even near Paris the nobles built castles from which they went forth to rob and murder the helpless peasant, merchant, or churchman. The king himself was likely to be carried off and held for ransom if he went from Paris to Orléans without a strong guard. But Louis VI (1108-1137) conquered these robber nobles and made life and property safe in France.

The next hundred years were taken up mainly by struggles with the kings of England who held Normandy and most of

¹See pp. 287-288.



GROWTH OF THE DOMAIN OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE FROM 987 TO 1314

western France. Henry II of England possessed about ten times as much soil in France as did the French king. He might well hope to make himself king of France as well as of England.

As long as Henry and his great warrior son, Richard the Lion-Hearted, lived, the French kings could make no headway. But France now had a great leader, King Philip II,

**Character
of
Philip II**

called Augustus. A contemporary has pictured him as "a well-knit, handsome man, of agreeable face and ruddy complexion, loving good cheer, generous to his friends, far-seeing, and obstinate in his resolution." He was cautious, clever, and unscrupulous. Though by no means without bravery, he preferred to win by trickery. He is not a type to admire, but he must be respected as the great builder of the French kingdom.

Conquests
of
Philip II

Philip was helped in his aims by the constant quarrels between King Henry and his sons, among whom Henry had divided his French possessions.¹ But it was not until Henry's son John became king of England that the great opportunity came. John made enemies right and left. He broke the feudal laws until nearly everyone hated him. Philip summoned John to court, and when he did not come, declared his fiefs in France forfeited.² With a loyal army Philip seized all the lands in northern France held by the cowardly King John and added them to the royal domain. Only the English lands in the southwestern part of France were left in English control. John came back after a few years to try to regain his fiefs, but the French people were now stirred by national patriotism. Townsmen and nobles rallied to Philip's banner, and John was utterly defeated at the battle of Bouvines (1214 A.D.).

Later Philip II won other lands in the south and the royal domain reached from the Channel on the north to the Mediterranean on the south. Philip had started out as direct ruler of only about one-twelfth of France. Just before his death he ruled one-half of France directly as his domain.

The successors of Philip II continued to win more land. One of them married the heiress of the kingdom of Navarre

¹The story of John's rebellion against his brother, King Richard, is told in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

²John carried off and married a lady who was engaged to marry one of his vassals in western France. The injured noble appealed to Philip for justice according to feudal custom (see p. 251). The forfeiture of John's fiefs was also feudal custom. It was not as king of England but as count of Poitou, and therefore vassal of Philip, that John was summoned.

and the county of Champagne, thus adding these states to the royal domain. By 1328 A.D. there were left in France only a few powerful independent nobles. The king ruled directly about two-thirds of the country.

While the kings were winning more land, they saw the need of giving the people better government than the nobles had provided. Philip II set a special officer over each district of his domain to see that the laws were obeyed and

Work of
St. Louis,
king of
France



QUEEN MARGARET



KING LOUIS IX

that justice was done, and also to make sure that the taxes were collected and paid into the king's treasury. Louis IX devoted himself to governing well and making the French people respect the king. His reputation for justice was such that he was called St. Louis. The discontented took their disputes to the king's courts rather than to those of the nobles. Thus the royal power was extended over all France. Louis forbade private war and trial by battle in his domains and tried in many other ways to make his people more prosperous.

Philip IV, called the Fair, made the system of government still better. To pay his officers and the professional soldiers, whom he preferred to the feudal knights, he arranged a system of taxation levied even upon the clergy.

None of these changes in government gave more power to the people. The kings took great pains to keep the fullest control of all government officers. But most of the people were so glad to have civil wars stopped, the nobles subdued, and the property of the non-noble classes made safer, that they welcomed the rise of the absolute monarchy. The feudal lords lost nearly all powers of government except over their serfs. Even the serfs gained greatly because the king seldom permitted wars.¹ But the lesser vassals, the freemen, and the townspeople were the greatest gainers by this rise of absolutism. Thus during the Middle Ages the French people came to trust the king and his officers to govern well and protect their liberty from the lawless nobles.

This attitude of the French people is well shown by the history of the Estates-General, which at first was much like the English Parliament. Earlier kings had sometimes consulted with the great nobles and the clergy according to feudal custom. The taxation by Philip IV had led to a quarrel with the pope. The king wished to show that he had the support of the people, and so in 1302 he had the chief towns of France send representatives to meet with the clergy and nobles. This gathering was called the Estates-General. The clergy were called the First Estate, the nobles the Second Estate, and the representatives of the towns the Third Estate. Twice more Philip IV called together the people's representatives. In 1314 he obtained their consent to a tax to be paid by the townspeople.² Later kings followed his example and used the Estates-General once in a while to make taxes easier to collect. But they never allowed it to become as strong as the king, or a real partner in the government. After the Middle

¹See p. 252-253.

²The nearly absolute power of Philip IV is also shown by his success in securing the arrest and condemnation of the Templars in France and elsewhere (see p. 321). In fact, the year 1305 marks the beginning of that period in the history of papacy called the "Babylonian Captivity," when the popes were Frenchmen residing in France and largely subject to the influence of the French kings (see pp. 391-392).

Ages it had very few meetings. We shall see that in England Parliament had a very different history.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) By what methods did the early Capetian kings get the better of the feudal nobles? (2) Why was the power of the English kings of the twelfth century more dangerous to the Capetian kings than that of any of the nobles? (3) How did Philip II get the better of King John of England? What important results did this have? (4) How did Louis IX and Philip IV improve the system of government? How did these changes increase the royal power?

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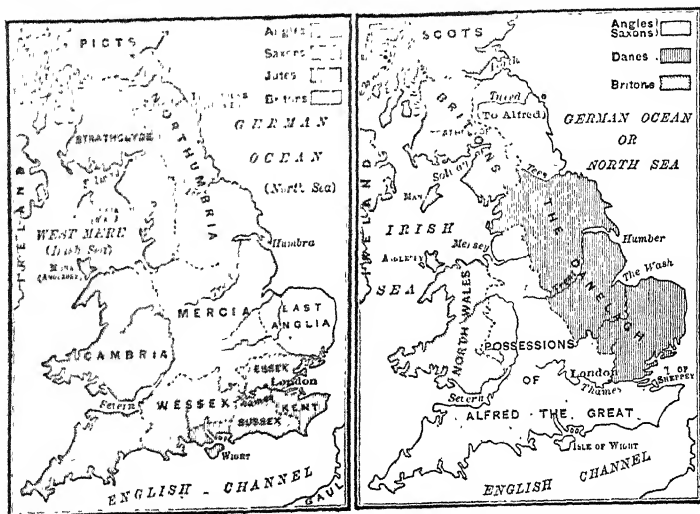
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THE UNION OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE UNDER STRONG KINGS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

The study of Germany and France so far has helped to show that it was better for the common people to have one strong government than many weak ones.¹ The history of

¹See pp. 275, 288, 337-338.



TRIBAL STATES IN ENGLAND,
449 TO 828

UNION OF THE KINGDOMS UNDER
ALFRED

England shows this even better. England was earlier united under strong kings, and also, the English people won a greater share in their government than any other people in Europe succeeded in doing.

The
conquest

Like France, England had been a part of the Roman Empire and had been invaded and taken by Germanic tribes. This conquest by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes required about one hundred and fifty years (to about 600 A.D.), but it was very thorough. German speech and customs ruled all Britain except in the north and west. This was quite different from France, where the German invaders were fewer in number than the natives and adopted their language and most of their customs.¹

Unification
of Anglo-
Saxon
England

In England the Anglo-Saxons set up many little states, one for each petty tribe. Gradually the larger states conquered their neighbors until at last the king of Wessex, or the West Saxons, reigned over the whole land (about

¹See p. 227.

800 A.D.). Then the Danes landed on the east of Wessex, took the coast lands, and threatened the entire island.¹

King Alfred the Great (871-901) succeeded in checking the Danes and began to reconquer that part of England which they occupied. He reformed the army, built many

Work of
King Alfred
the Great



COIN OF ALFRED

forts, and prepared a fleet to fight the Danes on the water. He also drew up many new laws and established schools for his people.² Alfred's successors made the Danes a part of their kingdom. The kings of Wessex became kings of Anglo-Saxon England. The Danish invasions had wiped out the old tribal states and paved the way for the real union of all the people into one national kingdom.

Other influences had helped in this work, especially that of the clergy. Missionaries had slowly converted the heathen Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. As in France, the clergy wished to put an end to disorder and civil wars. Hence they used their great influence to have all the land united under one king.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The event which united England was the Norman Conquest (1066). Before this, England was ruled by King Edward, known as Edward the Confessor because of his piety. He had lived long in Normandy and encouraged a great peaceful invasion by the Normans. The Saxons

Conditions
before the
Conquest

¹The Danish invasions of England were part of the great wave of Norse invasion that broke over Western Europe in the ninth century. The invaders were known as Northmen on the Continent and as Danes in England. See pp. 239-243.

²See p. 297.

were jealous of them, and there was much strife between the Norman and Saxon factions at the English court. At Edward's death, Earl Harold, leader of the Saxon faction, was made king. But Duke William of Normandy claimed the crown.¹

**Character
of Duke
William**

William was the ablest ruler of his time. Left an orphan at ten years of age, he had narrow escapes from death at the hands of rebellious nobles. "Surrounded by appalling dangers, compelled to face difficulties which would have crushed other men," his wits were sharpened and his courage tested by every trial. He grew up a quiet and self-reliant man. His giant body was topped by mighty shoulders, and it was said that no man in his army could bend his bow. No ruler had better control over men. At twenty years of age he had crushed the arrogant nobles of Normandy, extended the boundaries of his duchy, and then looked about for more chances for conquest. Harold's coronation gave him his opportunity. He presented to Harold his claim to the throne and, when Harold spurned it, gathered an army to invade England.

Harold was forced to meet two invasions at almost the same time. First an army from Norway, in alliance with William, landed in the northeast in September. Harold had allowed most of his farmer militia to go home for the harvest, leaving him only a few men to guard the southern shore against Duke William. With these he hurried northward and defeated the Norwegians at the battle of Stamford Bridge.

**Battle of
Senlac or
Hastings**

Meanwhile the Normans had landed in the south. King Harold's soldiers were worn out, but he marched them back in haste, calling on all the nobles for help. Those of the north hung back and left the work of defense to the south. Harold gathered his motley forces on the hill of

¹William claimed that the crown of England had been promised him by Edward the Confessor, William's cousin. He also claimed that Harold had sworn to support him as successor of Edward in return for assistance when Harold had been captured and held for ransom by a Norman noble.

Senlac, near Hastings, and waited for the Normans to attack. The English fought bravely, especially Harold's house guards, who swung their great two-handed battle-axes with



From the Bayeux tapestry

THE LANDING OF THE NORMANS

fearful results. The heavy-armed Norman cavalry charged up the hill again and again but could not break the wall of shields manned by Harold's guards. Nearly all day the battle raged, and the Normans seemed defeated. About three o'clock William ordered his troops to pretend a retreat and thus tempted the raw English soldiers to rush down the hill in pursuit. Then he turned and rode them down while they were in disorder. Harold's guards still held their ground, but at last the Norman archers by their hail of arrows did what the horsemen could not do. Harold



From the Bayeux tapestry

A CRITICAL MOMENT IN THE BATTLE OF SENLAC

fell with an arrow through his eye. The Normans closed in, and Harold's guards died around his body.

The battle of Senlac made William lord of England. He pushed on to London, secured his election to the throne, and was soon crowned king. During the next few years he conquered the whole country.

RESULTS OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The Norman Conquest was a great event in the history of England. Never since has a foreign force conquered the island. The Normans won mainly because they were better prepared to fight and better organized. This organization they brought into England.

Anglo-Saxon local government as found by William I

William the Conqueror found Anglo-Saxon England divided into shires, or counties as the Normans called them, each under a shire-reeve, now called a sheriff. Each shire was divided into subdivisions called hundreds, and each hundred into townships or villages. Most of these last were, by 1066, much like the manors of the Continent.¹ But the hundred had its court meeting once a month. This court was composed of the landowners or their deputies, the leading man of the hundred, the priest, and four other representative men of each village in the hundred. The court not only settled disputes but dealt with many questions of local government. Each shire also had its court meeting about twice a year, made up of about the same persons as the hundred courts and dealing with the more important questions. In these courts the English people had managed their own local government for many centuries quite free from interference by their kings. Thus representative government had started in England.

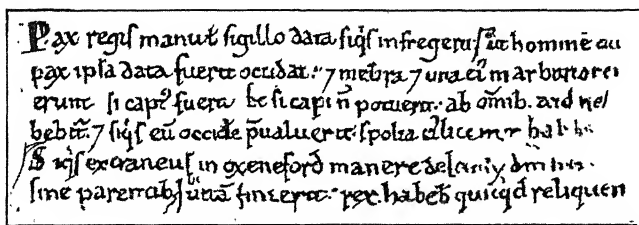
William I appointed the sheriffs and gave them more power in order to connect the local and central governments and to make sure that the national laws were better obeyed. But he made little change in the old shire and hundred courts which trained the people to govern themselves.

Establishment of an absolute monarchy

The chief result of the Norman Conquest was that King William I not only united the land but made himself almost an absolute monarch. He introduced feudalism, it is true, but in four respects it was quite different from feudalism on the Continent: (1) William gave out the conquered

¹See pp. 257-262.

lands to his nobles, but scattered their holdings and thus made it difficult for them to revolt against him. (2) He allowed no great nobleman to control a shire, as was common



A PASSAGE FROM THE "DOMESDAY BOOK"¹

on the Continent. (3) He had all the freemen in the land swear to be loyal to him, first of all. Thus the barons could not easily get backing for a revolt against the king.² (4) Above all, King William I was supreme in England.

That William's power was great is shown by the census he had taken. Officers were sent throughout the realm to learn how many people there were, how rich they were, and what taxes they could pay. These facts were recorded in what is known as the *Domesday Book*. Probably no other ruler in Europe could at that time have forced his people to give him such facts about their private business.

Many Normans came over to England to live. They were progressive and wide-awake, and helped build up the country. At first there was very bitter feeling between them and the native Saxons. Gradually, however, they began to be more friendly and to intermarry. The English language grew out of a combination of the Norman-French and the Anglo-Saxon. Most of the common words in English of Latin origin came in through the Norman-French.

¹Translation: If any man shall break the king's peace given by hand or seal, and he slay the man to whom peace was given, both his life and lands shall be in the king's power if he be captured, but if not taken he shall be held an outlaw by all, and if anyone shall be able to slay him, he shall have his spoils by law. If any stranger wishing to remain in Oxford and having a house with no kin shall finish his life there, the king shall have what he leaves.

²See pp. 248-252.

**Foreign
policy**

In foreign policy the Norman Conquest had important results. The union of England and Normandy under the same ruler was dangerous to the French kings. Naturally they tried to weaken and overcome their most powerful vassal, the English king, and drive him from France.¹ Thus arose the enmity between England and France which lasted almost to the present time.

THE WORK OF HENRY II

Under William's sons there were quarrels between king and nobles and between king and clergy.² Expeditions to Normandy were frequent. The great nobles tried to win their independence but failed. Then for many years two claimants fought for the crown and the whole country was devastated by a long, dreadful civil war (1135-1153). The nobles built many castles without right, and robbed and tortured people who had valuables. The wars were cruel beyond belief. England fell back into a state of feudal anarchy similar to that on the Continent in the tenth century.³

**King
Henry II**

Finally Henry, great-grandson of William I and already count of Anjou, became king (1154).⁴ This young man of twenty-one was anything but kingly in appearance. "Henry was tawny-haired, round-headed, and freckled, with large flashing grey eyes, thick-set and coarse of frame, of the bulldog build, a plebeian type of man. He was utterly indifferent to dress, to food and drink, and to all the shows of kingship. So restless and active was he that he seldom slept two nights in succession in the same bed. He was a passionate sportsman but one who never let sport interfere with business. He knew something about almost

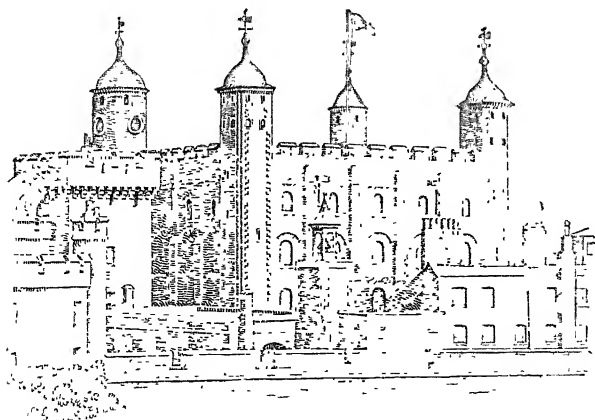
¹See p. 340.

²The investiture question was fought out and settled in nearly the same way as in Germany, but it did not greatly weaken the royal power. See pp. 280-281.

³It was worse than the state of affairs after the fall of the Hohenstaufen kings in Germany. See pp. 287-288.

⁴See pp. 338-339.

everything and was always learning more. He was a firm friend but a good hater, proud and unforgiving, and given to such frightful outbursts of passion that he would fling himself on the floor and gnaw the rushes which then did duty for



THE WHITE TOWER OF THE TOWER OF LONDON

Built by the Normans in 1078

a carpet." Henry was such a traveler that he all but wore out his officers. No rebellious baron could feel safe from a visit or attack by his king. He might feel sure the king was in Normandy and yet find him at the castle gate with an English army at his heels.

To rule over half of France as well as England was a task to try even Henry II, but he succeeded remarkably well. First he tore down the castles of rebellious nobles and forced them to obey him. Then he set up a good system of government. He chose skilled advisers and judges, some of whom he sent out regularly to hold the king's court in nearly every county and decide all sorts of important lawsuits. Now people no longer had to follow the king about to obtain decisions. The king's judges brought the courts to the people and so enabled them to receive justice more quickly and more cheaply. On their trips through the

Reforms
in govern-
ment and
law

country the judges used the same rules and customs, thus introducing a common system of law throughout the realm. This was the beginning of what is called the "common law." Law students of England and the United States still study its principles, and our own system of law is largely based on it.

The introduction of the jury system

Beginning of the grand jury

Henry II also introduced new methods of deciding law-suits. Robbery and murder were very common, for there were no regular policemen to arrest, or officers to convict, offenders. In 1166 A.D. Henry II ordered twelve men from each hundred and four from each village in the hundred to be called together regularly and required under oath to give the names of all persons in their neighborhood whom they suspected of robbery or murder. The persons thus accused were to be arrested and tried by the ordeal of water.¹ If the accused failed in the ordeal—that is, was declared guilty—he was severely punished. Usually an arm or a leg was cut off. Anyone reported as a very disreputable character had to leave the country even if he succeeded in the ordeal. The king's judges on their trips were ordered to inquire carefully into all serious crimes. These groups of neighbors who gave the names of suspected persons are the earliest form of the grand jury. But they were expected to give evidence, not merely to consider what was put before them by the public prosecutor as does the grand jury of today. Gradually during the thirteenth century it became customary to allow another set of jurors to decide the guilt or innocence of accused persons, and trial by jury took the place of trial by ordeal.

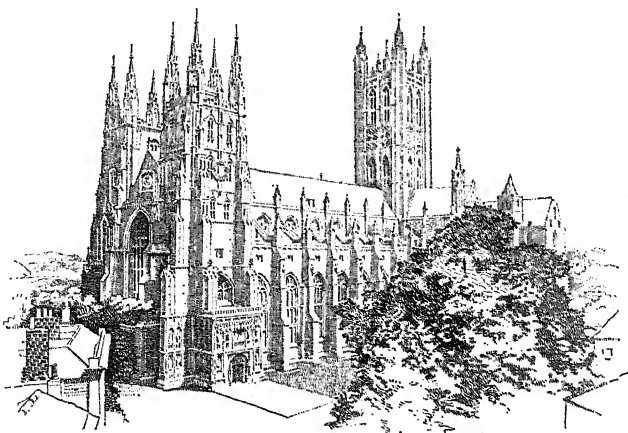
The trial jury

Henry II also introduced a trial jury to decide certain disputes about the possession or ownership of land. In

¹In the ordeal of cold water the procedure was as follows: First, the accused person went through long religious ceremonies in which he had to swear that he was quite innocent of the offense. Then his arms were tied and his ankles also and he was let down into a lake or stream. If he floated he was guilty; if he sank he was innocent. The theory was that the pure water would refuse to receive the body of the perjured wretch. It was based on the idea that God would see justice done.

such disputes it had been difficult to obtain justice, because a decision was usually reached by judicial combat. The parties to the case, or their hired fighters, fought before the court, and the victor received the land. Henry II enabled a freeman whose ownership was disputed or who was driven from his land to get a decision by a jury of honest men of the neighborhood. Their sworn statement as to who was in the right was accepted and the decision carried out at once by the king's officers.

Later, juries similar to these were introduced to decide other kinds of lawsuits. Such juries could not always have



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, CANTERBURY, ENGLAND

actual first-hand information of the facts, but depended more and more on other men who appeared before them as witnesses in the modern sense. From these small beginnings grew the modern jury system, which helped to train the people in self-government and to safeguard their liberties from injustice and tyranny.

While the king was making these reforms, he had a bitter quarrel with the archbishop of Canterbury and many of the clergy, regarding their position and powers. Henry would

Quarrel
between
Henry II
and Becket

not have the clergy independent of him. The quarrel dragged on for many years until the archbishop, Thomas Becket, was murdered by some of the king's followers. This turned the people against the king and caused Becket



Gramscoff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS

From the painting by William Blake

to be regarded as a saint, to whose shrine at Canterbury pilgrims came from far and near. The king had to grant some of the demands Becket had made. As late as 1500 the English clergy could be tried only by the church courts.

In the fifth century Ireland had been won to Christianity by missionaries under the leadership of St. Patrick. In the following centuries its monasteries became important seats of learning. But the Irish people remained under their tribal government and were not united under a strong king. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Northmen won a foothold in Ireland, and the first cities, including Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, were founded by them.¹

King Henry II allowed many Norman adventurers to go to Ireland and build castles and hold the people in subjection. Later Henry himself went over in the hope of becoming the real ruler of Ireland. He succeeded in the first of these undertakings, but for over three centuries English control was effective only in a strip on the east shore called the English Pale, with Dublin as its center. The rest of Ireland was ruled by the Irish clan or tribal chieftains, who followed

¹See p. 241.

Ireland
in the
Middle
Ages

their own laws, and were only occasionally interfered with by Norman barons who had some castles scattered over the island. There was much civil war and disorder, but until the sixteenth century the Irish people remained free from actual conquest.

THE BEGINNINGS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

The French wars were continued by Henry's son, Richard I (the Lion-Hearted), famous as a crusader.¹ Though Richard stayed in England only about six months of his eleven years' reign, the system of government established by his father continued to keep England in order.

Reign of
Richard I



SEAL OF RICHARD I



From an effigy at Fontevault, France
RICHARD I

By 1200, the English nobles found that they could not hope to rule their own separate states as the nobles in Germany were doing.²

They began to see that it was best to join the clergy and townspeople and force the king to make them partners in

¹See pp. 319-320.

²See pp. 286-288.

government. Most of the time after this the nobles led the opposition to the king with this new object in view, and so helped to build up a system of representation in Parliament.

Magna
Carta,
1215

The first long step in this direction was the winning of the Great Charter, the most important event of King John's reign (1215). For many years the king had abused his power. He had levied outrageous taxes, oppressed the nobles, and robbed both rich and poor. Formerly the clergy and common people had fought for the king when the nobles rebelled. Now not only the nobles, but the clergy, the merchants of the towns, and the freemen of the



KING HENRY II



SEAL OF HENRY II



SEAL OF JOHN



KING JOHN

whole land were enraged by John's treatment of them. In September, 1214, the king returned from France after a disastrous defeat in war¹ and demanded a large sum of money from the nobles. They refused and prepared to fight.

¹The story of two less important events of his reign has already been told. See pp. 284 and 340.

During the following winter King John tried to persuade the clergy and people to help him crush the threatened rebellion, but in vain. In the spring the nobles sent him



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America

KING JOHN SIGNING THE MAGNA CARTA AT RUNNYMEDE

their demands in writing. King John refused to yield. The army of the nobles then advanced to London, where the citizens welcomed them. Archbishop Langton¹ and the clergy favored them. The king saw that none but his hired soldiers would fight for him and they were too few in number. It is said that at one time only seven knights remained his followers. At last he decided to yield. His friends arranged a meeting for June 15, 1215, at a meadow called Runnymede, near Windsor. There came a host of barons all well armed. With the king were only a few of the great churchmen and

¹See p. 284-285.

Signing of Magna Carta

nobles, who had strongly advised him to make peace with his subjects. There King John affixed his seal to the treaty that had been drawn up, and swore to observe its provisions.

This Great Charter, or Magna Carta, was extorted from an unwilling king by a united nation. The barons led, and hence a majority of its provisions were favorable to them; but the charter promised greater liberty to all classes of the

Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, nec diffitemur rectum aut iustitiam.

A LINE FROM THE MAGNA CARTA

"To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or defer right or justice."

people. The king agreed not to arrest or imprison anyone or seize anyone's property except after a fair trial. This meant all who held land directly of the king. He agreed not to lay certain taxes except by the consent of the nation's great council. Since that day the Charter has been the basis of English liberty. Again and again Englishmen forced their kings to promise to carry out its terms.¹ It marks the beginning of government by the people of England. Back to this charter even the American people can trace the growth of their democratic government.

The Barons' revolt against Henry III

Under Henry III (1216-1272) many years of bad government and heavy taxes by king and pope followed. The barons tried to secure reforms, but the king refused, and at last civil war broke out (1263-1264). The king's forces were defeated by the barons under Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and the king and his son, Edward, were taken prisoners.

The Parliament of 1265

Earl Simon now controlled the government and, in 1265, called a meeting of the Great Council of the kingdom. He had many enemies among the nobles and many friends

¹It was clear that the vast power of the king built up by William I and his sons enabled Richard and John to oppress the nobles and the people, who thus were led early to combine against the king. In France, where absolute monarchy grew up much later, such a union against the king was unheard of at this time.

among the common people. Hence he ordered the sheriffs to have two knights chosen from each shire and two citizens from each of a number of towns and sent to the



SIMON DE MONTFORT



SEAL OF SIMON

meeting. This was the first time representatives of the towns and the shires met with the nobles and the clergy in Parliament.¹ Meanwhile Prince Edward had escaped from his captors and in a renewal of the war, later in 1265, won a decisive victory over Earl Simon and the barons, in which the Earl lost his life.

King Edward I (1272-1307) ranks with William I and Henry II as one of the three greatest kings of medieval England. He spent much time in wars with the Welsh, the Scots, and the French. Wales he really conquered, but Scotland broke away.

The reign
of King
Edward I

The North British people, like the Irish, were long governed by their tribal kings. The attacks of the Northmen

Medieval
Scotland

¹The term "Parliament" had been applied in England to the meetings of the nobles and clergy in the Great Council from about 1250, whether the representatives of the people were there or not.

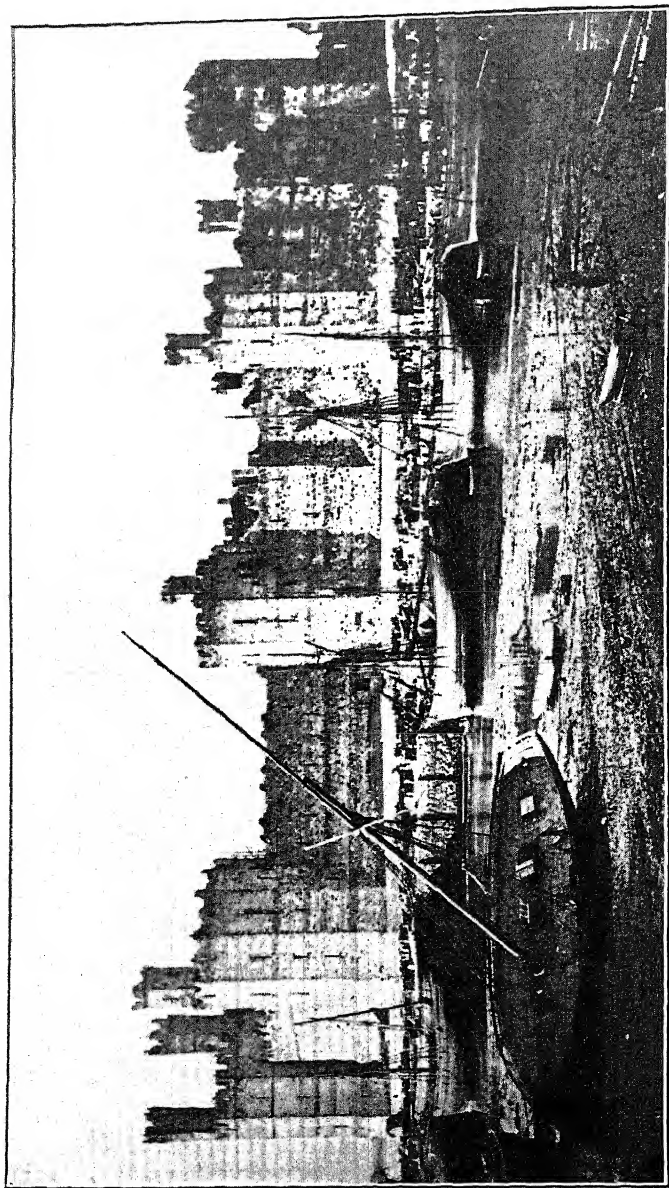


Photo by Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

CARNARVON CASTLE, BUILT BY EDWARD I AT CARNARVON, WALES

seem to have shown the Scots and Picts the need of union. So they combined under one king (844 A.D.). Nearly two hundred years later the king of Scotland seized lands around Edinburgh which had been held by the English. All the land between the Forth and the Tweed rivers became Scotch. A large English element thus mingled with the native people. Even the language which we now call Scotch is only a dialect of English. Various later English kings tried to assert their supremacy over the Scottish kings, but they wielded little actual power in Scotland. At last King Edward I of England seized a chance to put a puppet king on the Scotch throne (1292-1296), and make English control real. His candidate proved to be no puppet, and Edward deposed him by force and made himself king of the Scots. A series of desperate revolts soon followed. As long as he lived Edward crushed them, but the Scots led by Robert Bruce utterly defeated his son, Edward II, at the battle of Bannockburn (1314). Scottish independence was won. For nearly three hundred years after this, border raids were the rule along the frontier between England and Scotland, and whenever England and France were at war, Scotland was on the French side. Not until 1603 were England and Scotland united under the same king. This ended the border warfare.

At home Edward I called Parliament together often and made it more fully represent the people. The king needed the good will and the money of the well-to-do freemen of the country and the rich merchants of the towns, for the expenses of government and wars were heavy. Of course he could collect the money after obtaining their consent in the county courts and town assemblies, but it was easier to have all their representatives come together and get their consent at the same time to taxes for the whole country.

The
growth of
Parliament

After trying various forms of parliament, Edward I adopted a plan which became the model for later times. He sent for the great nobles and the higher clergy by special

The
Model
Parliament

letters and ordered the sheriffs to have two knights elected to represent each county and two citizens for each town. Besides these, the lower clergy sent their representatives. This was the Model Parliament (1295), so called because later parliaments were patterned after it.¹ It was much like that called by Earl Simon, except that the king called it himself and many more of the clergy and great nobles came.

How
Parliament
changed
early in the
fourteenth
century

In the next forty years the different groups in Parliament gradually united to form two assemblies or houses. The lower clergy stopped coming, the upper clergy found it easy to join with the great nobles, and the knights or lesser nobles began to sit with the representatives of the towns. Thus developed the House of Lords and the House of Commons, forming a parliament of two houses (1332).²

King Edward did not always ask Parliament before collecting taxes. Early in 1297 he became involved in a violent dispute with some of the leading nobles when he demanded that they go to Gascony to fight for him while he went to Flanders. To the earl of Norfolk he swore with a mighty oath, "Sir Earl, thou shalt either go or hang." The earl replied with the same oath, "I shall neither go nor hang," and gathered armed men to resist the king. Edward seized much wool belonging to the merchants and forced them to pay a heavy tax besides. Then, without hanging his opponents, he left for Flanders. In September his forces were defeated by the Scots. Then the discontented nobles came to Parliament armed and refused to vote further taxes. As the merchants also were angry and the clergy as well,

¹ This was the beginning of a most important improvement in democratic government. The ancient republics of Athens and Rome had governments controlled by the citizens of the city, but neither of them ever provided means by which citizens in distant places could have a share in deciding city policies without making a journey to the home city in person. The representative principle which we see adopted here by the English has made possible the formation of democratic governments covering a wide area.

² Such a combination did not take place in the French Estates-General which met first in 1302. There remained three houses: clergy, nobles, and the third estate, of which the first two had so many interests in common that they often voted alike. Thus there were often two votes against one vote of the third estate which bore the weight of the taxes.

the king promised again to observe the terms of the Great Charter and to levy no new or extraordinary taxes without the consent of Parliament. This "Confirmation of the Charters," as it was called, set up in England the principle of "no taxation without representation."

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

- (1) Why are the English people almost wholly a Teutonic people?
- (2) Why is King Alfred regarded as one of England's greatest kings?
- (3) What influences and events led to the union of all England under the kings of Wessex?
- (4) Make a list of the different ways in which the Norman Conquest of England influenced its later history.
- (5) How did Henry II introduce the "common law" into England? Why is this important? To what extent have we a "common law" throughout the United States?
- (6) Explain the other improvements in government made by Henry II and what advantage each was to the king and to the English people.
- (7) Explain the causes of the quarrel between Henry II and Becket. What main issue did the king hold against Becket? What was the outcome of the quarrel?
- (8) State the main provisions of Magna Carta. How was it won? Explain its influence on later England.
- (9) Why did Edward I call parliaments and give them a share in the government?
- (10) What classes of persons met in the Model Parliament? How did the membership of Parliament change in the next century?
- (11) In what respects did Parliament give the English people more self-government than the ancient Athenians or Romans had?
- (12) Are there any important countries today that have no parliaments? If so, name them.

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THE LATER MIDDLE AGES AND BEGINNINGS OF THE MODERN WORLD

ENGLAND AND FRANCE. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MASTERY AND ITS EFFECTS

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Causes
of the
Hundred
Years'
War

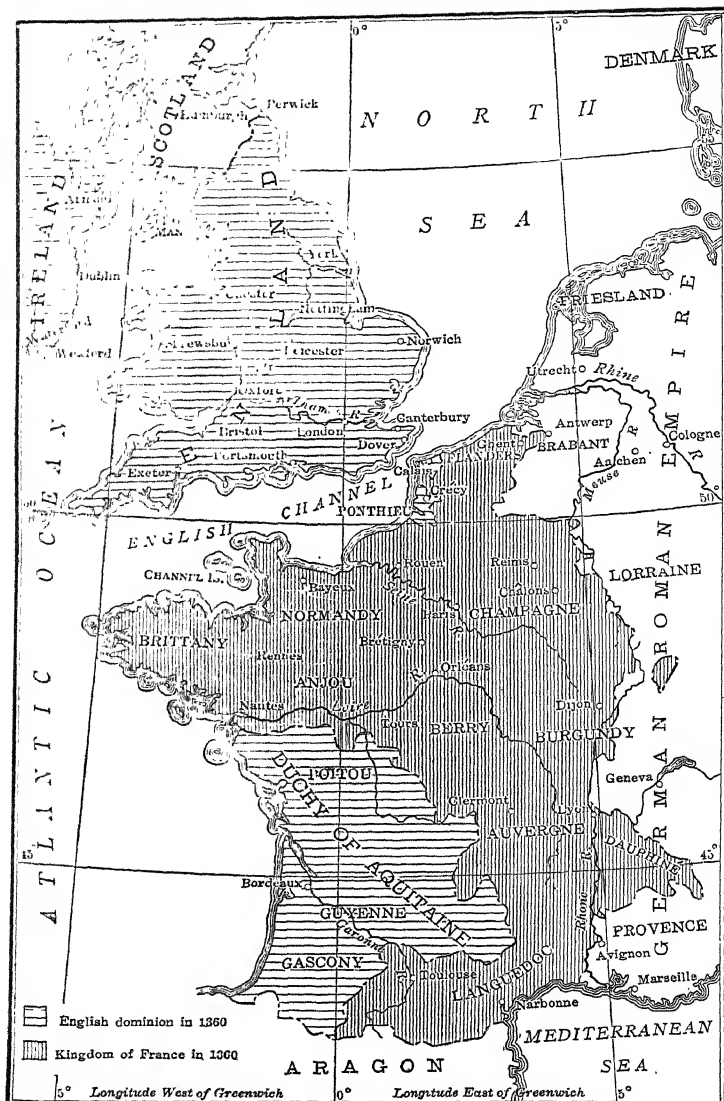
Having traced the history of Western Europe to about 1300, we shall now continue our study of the rise of strong national states in the West and the break-up of Germany and Italy. Ever since 1066 there had been wars between France and England mainly because the English kings held in France much land which the French kings believed ought to be theirs.¹ The English kings were still dukes of Aquitaine. They could not be subdued like other feudal princes of France because they could always get help from England. The French people believed that all French soil should be ruled by the king of France, and sooner or later this sentiment would have led to a great war to drive the English from French territory.

The English also had their grievances. The French had helped the Scots in their wars against England. The English king, Edward III, wanted to win power in Flanders. The Flemish people made English wool into cloth, and the count of Flanders and the French king interfered with England's trade with them.²

The English won the first victory in the war, when their fleet utterly defeated the French fleet (1340). This gave the

¹See pp. 339-340 and 349-350.

²Edward III also claimed to be rightful king of France because his mother was a daughter of Philip IV. But he evidently had decided to fight before he pushed his claim.



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FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN 1360, THE DATE OF THE FIRST PEACE

English control of the sea and enabled them to land an army almost anywhere on the French coast.

In 1346 occurred one of the decisive battles of the war. Edward III landed in Normandy and began to loot the province. The French pursued him with a much larger army. At Crécy, Edward turned at bay. His army was small but well disciplined, mainly foot soldiers armed with the long-bow.¹ Most of the French were knights on horseback who despised the archers opposed to them. They charged the English, only to be slaughtered by the deadly hail of arrows or driven from the field by the English counter-attack. The French defeat was complete. It was noteworthy because it clearly showed the superiority of the common soldier over the feudal knight. Feudalism could hardly outlive this. The English then besieged and took Calais, which remained in their possession for two hundred years.

**Battle
of Crécy**

Again in 1356 a great French host attacked the English at Poitiers and was disgracefully defeated. The king and many great nobles were made prisoners and held for ransom. In spite of their victories, the English could not hold the land because of the many castles. These could be taken only after long sieges. Hence the invaders burned what they could not carry off to England. The French peasants suffered terribly and rebelled against their lords (1358). Their uprising was crushed with great cruelty.

**Battle
of Poitiers**

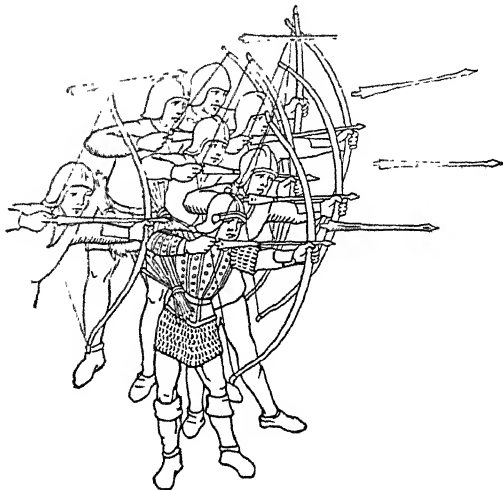
At last the French had to make peace. Edward III gave up his claim to the crown of France in return for full control of the southwest, formerly held as a fief of the French kings. The French were compelled to pay an enormous ransom for their king.

**End of
first quar-
ter of the
war, 1360**

¹The longbow was five or six feet long and was so held that the arrow was on a level with the eye and the arm was above the shoulder. Boys learned to shoot with it in early youth, just as most American boys learn to play baseball. The average Englishman of the fourteenth century could use it with deadly accuracy at distances that seem almost unbelievable today. Moreover, an English longbowman could shoot twelve arrows while a crossbowman was shooting one.

**Recovery
of France**

For the French this was only a truce. Their new king was determined to drive the English out of France. He raised new armies of hired soldiers, not feudal knights, and



From an old Print

ENGLISH ARCHERS USING THE LONGBOW

put a great general in command. When all was ready, he renewed the war and won back most of the lands his father had lost.

**Black
Death and
its results
in England**

In the meantime a terrible pestilence, called the Black Death, swept Western Europe.¹ It reached France first and then spread to England (1348), where nearly half the people died.

This great loss in population brought about many changes. Laborers were scarce and many peasants obtained higher wages or won freedom from serfdom. The landlords tried to prevent this, but the angry peasants felt that the government was mismanaged for the benefit of the landlords and rebelled (1381). The revolts were

¹This is now known as the bubonic plague. In 1909 a severe epidemic of it threatened the Pacific Coast of the United States. It was checked by killing rats wholesale. These rodents had spread the disease.

quickly suppressed, but during the next century most English serfs were freed.

For a long time after the peasants' revolt there was little fighting between English and French. The French king, Charles VI, became insane, and civil war broke out among the nobles. Two factions fought to control the king and the government and of course it was the common people who suffered most in the strife. Then Henry V of England renewed the war by invading Normandy, where a much larger French army attacked him at Agincourt (1415). Again, as at Crécy,¹ there was a great slaughter of French knights. The English then took possession of all northern France and in a few years pushed on to conquer the whole land.² Apparently only the city of Orléans blocked the way to the entire south. Prince Charles, son of Charles VI, seemed about to lose his kingdom, and even thought of taking refuge in Scotland or Spain.

**Renewal
of the war**

**Battle
of
Agincourt**

Then appeared one of the most remarkable figures in the history of Europe, Joan of Arc. This young peasant girl believed that she heard divine voices urging her to go and save the country from the English. In man's clothing she traveled across France to reach Prince Charles. There she was given a place in the army and led it to the relief of Orléans (1429). The French people were deeply discouraged by defeat. They needed a leader to give them confidence, and Joan was this. The soldiers were now sure that God favored France. A series of victories made possible the coronation of Charles at Reims. Joan had finished her task, but was not allowed to return home. The next year she was taken prisoner, and through the influence of the English she was put on trial as a heretic. The ungrateful Charles VII made no effort to save her, and after a long trial she was burned at the stake.

**Joan of Arc
leads the
French to
victory
(1429 A. D.)**

¹See p. 367.

²In 1422 a treaty had been made providing that Henry V should succeed the insane Charles VI as king of France, but Henry died first, leaving an infant son. Nevertheless the English kept on fighting to conquer all France.

End of the
war, 1453

But Joan of Arc had done her work. The French armies were now better led. The English, weakened by quarrels, at last were utterly defeated. Of all his French provinces,



JOAN OF ARC AT THE SIEGE
OF ORLÉANS



THE DEATH OF JOAN OF ARC
AT ROUEN

From mural paintings by Lenepveu in the Pantheon at Paris

the English king kept only the city of Calais. France was now more firmly united than it had ever been.

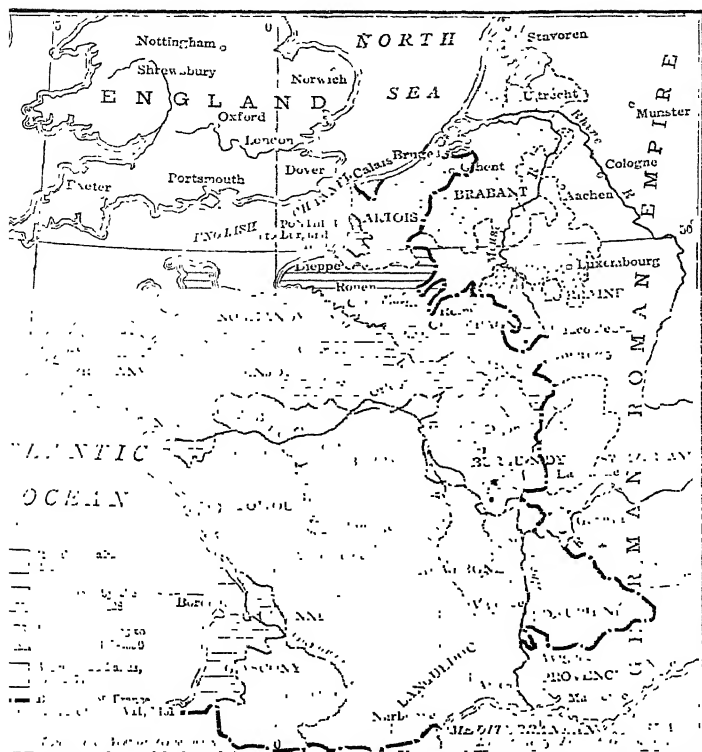
Results
the Hun-
dred Years'
War

This unification was only one result of the war. In both countries stirring appeals to patriotism were made, and national passions were stirred up as never before, so that the French and English hated each other.

The English
Parliament
wins more
power

The English king took especial pains to explain the war to Parliament and so win the people's good will. He could pay the very heavy cost of the war only after special grants of taxes by Parliament. Its leaders seized the opportunity and forced him to give Parliament more power. No taxes might be levied or new laws made without its consent.¹ The king must listen to its advice about all important measures of government. By impeachment it might dismiss

¹The Confirmation of the Charters (p. 363) had not applied to all taxes.



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 EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM FRENCH TERRITORY, BEGUN BY JOAN
 OF ARC AND COMPLETED BY CHARLES VII, 1428-1461

I punish offending ministers of the king. Led by the
 at nobles, Parliament thus won a share in the government.
 The Estates-General of France began much like Parliam-
 nt, but it did not grow as in England. The French kings
 e bound by no Great Charter, and most of their people
 ed little for self-government. The townspeople had been
 oppressed by the nobles that they usually sided with the
 g against the nobles. In England, on the other hand, it
 s the king who had oppressed the people,¹ and so they

**Why the
 French
 Estates-
 General
 did not
 make simi-
 lar gains**

¹See p. 355-358.

were willing to join with the nobles in efforts to limit the king's power.

Early in the war the French kings also called the Estates-General to raise money. As in England, the Estates forced the king to make reforms and give them more power. But the people did not back the Estates long. Once a tax had been voted, the king claimed the right to collect it forever after.² This made him almost independent, and hence meetings of the Estates-General became less frequent.

Toward the end of the war France was laid waste by brigands who robbed and murdered and terrorized the people. The king found it hard to crush them. Hence the Estates (1439) put all soldiers in France under his sole command. To pay this standing army they voted a land tax to be paid only by the common people. With this tax and a standing army to force people to pay, the king had little need to call the Estates-General. In the next two hundred years there were only seven meetings, and then none at all until the Great French Revolution (1789). France was well united under absolute kings ready to seize lands to the east and to take a leading place in Europe.³

**The Wars
of the
Roses in
England**

In England the Hundred Years' War was followed by sixteen years of civil strife called the Wars of the Roses.⁴ Disbanded soldiers were hired by rival factions of nobles who wished to control the government. First one side won and then the other, and in the struggle the people suffered much. At last the weak king Henry VI was permanently deposed and the able Edward IV was placed on the throne. These wars

²See pp. 342-343.

³Such a principle was never established in England.

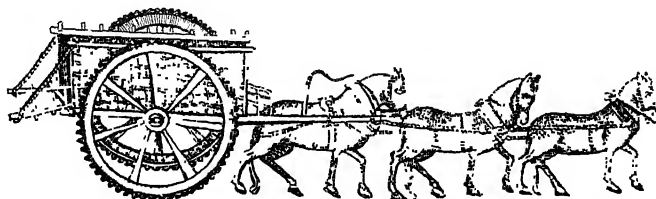
⁴The union of all France was blocked for a short time by the duke of Burgundy, who planned to build up a kingdom of his own between France and Germany, including the regions that are now Belgium, Holland, eastern France, and western Germany. Much of this land he already held. At first King Louis XI of France could do little to prevent this. But the duke's death in battle enabled Louis to seize his French lands. The dream of a Burgundian kingdom could not be realized. See map, page 371.

⁵The Wars of the Roses were so called from the emblems, the red rose and the white rose, adopted by the Lancastrian and Yorkist factions.

weakened the nobles and strengthened the king. The people had formerly supported the nobles against tyrannical kings. Now they were so tired of thefts and brawls by the noblemen's retainers that they turned to the king. So long as he made property safe, the king met little opposition from the people's representatives in parliament.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE
DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

In both England and France, from 1300 to 1500, conditions of life among the common people changed greatly.



From the Luttrell Psalter
A COUNTRY CART OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Since the feudal age¹ the English peasant's lot had grown steadily better. Some serfs had run away and taken refuge in towns, while others had been freed by their lords.² By the time of Edward I some lords were beginning to allow their serfs to pay money instead of doing their three days of work each week on the lord's domain land.³ This freed the serf from the worst of his burdens. He could now hire out to work for pay, and so earn his rent money.

Life of
people in
England

In France the century before the Hundred Years' War was very prosperous. Population and wealth increased, and much forest and swamp land was cleared and farmed. Laborers were needed, so they won steadily better terms for themselves by leaving the lord who was hard on them and taking employment elsewhere. Here, as in England, lords began to receive money rents from the serfs instead of the

Conditions
in France
before
the war

¹See pp. 255-262.

²See pp. 326-330.

³See p. 261.

three days of work each week. They also leased much land to free farmers who hired day laborers to do the work. Thus a class of free laborers and rent-paying farmers was growing. Though many peasants were still serfs, they were much better off than they had been three hundred years earlier.¹

Effects of
the war
on the
French
peasants

The Hundred Years' War brought awful misery to the French peasants. The invading English robbed them of everything and burned their homes. Many were murdered; more starved to death.² Companies of disbanded soldiers also wandered about, plundering. They were called "flayers" because of the inhuman tortures to which they put their victims. This long agony drove people from the farms to the castles and fortified centers. Whole villages were deserted and fell into ruin. Large counties which had been well peopled and prosperous were turned into forests as the underbrush and trees grew up. Wolves and robbers prowled through these deserted regions. Some parts of France did not recover their former prosperity for two hundred years.

Improve-
ments
after the
war

Of course this meant heavy loss of income to the owners of these deserted lands. When the war was over, they tried hard to have their lands tilled again at once. The king lowered the taxes to induce the people to go back to their lands. Great hunts were organized to kill off the wolves. But the Black Death and the war had caused a terrible loss of life among the peasants.³ Laborers were very scarce, so they received good wages and conditions of life improved. Lords were compelled to treat their laborers well to keep them from leaving, and many serfs won their freedom.

Serfdom did not disappear in all parts of France, but most French peasants who survived the great war were much freer from their lords than ever before.

The war brought less misery to the English peasants because it was fought in France, but the Black Death took

¹ See pp. 255-262, especially p. 261.

² Of course the English armies devastated only certain parts of France. But the "flayers" did not spare the parts which the English had not touched.

³ See p. 368.

a heavy toll of lives. The peasants' revolt¹ of 1381 was suppressed without gain for the peasants, but nevertheless their condition grew steadily better. There was now more trade throughout the country. Wealth increased and money became more plentiful. Most landlords put to rent the lands which had formerly been cultivated by their serfs.² Hence nearly all were glad to exchange their labor rents for money rents and let the serf become a free tenant on his little holding of thirty acres.³ At the close of the fifteenth century there were few serfs in England.

English
changes in
peasant
life

This rise of the peasantry caused little change in the villages or in the methods of farming. The three-field system was still the usual one,⁴ and the laborers used the same rude tools as before. But the peasants did have more of the comforts of life: better food, better clothes, better furniture, and more pleasure. Freedom gave hope. Life was no longer so dull and hard as in the feudal age.

Influence
of these
changes

The period of the Hundred Years' War saw fewer changes in the towns than in the country. The English merchants became richer. Formerly English wool had been sent to Flanders to be made into cloth. Now the English kings had some of it woven at home. Thus the cloth industry grew and gave work to more laborers. In France the war affected the towns less than the country, but trade was cut down, for some towns had been taken and sacked. Laborers began to move about more. The guild system remained common,⁵ but it was now harder for a laborer to rise to the rank of master in his trade and set up a shop of his own. Hence there was more ill will between master and employee than before. The laborers formed their own guilds to advance their interests, and there were quarrels between masters and men, similar to modern strikes and lockouts. In other respects, town life differed little from that of the thirteenth century.⁶

The towns
in the
later
Middle
Ages

¹See p. 368.

²See p. 257.

³See p. 261.

⁴See pp. 257-258.

⁵See pp. 330-333.

⁶See pp. 333-335.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Was war between the kings of England and France inevitable in the fourteenth century? Prove it by showing how each could have avoided war and why he did not. (2) How do the events of the Hundred Years' War show England's need for a strong navy? (3) Why were the English able to defeat the French at Crécy and Poitiers? What effects did these battles have on the power of the feudal nobles? (4) What was the Black Death? Where has it appeared in recent years? How did it affect conditions of life among the common people of England? (5) Why could Henry V of England win such victories over the French? What were his plans? What prevented their being carried out? (6) Make a brief table of the events of the Hundred Years' War, dividing them into four periods. Who won each period, and why? (7) Was it good or bad for England to lose the French possessions? Why? (8) What powers and privileges did Parliament win in 1300-1500? To what extent and why did the war help Parliament to win them? (9) Make a list of the reasons why the French Estates-General did not win as great power in the same period. (10) What were the Wars of the Roses? What made them possible? Explain their main results. (11) Why did the condition of the French and English peasants improve in the century before the Hundred Years' War? (12) How and why did the war help the peasants to better conditions of life? (13) How were the towns affected by the war?

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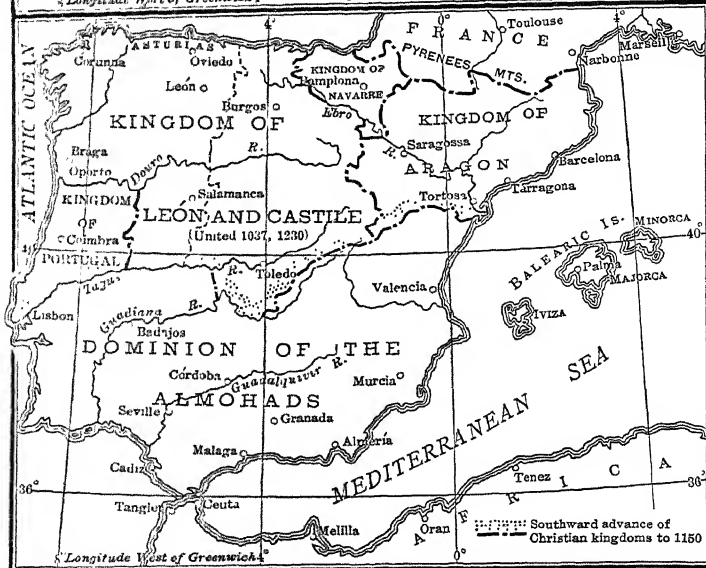
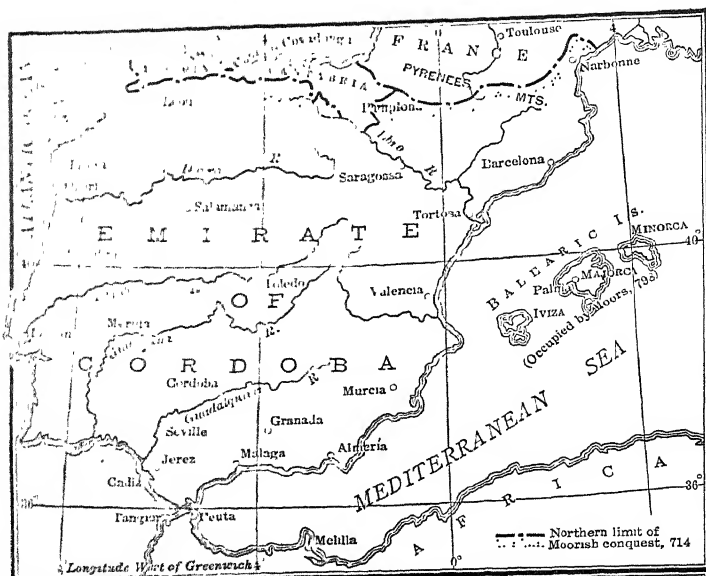
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CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE MOORS AND RECONQUEST BY THE CHRISTIANS UP TO 1150 A.D.

SPAIN, GERMANY, AND ITALY

UNION OF THE SPANISH STATES

Spain was a third state, besides England and France, to be united before the close of the Middle Ages. The kingdom that had been established in the Spanish peninsula by the Visigoths¹ lasted until 711. In that year an army of Arabs and Berbers crossed the strait between Northern Africa and Spain, and by 714 they were in possession of all of the Spanish peninsula except a strip of mountains at the north.² There in the mountain fastnesses a few Christian chiefs maintained themselves. Gradually the Christians began to push back the Mohammedans, and for almost eight hundred years they kept fighting to wrest their land from the invaders. By 1265 they had won all but the small kingdom of Granada at the southern extremity of the peninsula.

How the
separate
states of
the Spanish
peninsula
were
combined

At first the recovered lands were divided into many rival states, but these gradually combined into three large ones, Castile, Aragon,³ and Portugal. In 1479 the marriage of Isabella, queen of Castile, to Ferdinand, king of Aragon, joined most of the peninsula under one government.⁴ After a few years these rulers attacked and finally conquered Granada (1492). Spain and Portugal were now the only states in the Spanish peninsula.⁵

But Spain was not yet united, and the people had little national patriotism. There were different laws and customs in different regions and the nobles were too independent and disorderly. The government was in great need of money.

In what
respects
their union
was incom-
plete

Ferdinand and Isabella early began a series of reforms. The nobles were attracted to the royal courts and, by

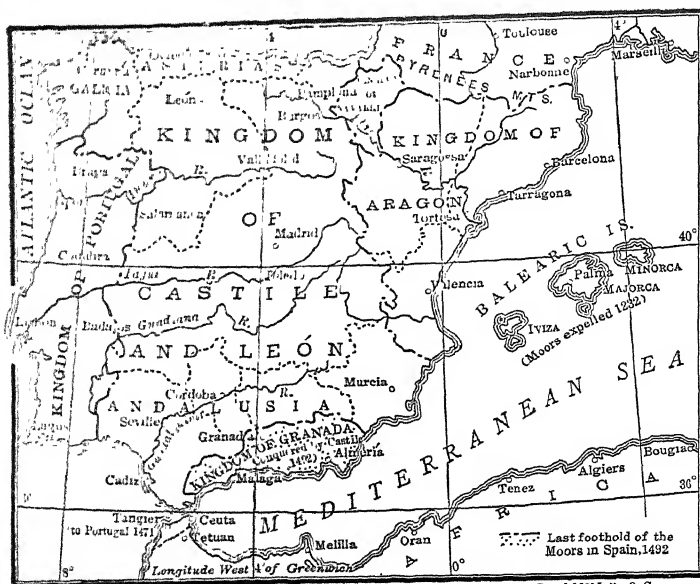
¹See p. 223.

²See p. 311.

³Castile included León, the Asturias, and other formerly independent kingdoms. The kingdom of Aragon was a consolidation of Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands as well as the original kingdom of Aragon.

⁴Not until 1474 and 1479 did they succeed to their respective kingdoms. Even then the two states were not fully united. Castile and Aragon each had its own separate ruler and its own system of government throughout.

⁵That part of Navarre south of the Pyrenees remained technically independent until 1515, when it was formally annexed to Aragon.



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SPANISH STATES AND PORTUGAL IN 1492

absence from their estates, lost power. Lawlessness was suppressed by a special system of police and courts. Trade and industry were encouraged and the taxes honestly collected. The power of the crown was greatly increased and the country made prosperous. Under the next rulers, Charles V and Philip II, Spain was regarded as one of the strongest states of Western Europe.

Reforms
made in the
church by
Ferdinand
and Isabella

At the same time the church of Castile was thoroughly reformed. Ximenes, a Franciscan monk who had risen by sheer ability from the lowest rank, became the queen's confessor. He was made archbishop of Toledo and a cardinal. He found the Spanish monks and clergy idle, ignorant, and often worse, and began to enforce the rules severely. The clergy were given better education. Soon there was a wonderful change throughout the land. Under the direction of Ximenes, the famous "Polyglot Bible" or new translation

of the Book was published in Spain. This reformation in morals did not mean any change in doctrines. Heresy was severely punished and great efforts were made to convert the many Jews and Moors in the land. Thus the religious abuses which, as we shall find, were common in Germany, were largely abolished in Spain and, for that reason, when the Protestant Revolt spread to Spain it won little foothold.

GROWTH OF SEPARATE STATES IN GERMANY

After the close of the papal-imperial conflicts¹ (1254), civil war raged in Germany. Each feudal noble ruled as he pleased. At last Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, was chosen king by the seven greatest nobles of the land (1273). Though most of the kings following him took the title of emperor, nearly all seemed to have given up the old idea of world monarchy and were content to stay in Germany and add to their power there. But it was now too late. The king was elected by the great princes, who preferred a weak king to a strong man who might try to rule them. They would not choose the son of an able king.² Hence, if a king won any new land he now handed it on to his son and not to the new king. Thus he tried to found a separate state, over which his descendants would rule. Thus Rudolph kept Austria and Styria for his own family, the Hapsburgs, who ruled them until 1918.

German
kings give
up their
imperial
ambitions

A little later another king won Bohemia for his family. His grandson made its capital, Prague (modern Praha), one of the great cities of the time. He ruled Bohemia well, but cared little for Germany as a whole. He gave the seven greatest princes the right to elect the king and granted them full control of the people living on their lands.³ They were now subject to the king only in name (1356).

¹See pp. 287-288.

²They could not afford to let the crown become hereditary in an able family as had happened in France. See p. 338.

³These princes were the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count Palatine of the Rhine.

**Power of
local
princes**

Throughout Germany and Italy, nobles, cities, and even allied peasants were trying to do just what the great princes had done. Every petty noble aspired to rule his own subjects. Most of the larger cities were independent. They had their city leagues to protect their trade, since there was no central government willing to do it. Most famous of these leagues was the Hanseatic League.¹ The result of such conditions was that by the year 1500 Germany was divided into about three hundred different states. There was seldom a time when there was no civil war going on. Hence the peasants suffered great misery.² There were frequent outbreaks against their lords, but the German peasants did not win freedom from serfdom until the nineteenth century.

**Vehmic
courts**

Crime was so common and the different governments did so little to suppress it that people formed secret societies to protect themselves. The members would meet secretly to try offenders. Then certain members would be appointed to carry out the sentence of death. The guilty man's body would later be found hanging to a tree. Near by was left a knife marked with the initials of the society so that all might know by whose authority he had met death. These vehmic courts, as they were called, were much like the vigilance committees in the early days after gold was discovered in California. They were formed because the ordinary government was not doing its work. They enforced order and kept the land quiet.

In the fifteenth century one real effort was made to restore the king's power, unite Germany again, and end disorder and private wars. The emperor Frederick III set up an imperial court to settle all disputes and thus prevent private war. His soldiers were to enforce the laws and the court's

¹ See p. 325. About 1300 A.D. the Swiss peasants won freedom from their feudal lords, the counts of Hapsburg. Cities like Zurich and Berne also joined the Swiss League, and gradually Swiss national patriotism grew. See p. 436.

² Their condition does not seem to have improved as did that of the English peasants. See pp. 374-375.

decisions, and a tax was to be levied to support the court and the army. But these plans came to naught. The strong separate princes would not let the emperor win more power in this way. Most of those who owed taxes would not pay. The emperor had too few soldiers to force them to pay and he could not hire more without money. Hence the army amounted to little and few obeyed the court. German national patriotism seemed dead.

The only hope now was in the rise of stronger separate states to keep order in at least a part of the land. The earliest of these was Austria, ruled by the Hapsburg family, famous for its lucky marriages.¹ One of the Hapsburgs, Emperor Maximilian,² married Duchess Mary of Burgundy, ruler of the Netherlands and of some lands east of France (1477). Their son married a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and heiress of the great Spanish kingdoms. Her son Charles became ruler of Spain and all her American and Italian possessions, of the Netherlands, and of the ancient Hapsburg inheritance of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. In 1519 he became the emperor Charles V, the most powerful ruler of all Europe. Thus the Hapsburg family won high position while Germany remained divided and a prey to civil wars.

**The
Hapsburg
rulers**

GROWTH OF SEPARATE STATES IN ITALY

Italy, like Germany, was divided among a large number of independent states, many of them city republics. Those of the north had been free since their victory over Frederick Barbarossa (1183)³ In most of the cities the nobles and the merchants managed public affairs, while the common people had little to say and were often discontented. The upper classes frequently quarreled among themselves, and street

**Conditions
in the
Italian
cities**

¹See p. 381.

²His father, Frederick III, used to inscribe on his seal the letters AEIOU, which he interpreted to mean *Austriacae est imperare orbi universo* or *Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreichs Unterthan* ("Austria shall rule the world"). His family came near to making good this boast.

³See pp. 281-283.

fights between various factions were not uncommon. There were also many wars between rival cities, usually fought by hired soldiers.

Venice, the
merchant
oligarchy

Among the many cities of Italy there were three types: the merchant oligarchy, the despotism, and the nominal republic. Venice was governed by an oligarchy, a small group of rich merchants. This splendid city had grown up from the settlements of a few trembling fugitives from the mainland, who had sought refuge on the low, marshy islands at the head of the Adriatic to escape from the barbarian invaders of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Its location was very favorable for trade and made it difficult to conquer. During the feudal age and the crusades, Venice won wealth and began to make conquests on the mainland. Her fleets sailed everywhere, to Asia Minor, Egypt, and all Western Europe. Three citizens of Venice



A CANAL OR WATER STREET OF VENICE

traveled overland to China and saw all the wonders of the East. The story of these travels, written by Marco Polo after his return to Venice (1295), aroused in many Europeans a keen desire to travel.

In the time of her greatest prosperity, Venice was ruled by a Council of Ten chosen by a larger body of business men.

They allowed none of the disorder, civil strife, and foreign interference that were too common in other cities. Rebelions were suppressed almost before they had started. The



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A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION IN THE PLAZA OF ST. MARK, VENICE
From a fifteenth-century painting by Bellini

common people had little to say about their government, but Venice won broad lands on the Italian mainland and along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and became the richest city of all Europe.

The great city of Milan was for centuries ruled despotically by army leaders who devoted themselves to conquering the neighboring cities. Soon all Lombardy was under them. Then they pushed eastward and southward and for a time seemed about to unite all Italy. Venice and Florence, however, blocked the way. When the male line of the ruling family died out, the people set up a republic (1447). But the captain of their hired soldiers soon forced them to make him duke, and he ruled the city for many years.

**Despotic
Milan**

The city of Florence was a republic. First the nobles controlled it, then the merchants fought the nobles and came into power. Later the lower classes tried to get the upper hand, but the merchants resisted. The rich and ambitious Medici family took advantage of this struggle. With the votes of the lower classes, which they favored

**Republican
Florence**

against the rich, they built up a great political "machine" and became bosses, the real rulers of Florence. Like Venice and Milan, Florence also conquered the cities near by and ruled over a considerable area.

Italy was thus the scene of constant warfare between the despots of rival states. Unification was still far distant,



From the portrait by Vasari
LORENZO DE' MEDICI



From the portrait by Del Sarto
MACHIAVELLI

although it was being foreshadowed in the writings of the political scientist Machiavelli. He believed that one strong state should rule all Italy. His most famous work, *The Prince* marked the beginning of the modern study of politics.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Explain why, about 1400, the Spanish peninsula was composed of several states like modern Portugal, very long from north to south. (2) What difficulties hindered the union of all the states of the Spanish peninsula? Compare these with the difficulties of Germany. (3) How did Ximenes reform the church in Castile? How did this affect the later history of Spain? (4) How and why did the policies of the German kings after 1273 differ from those of earlier times? (5) Contrast conditions in Germany in the later Middle Ages with those in France. Why were they so different? (6) How was the great Hapsburg inheritance built up? (7) State the advantages and disadvantages of the Venetian form of government. Of those of Milan and Florence.

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THE CHURCH IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

THE GROWTH OF HERESY AND THE EFFORTS OF THE
CHURCH TO SUPPRESS IT

About 1200 the medieval church was undoubtedly the strongest power in Western Europe.¹ But its influence was being undermined by the spread of heresy, then thought to be the worst of crimes. A heretic was a person who tried to separate himself from the church. This was regarded as a most terrible sin and the heretic could not be allowed at large because he might endanger the souls of others.

The rise
of heresy

Knowing this terrible fate, why should anyone become a heretic? One great cause was the corruption in the church. The offices of bishop and abbot often gave great wealth to the holder. The power of a pope, like Innocent III, was

Causes of
heresy

¹See pp. 283-286.

greater than that of a king, and one did not have to be born a noble to become pope. Naturally some worldly men entered the church to obtain this wealth and power. Such



From a sixteenth-century German manuscript
CONFESSION BY TORTURE

often lived evil lives, and bought and sold church offices and decisions in the church courts. Some parish priests demanded money even for the sacraments.¹ Bishops and abbots sometimes fought like ordinary feudal nobles. Many church offices were filled by substitutes, who did the work while the person who received the salary lived elsewhere. Men often held a number of such offices at the same time and did the work of only one or even none of the offices.

¹See pp. 291-294.

Matthew Paris, a famous English monk, states that John Mansel, chancellor of England under King Henry III, received the revenues of 700 church benefices amounting to 4,000 marks a year.¹ The lower clergy often were ignorant and taught the people little. Many bishops and holy men had long condemned the abuses.² This was not heresy, however, for they did not try to secede from the church.

Secession was attempted only when there was a second great cause—unbelief in what the church taught. As long as the clergy were the only educated people and laymen thought little, no one questioned the teachings of the church. But as the laity became better educated, a few persons began boldly to declare that one did not need to receive the sacraments to win salvation. These persons were dangerous. Unless they were silenced, the control of the church over the people would be broken and its power for good greatly lessened. Only if the laity believed, could the clergy hold them to the proper standards of conduct.

There were different kinds of heretics, located mainly in southern France. Some, like the Waldenses, believed the church sacraments unnecessary and wrong but remained Christians. Others, such as the Albigenses, rebelled against Christianity and all its teachings and set up an independent church of their own.

**Different
kinds of
heretics**

Three special methods were used to suppress heresy: (1) war on the heretics, (2) the Inquisition, and (3) the foundation of the mendicant orders.

**How
heresy
was dealt
with**

At first Innocent III tried to win the Albigenses back to the church by argument, but without effect. Then he called on the faithful to fight them, promising the same rewards offered to crusaders who fought the Mohammedans. The crusade was a success (1209). The lands of southern France

¹A mark was equal to 13 shillings 4 pence English money. Mansel's income from the benefices was worth in money of today over \$200,000 a year.

²Reformers had checked the evils, but their work did not endure. See pp. 278-280.

The Inquisition

were wasted with fire and sword, and thousands of heretics were slain. Many of them, however, survived, and in order to hunt them out a new court was set up, the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition. The judges of the court were foreigners and received full power to act. The heretical regions were divided into districts, a branch of the court working in each of them. Suspected persons were arrested on hearsay reports, and every effort was made to induce them to confess their guilt. The trials were secret and terrible for the prisoners. Mental and physical tortures were not spared. If there was much evidence against the accused and he refused to confess and repent, he might be turned over to the government to be burned to death. If he did confess and repent, he was imprisoned for a long time. If he retracted his confession, he was handed over to be burned. The property of the condemned heretic was seized. It is needless to say that the Inquisition did much to suppress heresy.¹

Foundation of the mendicant orders

The Dominican and Franciscan orders were the first mendicant orders, so called because the members were at first expected to beg for their food and clothing. By teaching and example they did much to remove the underlying causes that produced heresy.

The Dominican order

The Spaniard St. Dominic was aroused by the rapid spread of heresy and gave his life to the work of preaching and teaching the doctrines of the church. He gathered companions about him in a new monastic order whose members were to preach and teach while living in the world.

St. Francis was the son of a rich merchant of Assisi, Italy. He was a dissipated youth, but suddenly reformed and devoted himself to helping the poor and nursing the sick. Gradually others were attracted by the sweetness and charm of his character and the belief that his way of life would surely save souls. His followers wandered about the country begging their food and serving the sick and afflicted.

¹ The Inquisition also tried people whom kings wished to have put out of the way. Such were Joan of Arc (p. 369) and the Knights Templars (p. 321).

Both orders grew fast. Their members traveled everywhere and worked for their fellow men as the monks of the older orders had not done. The Dominicans by their preaching and teaching and the Franciscans by their acts of mercy worked against the causes which led to the growth of heresy. Faith in Christianity was to a great extent restored by their simple lives of service.

THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY, THE GREAT SCHISM, AND THEIR RESULTS

A second cause which weakened the church was its conflict with the kings of France and England. The popes had defeated the emperors.¹ Trying to carry out the ideals of Pope Innocent III, Pope Boniface VIII now forbade the clergy to pay taxes to any king without the pope's consent (1296). Edward I of England at once made all the clergy of England outlaws, allowing anyone to injure them without being punished. After a few months of this they submitted and paid their taxes. Philip IV of France forbade any Frenchman to send money to the pope. Then the pope yielded. But the quarrel soon started again, for the pope claimed to be supreme over all kings and all their subjects. Both kings appealed to the nation's representatives and won their support.² The pope was then taken prisoner by French soldiers and died shortly after (1303).

Struggles
of popes
with the
new
national
states

The next pope reigned less than one year. After his death no pope was elected for some time. Then the cardinals chose a French bishop who settled down to live at Avignon, at that time just outside the southeastern boundary of France (1309). There the popes resided until 1377. This is called the "Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy."³ The pope had been defeated and his claims to supremacy could no longer be made good.

The "Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy"

The pope now became almost the tool of the French king. Of course the English and the Germans grew hostile. As

Results

¹See pp. 286-287.

²See pp. 342, 360-361.

³The reference was to the captivity of the Children of Israel in Babylon.

the Hundred Years' War was going on, the English felt that money sent to the pope would aid the national enemy. At Avignon the popes lost much of the rent from their Italian



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THE PAPAL PALACE AT AVIGNON, FRANCE

lands, while they lived extravagantly. To obtain extra money they used questionable means which stirred up hatred toward the pope in England and Germany and led to a new growth of heresy.¹

At last the pope returned to Rome (1377). But since most of the cardinals were French and insisted on remaining at Avignon, they seceded and chose an opposition pope, thus creating the Great Schism. There were now two popes, each claiming supremacy and cursing the other. Which one should be obeyed? Some began to doubt if the pope had the right to command obedience. Thinking men no longer obeyed without question, and heresy spread rapidly, especially in England and Bohemia.

¹Bishops now had to pay larger sums for admission to office. Fees in the papal courts were raised. The popes appointed to all sorts of church offices a host of greedy Frenchmen and Italians who paid large sums for their places and used them to get more money from the people under them. The government of England took action to limit papal interference. Parliament made laws to check papal appointments to English church positions and prevent the withdrawal and transference of lawsuits from English courts to those of the pope (1351 and 1353).

John Wycliffe, a young Oxford University graduate, led the movement in England. He criticized the pope and the clergy severely, but influential friends kept him from being condemned as a heretic. The schism made him more radical. Finally he declared that the pope had no right to rule and denied the doctrine of transubstantiation.¹ He gathered about him a band of enthusiastic followers called Lollards, who helped him translate the Bible into English. They traveled all through the country preaching his views and making many converts. In Bohemia, the same heretical teachings were spread by John Huss and his friends, and they, also, won a large number of adherents.²

**Work of
John
Wycliffe**

To end the schism and reform the evils in the church would probably check the spread of heresy. To do this three great general councils of the church were held (1409-1449). These councils were a little like parliaments, though the members were not elected by the people. The second one (at Constance, Germany, 1414-1418) ended the schism by deposing both of the popes and electing a new one. John Huss had come to Constance under the emperor's promise of personal safety. He hoped to have a hearing and perhaps make converts, but instead, the Council had him imprisoned, tried as a heretic, and burned at the stake.

**The
great
church
councils**

The Great Councils, however, did not make a thorough reform of the evils in the church. They tried to lessen the pope's power just as the English Parliament checked the king's; that is, to make the papacy a limited monarchy.³ Had they done so and reformed the evils in the church, the Protestant Revolt in Germany, England, and elsewhere

¹See p. 291. Later his followers were suppressed by force.

²Huss was aided by the very bitter hatred for the Germans which prevailed among the Bohemian people of that time. The Germans were then strongly opposed to any religious change. The Hussites wished to have full freedom of preaching, to lessen the special rights and privileges of the clergy, and to give the laity the right to receive both the bread and the wine at the Holy Communion.

³See pp. 360-362 and 370-372.

during the sixteenth century might never have taken place. But the Councils failed, and the power of the pope over the church became more and more absolute. The evils unreformed by the Councils grew steadily worse and finally led to the great Protestant Revolt.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What was heresy in the Middle Ages? Why was it thought so serious a crime? (2) What were the two chief causes that led to the spread of heresy? Explain how each cause worked to make heretics. (3) Explain the methods used to do away with heresy. Which was most effective at once? Why? Which was most likely to remove the underlying causes of heresy and so have most effect in the end? Why? (4) Contrast the defeat of Pope Boniface VIII by the kings of France and England with the victories of the early popes over the German kings. Give reasons for the difference in outcome. (5) Prove that the "Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy" was due to the defeat of Boniface VIII. (6) Explain how the "Babylonian Captivity" led to the growth of heresy. (7) How did the Great Schism help to make Wycliffe a heretic? State his most important views and show why they were heretical. (8) How might the later history of Europe have been different if the Council of Constance had succeeded better? State your reasons.

*

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THE RENAISSANCE

BEGINNINGS OF THE RENAISSANCE

Our study of the Middle Ages has shown us that the people of Western Europe were gradually moving on toward higher civilization. Governments became better, more people were receiving some education, and manufacturing and trade expanded. Wars were still frequent, but they caused the people less suffering than in the feudal age. The common people, especially in the states governed by strong kings, were far more prosperous and happy than they

Progress in civilization during the Middle Ages

had been since the fall of the ancient Roman Empire. Since the Crusades this progress had been more rapid than before. The people of the growing towns all over Europe and especially in Italy had advanced farther than the peasants in the country. From about 1350 to 1500 such rapid progress in civilization was made that the movement is often called the Renaissance or rebirth.

**Prepara-
tions for
the Renais-
sance in
Italy**

The Italian cities had prospered more than those of other countries. Their wealth gave men more leisure to study and to think. The freedom of these city-states and the political battles there made men think more of themselves. The keen rivalry between cities made the leaders of each one think and work harder to get ahead of the others. All this led to progress.¹ Moreover, the Italian language was more like the Latin than was any other in Western Europe. There were more manuscripts of old Roman writers and more ancient buildings, statues, and monuments in Italy. The people there felt proud of the glories of Rome and the fact that they were the descendants of the Romans.

The Renaissance was an international movement which spread throughout Europe. Its direct influence lasted in Italy until about 1550 and somewhat later in the northern countries. It showed itself in five different ways: (1) in literature, (2) in a movement for social and religious reform, (3) in art, (4) in explorations and geographical discoveries, and (5) in inventions. In Italy it had most influence in literature and art.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

During the Middle Ages some few of the great works of Latin and Greek literature were known, but most of them were hidden away in dusty storerooms and unused libraries. Even those that were known were used merely as exercises

¹Hence at the close of the Middle Ages, Italy probably had a larger number of intelligent men in proportion to the total population than any other country in Europe.

in grammar, and were seldom read for pleasure. Medieval men thought so much of making sure of heaven that they feared to enjoy even good literature or the beauty of nature because it might be sinful.

The rediscovery of this unread literature is called the Revival of Learning. Petrarch (1304-1374) led the way by arousing interest in it. This cultivated Italian traveled widely. He had friends everywhere and was always telling them of the wonderful beauty of some piece of Latin literature. He was full of mental curiosity and was always seeking forgotten Latin manuscripts. He made sport of the medieval universities and their teachers. Speaking of their graduating exercises he said, "The youth ascends the platform mumbling nobody knows what. The elders applaud, the bells ring, the trumpets blare, the degree is conferred, and he who went up a fool descends a wise man." He tried to show that scholastic methods could lead to no real progress.¹ He wrote much himself and undoubtedly did more than anyone else to hasten the Revival of Learning.

**Petrarch
and his
work**

Boccaccio (1313-1375) was a friend and follower of Petrarch. He not only made Latin literature popular but helped to make people more critical of what they read and heard. Every class in society was made the butt of his ridicule. Shams received no mercy from him.

Boccaccio

Petrarch and Boccaccio are especially famous for their works in Italian, though they wrote also in Latin. The way had been prepared for them by Dante (1265-1321), the greatest Italian poet of the Middle Ages, who established the Florentine dialect as the literary language of Italy. His *Divine Comedy*, telling the story of a visit to the realms where dwell the souls of men after death, gives him rank among the greatest poets of the world.

**Dante and
the
beginning
of Italian
literature**

The followers of Petrarch and Boccaccio are called humanists. They wrote in the purest Latin, using the works of Cicero as models of language and composition. Many of

¹See pp. 307-309.

**Humanists
of the
fifteenth
century**

them were greatly interested in education and did much to improve methods of teaching. On the other hand they carried the idea of freedom too far, many caring only for pleasure. They laughed at the church and its doctrines,



DANTE

From the mural painting by Giotto

yet were well content to hold its offices. Some of them even became believers in the ancient pagan gods described by the old Latin writers.

**The
Greek
revival**

After most of the old Latin literature had been rediscovered, there came a great revival of interest in Greek literature. Petrarch himself had longed to read Greek but could not. Various events led to more contact between

Greeks and Italians, and about the middle of the century the rapid conquests by the Ottoman Turks induced many Greeks to flee to Italy.¹ With the fall of Constantinople in 1453 still more Greeks sought refuge in Italy. They brought with them Greek manuscripts and began to teach the language to the Italian humanists, who came to love the Greek classical literature as well as the Latin.

It should be noted, however, that this revival of literature was largely for the nobles and the rich. The poor as yet received little education. It was wealth and high position that made it possible to give one's entire life to scholarship. Popes, dukes, and republican officials rivaled one another in drawing the leading scholars to their courts or cities. They provided pensions and paid liberally for poems and essays that were dedicated to them, or for paintings for their halls and palaces.

While this enthusiasm was occupying the minds of the great in Italy, the nobles of Northern Europe began also to take an interest in the ancient classics. Leading humanists were invited to the courts of the kings of France and England. The German cities attracted others, and the literary revival spread northward. Natives of the northern countries traveled to Italy and eagerly took up the new learning.

**Spread of
humanism
to the
North**

The Revival of Learning had great influence on later history. The humanists aroused such interest in Latin and Greek literatures that people came to believe that no one could be a cultured gentleman without having studied them thoroughly. Hence, from that period until recent years, university requirements included the study of Latin and Greek. The most important work of the humanists was to learn all that the ancient Greeks and Romans had known and to impart that knowledge to others. Much that the ancient scientists taught had been forgotten during the Middle Ages. Now men could and did go on to make

**Influence
on edu-
cation**

**Spread of
knowledge**

¹See p. 227.

investigations and explorations far beyond the knowledge of the Greeks and the Romans.¹

**Develop-
ment of a
new spirit
of criticism**

Most men in the medieval period had been very ignorant. Even those who had some education were content to follow the lead of some master and to believe without question what they were told. They would not or could not do original thinking, and the few who could were not encouraged to do it. Hence it was not easy to make any great progress in learning, art, literature, or science. The Renaissance brought a great change. Under the lead of Petrarch and his successors a new spirit arose. They criticized everything they could not prove to their own satisfaction. Men of the Renaissance were eager to learn new things, and they wished to know the reasons for what they saw or were told. This spirit opened the way to progress in almost every line. It led men to explore unknown seas, to search for new ways to make life more comfortable, and to learn new truths about chemistry, astronomy, and other sciences.

THE MOVEMENT FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORMS

**Laurentius
Valla**

The humanists of Northern Europe generally took their studies more seriously than did the Italians. They eagerly used their new knowledge and training first to examine and analyze the foundations and structure of the government, the religion, and the society that existed in their time, to search out the defects, and then to reform all the evils they could find. This was started by an Italian, Laurentius Valla (died 1457), who proved that the famous grant of authority and lands believed to have been made to the pope by the emperor Constantine was a forgery.

**The Oxford
reformers**

Most famous of this type of humanist were the Oxford reformers. Of these, John Colet, an Englishman, was the

¹The Revival of Learning prepared for these explorations by making known what the ancient Greeks had believed. For example, the ancient scientists believed the earth was a sphere, but during the Middle Ages people believed it to be flat. Now the explorers of this Renaissance age proved that the ancient scientists were right.

first. He was an enthusiastic student of Greek and lectured on the New Testament at Oxford University. Later he was made dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and near



SIR THOMAS MORE



JOHN COLET

From portraits by Holbein

this cathedral he founded St. Paul's School, in which he taught the new learning. Chief among Colet's friends were Erasmus and More.

Sir Thomas More's greatest work was a book called *Utopia* in which he contrasted the sufferings of the English common people with the happiness of the people of an imaginary land called Utopia, where poverty was unknown and the people governed themselves.

Sir Thomas
More

Even more famous was Erasmus. He was a native of the Netherlands, but he spent much time in England and was known throughout Europe. His chief interest was in religious reform, for which he did two great things: (1) He issued his remarkable edition of the New Testament in the original Greek with a good Latin translation, and thus enabled educated men intelligently to criticize the teachings of the clergy and theologians on many points. (2) He wrote a series of very clever books and pamphlets in which

Erasmus

he made such sport of monkish ignorance and superstition that his readers fairly shook with laughter, and thus did much to prepare the way for the religious revolt led by



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.
ERASMUS

From the painting by Holbein

Luther. Erasmus himself, however, like Colet and More, worked only for reform within the church and strongly opposed revolution. More was executed later because of his loyalty to the pope.

Other humanists in following years went much farther and became leaders of open revolt against the church. But the story of their work belongs with that of the Protestant Revolt,¹ which, by their criticism of the church, the first

**Influence
of human-
ism on the
Protestant
Revolt**

¹See pp. 422-434.

humanists helped to start. Their scholarly writings and their ridicule of the clergy did much to undermine the hold of the church on the people.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ART

At about the same time that Petrarch and his followers were hunting for old manuscripts and studying them, other Italians were trying new colors and materials for painting, and were learning how better they could picture on canvas and in carved stone what they saw about them. The result was a great revival in art as well as in literature.

Architects of this age planned beautiful buildings with great domes such as those of the cathedral of Florence and of St. Peter's at Rome.¹ But they produced nothing so fine

Architec-
ture and
sculpture



CATHEDRAL OF ST. PETER, ROME

as the great Gothic cathedrals. The sculptors of the time made much progress and carved some wonderful statues. The greatest advance, however, was in painting.

During early medieval times, paintings were stiff and un lifelike. Some change can be seen in the works of Giotto

Painting

¹Bramante planned the dome at Florence, Michelangelo that at Rome.



THE MADONNA

Contrast the stiffness of these figures in Cimabue's painting, especially the child, with the masterly work of Raphael shown on page 405.

(died 1337), after this time there was a gradual improvement. Most pictures still were of Madonnas and other religious subjects. Then the painters added other figures, such as children and animals, and more of the beauties of nature in backgrounds. Finally the Madonnas of about 1500 were just portraits of peasant women and children, and many pictures were painted which had no religious subject.



MADONNA OF THE CHAIR
From a painting by Raphael

New ways of making oil paints were invented about 1450. These, with discoveries about the laws of perspective, greatly helped to bring the artistic revival to its height (after 1500). This was the time of such masters as Titian of Venice, and Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo of Florence, whose works are still regarded as masterpieces. Probably the most famous works of Leonardo are "The Last Supper of Our Lord" and the "Mona Lisa." Titian was noted for his rare color harmony. His "Assumption of

the Virgin" is famous. Raphael was the greatest painter of Madonnas and sacred scenes. He was employed by the pope, for whom he painted many wonderful frescoes in the



THE CATHEDRAL AT FLORENCE

Vatican. Michelangelo was noted as architect, sculptor, and painter. His frescoes in the Vatican, especially the "Last Judgment," rank high. After the time of these masters, the Italian artists ceased to do highly original work and began to imitate that of others.

The artistic revival was not confined to Italy. Germany produced several great painters in this period, among them Dürer and Holbein. The Netherlands was represented, somewhat later, by such famous painters as Rembrandt, Rubens, and Van Dyck. About the same time Spain produced two exceptional painters, Velazquez and Murillo.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS

The awakening of this time extended also to commerce and industry. The age was one of remarkable explorations and of practical inventions of the greatest importance. The

crusades had aroused an interest in exploration and when the actual crusades ended, the crusading spirit, combined with the desire to find more profitable trade routes or meet interesting adventures, led to more and more extensive travels.

Most famous of the early travelers were two Venetian brothers named Polo, and Marco, son of one of the Polos. These men journeyed through Central Asia to Peking. Returning to Venice after twenty-four years of absence, Marco Polo wrote an account of the wonderful lands of the Far East. His book was extraordinarily popular and inspired men with the desire to explore distant seas and lands. The invention of the compass,¹ the preparation of books of marine information, and the building of more sailing ships instead of galleys propelled by oars all helped the progress of discovery. The Revival of Learning also helped by making known that the Hellenistic Greeks believed the earth to be a sphere—knowledge which had been lost for centuries.²

**Travels
of Marco
Polo**

Before this time the rugs, silks, drugs, and spices of India, China, and the East Indies had been brought over three ancient routes: one by way of the Persian Gulf and the Tigris River and thence overland to the Mediterranean Sea, another by way of the Red Sea and the Nile, and a third, the northern overland route, across the steppes of Central Asia to the Black Sea. By the time they had reached the markets of Antioch, Cairo, or Constantinople, where the merchants of Genoa and Venice could buy them, the goods of the East had passed through the hands of many different merchants, each of whom made a good profit. Thus, the Italian merchants, in order to make it profitable for themselves to buy these goods and sell them at northern markets, asked very high prices for them.

**Routes of
oriental
trade**

The strong demand for oriental wares, especially spices, encouraged merchants of other nations to enter the business. The Portuguese and the Spanish were very anxious to

¹ See note, p. 414.

² See pp. 121-123.

Vasco da
Gama sails
around the
Cape of
Good Hope
(1498)

establish direct trade connection with the East Indies in order to buy spices direct from the producers and so obtain goods more cheaply than could the Italian merchants. There seemed to be two ways of accomplishing this: (1) to sail south around Africa and thus reach the Indies, or (2) to sail west around the world to the Indies. For many years Portuguese sailors had explored the western shores of Africa, working gradually southward until (1498) their admiral, Vasco da Gama, succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope and reaching India. The new trade route brought enormous profits to the Portuguese, and the Venetians and Genoese were thrown into a panic. It is said that oriental goods fell 50 per cent in price at Venice.



After De Bry

LISBON HARBOR IN THE LATER FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Yet the Portuguese probably made 600 per cent profit on spices during the years they controlled the trade.

Spanish
exploration

In the meantime Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor, had been begging the Spanish sovereigns to give him ships so he could sail westward to India. Though

regarded as a dreamer, he was finally given three small ships and allowed to go on the famous voyage on which he thought he had reached the Indies (1492). The discovery



From the portrait by Antonio Moro
COLUMBUS



From the portrait by Selma
MAGELLAN

of America was followed by a long series of exploring expeditions. The most famous were those of the Spaniard Magellan and the Englishman Drake, who sailed all around the world, thus proving that the belief of the scientists of the Hellenistic Age was correct.¹

The results of these great discoveries were momentous. The Mediterranean Sea was no longer the center of the world's commerce, and so Venice and Genoa declined. Countries on the Atlantic Coast now had far greater advantages for world trade. Spaniards and Portuguese seized the chance to build great colonial empires. The pope took it upon himself to divide the newly discovered lands into two parts, allotting one to Portugal and the other to Spain. The Portuguese set up their forts and trading posts all along the shores of Africa from Morocco to the Cape of Good Hope and thence to the Red Sea, also along the coasts of India, in the islands of the East Indies, and all the

Results
of these
discoveries

Portuguese
colonial
empire

¹See pp. 121-123.



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EARLY DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS

way to China. Native princes gave their allegiance to the king of Portugal. No other European merchants were allowed to use the Cape of Good Hope route, and Lisbon



From the portrait by Antonio Moro
DRAKE



From the portrait by Charles Peale
CORTÉS

was made the great market for oriental wares. To Lisbon came Dutch, French, and English merchants who bought for resale to the rest of Europe.

Stories of Spanish explorers: Ponce de Leon, discoverer of Florida, Cortés, conqueror of Mexico, and Pizarro, who took Peru, have been told. In the name of the Spanish king these and other explorers took possession of most of the lands bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, as well as California and all South America except Brazil, of which the Portuguese took possession. Spaniards of many types came to America. Some came with an earnest desire to win the natives to Christianity. The friars set up their missions here and there to teach the Indians, building hospitals for the sick and churches in which to worship. A number of these mission buildings may still be seen in California and Texas. Many other Spaniards came to get rich as fast as possible. The colonies were regarded chiefly as a means to enrich Spaniards, and the colonists and natives were allowed to produce only raw materials and precious metals. They

**Spanish
colonial
empire**

had to buy Spanish goods only, and paid high prices. No one but a Spaniard was allowed to trade there. Eventually the Spanish colonies attracted English traders who broke into this monopoly. This led to wars between England and



THE SPANISH MISSION AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

Spain. Other competitors sought a share in the profitable colonial trade. French and English later took from the Portuguese control of the trade of India, and the Dutch seized nearly all the Portuguese ports in the islands of the East Indies.

Effects on
business

The enormous supplies of gold and silver found in the New World were soon brought back to Spain and spent in buying goods from the other European countries. The result was vastly to increase the supply of precious metals throughout Europe. Prices fixed in terms of certain weights of gold and silver advanced rapidly, for to increase the total supply of money makes each coin of less value. In the Middle Ages scarcity of money had made it hard to

carry on business successfully. Now merchants and bankers had ample supplies of money and prospered greatly. Traders brought back to Europe from the New World many new foods and drugs, such as potatoes, chocolate, and quinine, as well as vast quantities of cane sugar.

New commodities

Britain and France began to found colonies far later than Spain and Portugal, and so had to take what land was left, mostly on the Atlantic Coast of North America where no gold or silver was to be found. But their industrious and thrifty colonists built colonial dominions fully as valuable in the end as those of the other countries. The British, French, and Dutch naturally resented the papal division between Spain and Portugal of the newly found lands and, before the sixteenth century was over, began to fight to oust them or force them to share their vast empires. The great wars for the control of colonial empires which began in the sixteenth century have lasted until the present day. Their events will require study later.

British and French colonial empire

Colonial wars

INVENTIONS AND SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES OF THE AGE

The inventions of the Renaissance age were almost equally revolutionary. Gunpowder¹ was first used effectively about this time. This invention finished the overthrow of declining feudalism, for cannon could smash the feudal castle whose owner dared defy the king's power.

Gunpowder

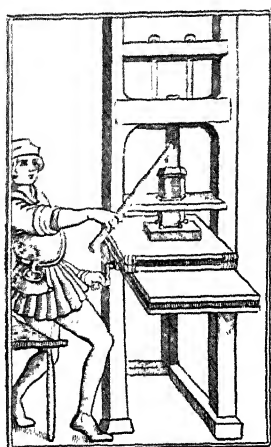
Printing accomplished far more wonderful results. Until about 1400 all books had to be copied by hand. Hence they were very costly, although paper had taken the place of expensive parchment.² Then large engraved plates of wood were made, and finally, sometime between 1440 and 1450, the art of printing with movable metal type was

Printing

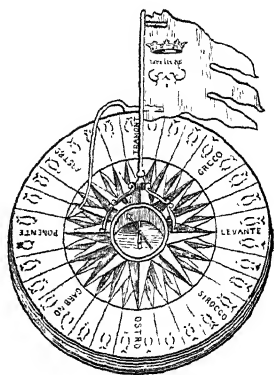
¹Gunpowder is composed of saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur in various proportions. It was introduced in European warfare by the Tatars, who got it from the Chinese. It was early used by the Greeks and others to make flashes of fire. It was first prepared in Western Europe by Roger Bacon, the English scientist of the late thirteenth century, and by the German monk Schwartz early in the fourteenth century.

²See note p. 301.

invented. With this movable type vast numbers of the new books of that time were printed. These could be sold for as little as one-twentieth the price of the old hand-copied



AN EARLY PRINTING PRESS



AN EARLY COMPASS

Directions are indicated by the names of the winds in Italian, as: Levante, east, Sirocco, southeast, Ponente, west, and so on

books. In this way new ideas were circulated among the people as never before. The humanists and Luther thus obtained an influence which they never could have had at an earlier date.

Mariner's compass

The invention of the mariner's compass¹ enabled bold sailors like Columbus to venture out beyond the sight of land and voyage to unknown seas. There were other inventions, some of which greatly improved conditions among the masses of Europe.

New discoveries in astronomy and physics

The new scientific spirit which led Valla and Erasmus to study old documents critically was also applied to astronomy and physics. Up to that time everyone believed that the sun and stars revolved around the earth as the

¹The mariner's compass was probably known to the Chinese as early as 2000 B.C. but was little used. The earliest reference to it in the Middle Ages was in the twelfth century. It was known to almost all European navigators in the thirteenth century, but was not effectively used for long-distance navigation until the Renaissance voyages of discovery.

center of the universe. The Polish astronomer, Copernicus, asserted that this idea was wrong and taught that the earth and its sister worlds, the planets, revolve about the sun (1543). This laid the foundation of modern astronomy. Later, in Italy, Galileo (1564-1642) discovered the laws of the pendulum and of falling bodies, made the first genuine telescope, and invented the thermometer. With his little telescope he found spots on the sun, and so proved that it revolves on its axis. He explained his discoveries and those of Copernicus in Italian, so that ordinary people could learn about them.

**Copernicus
and
Galileo**

These revolutionary conclusions were regarded by many people as wicked and contrary to the teachings of the Bible. The clergy feared they would cause men to turn away from religion. Hence Galileo was imprisoned and forced to swear that his teachings were false. But in spite of all efforts it was impossible permanently to silence men like Galileo and Copernicus. Men's minds were more and more freed from the control of the clergy. The way was opened for the tremendous progress of the modern world.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Explain in your own words the ways in which the Renaissance helped to make men live and think differently from the way they had lived and thought through the Middle Ages. (2) Make a list of the reasons which explain why the Renaissance started in Italy. (3) What did Petrarch do to hasten the coming of the Renaissance? (4) Make a list of the faults of the Italian humanists and a list of their contributions to the building of higher civilization. Then draw your conclusions from these data and decide whether humanism really benefited the world or not. (5) How were the humanists of Northern Europe different from those of Italy? Name the leading ones and explain what each accomplished. Why was Erasmus not declared a heretic? (6) In what way were the paintings of Raphael and other masters of his time different from those of the medieval artists? (7) What special motives led men of the Renaissance age to go on exploring expeditions? What were the

chief discoveries made? How did they affect the Italian cities? Why? (8) What did the inventions of the Renaissance age do to build up higher civilization?

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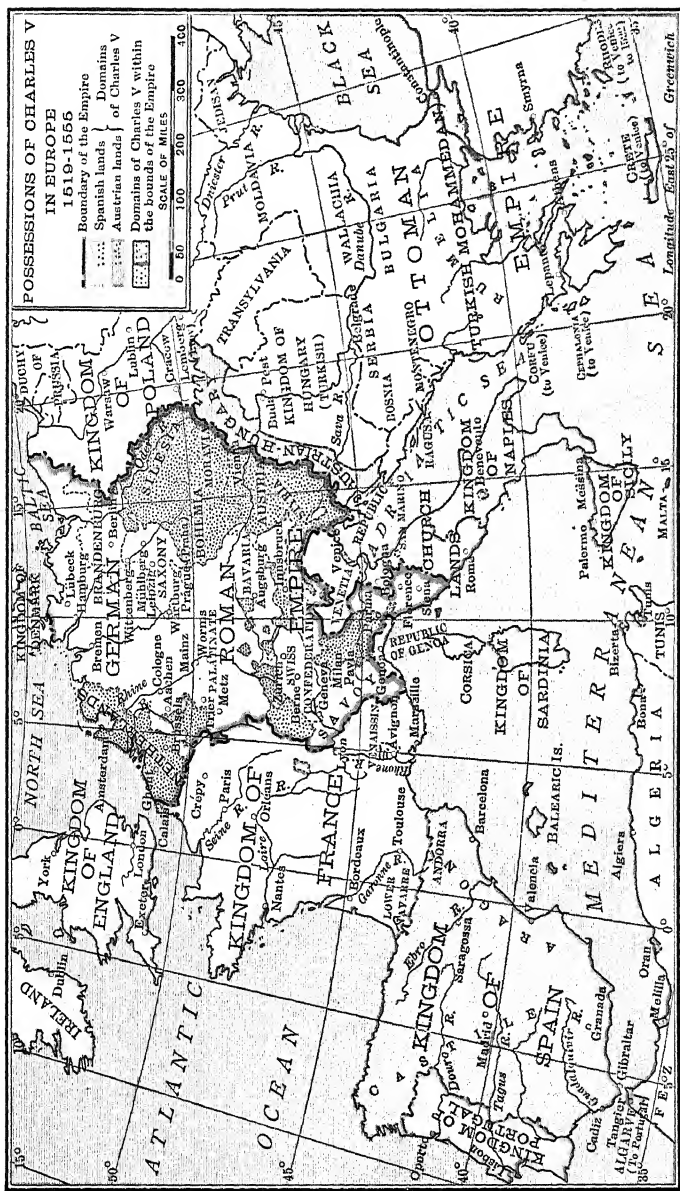
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THE REFORMATION AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS THAT FOLLOWED

THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN GERMANY

CONDITIONS IN EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Renaissance was soon followed by a great revolt against the medieval church. This revolt spread through most of Western Europe and led to wars lasting long after 1600. It caused religious differences which still exist. To understand this revolt, let us study political conditions in Europe, for politics often decided religious questions.

Political
conditions

In England, France, and Spain the kings had very great power over their subjects.¹ There the decision between the new and the old religious views which the Protestant Revolt made necessary was likely to be in the hands of the king. The people's wishes had little influence.

England
France
Spain

Germany and Italy were divided among a host of independent princes, knights, and free cities. Even petty knights with only a square mile or two of land claimed independence. Emperor Charles V had little power over Germany. He ruled the Netherlands and Spain besides his lands in Austria and Bohemia.² He was the greatest king in Europe, but, outside his own lands, he could not force the German people to obey him without engaging in civil war. Hence, in Germany, the decision of the religious question was not in the hands of the emperor but in those

Germany
and
Italy

¹ They had many officials and, except in England, large armies of well-trained soldiers. In England, Parliament met occasionally, but its members seldom opposed the king's wishes. In France and Spain even the nobles had little power to oppose the king's will. See pp. 370-373, 380-381.

² See p. 381. Charles V was not elected emperor until 1519. Not until 1526 did he win Bohemia. Besides these European states, Charles V controlled the vast possessions which the Spanish adventurers were seizing in America.

of the individual princes and nobles who lived close to their subjects and knew their feelings better.

The princes and cities of Italy were bitter rivals and often at war with one another. This gave the French and Spanish kings a good opportunity to make conquests in



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A STREET IN NÜRNBERG ABOUT THE YEAR 1600

From a drawing by Albrecht Dürer

Growth of
religious
discontent

Italy. Through the first half of the sixteenth century they were at war most of the time. Italy became their battleground, and the people suffered great misery.

The people of several countries of Europe were becoming discontented with their religion. The evils which were the causes of the first heresies still existed and had even

become worse.¹ The church had less control over the people of Northern Europe, for writers like Erasmus had made them laugh at the clergy.²

In Germany there was bitter discontent. It was said that the pope and the Italian clergy were taking large sums of money from the pious Germans and spending it



From a painting by Bordone



From a painting by Parmigianino

A RICH NOBLEMAN AND LADY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

on their own pleasures. There was also a real revival of religion among the German people.³ In England, France, and the Netherlands there was far less discontent than in Germany, probably because there was less religious enthusiasm in those countries and the kings kept the clergy from collecting so much money from the people.

From the point of view of commerce and trade the sixteenth century was a revolutionary epoch.⁴ The merchants

¹Popes, bishops, and priests were too often worldly, pleasure-loving, and neglectful of their religious duties, while they collected from the people larger and larger sums of money in the name of religion. Of course many of the clergy still did their duty faithfully. See pp. 389-391, 393-394.

²See pp. 401-402.

³See W. S. Davis, *The Friar of Wittenberg*, a historical novel which gives an interesting picture of this revival.

⁴See pp. 406-413.

in Atlantic seaports were growing richer than the Italians. The discovery of America led to exploration and colonization. Spain, France, and England became keen rivals for control of new lands and for trade with them. To this rivalry were due many of the great wars of later centuries.

**Life of
the people**

The feudal nobles of France, England, and Spain had lost their former independence and could not fight and rob as once they did.¹ The merchants of the towns had grown rich. In Germany and Italy the nobles still had much power, but everywhere towns had grown up and considerable manufacturing and trade were carried on. In England and France serfdom had become rare, but elsewhere it still continued. The common people were a little more prosperous than in the Middle Ages, but their lives were often hard and miserable. Nearly everywhere the wasteful three-field system was used in farming.² This system kept enterprising peasants from bettering their condition greatly. Their huts usually were small and cheerless and their food coarse. Many peasants were carried off each year by diseases not common today. In Germany there was serious discontent among them, and this helped to spread the religious revolt when it broke out.

HOW LUTHER STARTED THE REVOLT

**Beginnings
of Luther-
anism**

During the Middle Ages there had been several attempts to break away from the church and set up rival churches with different ceremonies and beliefs,³ but all had been suppressed. The pope now had no idea that another attempt would succeed.

**Early life
of Luther**

Martin Luther, the greatest leader of this revolt, was a miner's son. Though poor, his parents managed to give Luther a good education. Soon after finishing his university course he decided suddenly to become a monk instead of a lawyer as his father wished. He seems to have felt that this was the only way to save his soul. In the monastery

¹ See p. 252.

² See pp. 257-259.

³ See pp. 389-390, 393.

he did eagerly all the tasks given him, fasting, praying, and confessing every little fault. Slowly, after long study, he made up his mind that none of these things, no good work



MARTIN LUTHER

Frontispiece from a book printed at Wittenberg in 1546

he could do, would make him sure of God's forgiveness, but that the only way to be certain was by himself praying to God with complete faith in His mercy. This was the beginning of his famous doctrine of "justification by faith."

Luther was sent to the university at Wittenberg (1508). There he became a very popular teacher and preacher and was put in charge of eleven monasteries of his order (1515). He certainly was no revolutionist as yet.

He was started on the road to revolt by Tetzel, an over-zealous seller of indulgences, who sold some to members of Luther's church. These they waved mockingly in Luther's face, saying their sins had been forgiven without

**Luther as a
teacher
and
preacher**

**Quarrel
over
indulgences**

confessing them to him. Some may have done this in jest, but Luther was angered and wrote a list of ninety-five theses, or statements, in which he severely criticized the selling of indulgences and declared that no sinner who was truly sorry needed an indulgence. These Latin theses he posted on the door of the Wittenberg church (October 31, 1517) merely as subjects for debate.

**Nature of
indulgences**

An indulgence was a letter of pardon granted to a sinner who was truly sorry and confessed his sins, and did some good deed or gave money for some good cause. This letter relieved him from penalties imposed by the church.¹ But Tetzel received a share of the money he collected and let people think they could buy forgiveness and freedom from all penalties of sin.

**Effects of
Luther's
ninety-five
theses**

Luther's theses were at once translated into German and scattered all over the land. People were deeply interested and read so eagerly that the sale of indulgences declined rapidly. Luther was ordered to come to Rome at once and to take back his statements.² This he refused to do without proof that he was wrong. Many Germans thought such a demand was not at all fair.

**Luther
in open
revolt**

Luther's opponents told him that the pope had absolute power and could make no mistake in doctrines. Luther then began to doubt whether the pope had the right to such power, and as he kept on studying he grew more and more radical. In a public debate (at Leipzig, 1519) he admitted that in many ways he agreed with the famous heretic, John Huss.³ Later he said that no one need fear the clergy or the church; if one has faith in God's mercy, one may be saved without the priest's absolution. He denied that the priest changed the bread and wine of the Communion into

**His
revolu-
tionary
teachings**

¹See p. 291, footnote 2.

²Luther did not actually go to Rome. The elector of Saxony, at whose university Luther taught, arranged for him to meet the Papal Legate Cardinal at Augsburg, Germany.

³See p. 393.

the body and blood of Christ.¹ He declared that anyone might read the Bible and decide for himself what it means. These views, urged in pamphlets that were eagerly read, threatened to break the power of the medieval church in Germany. Luther had thus made himself the leader of a religious revolt which was to have far more momentous results than he himself could foresee.

At first Pope Leo X had regarded the dispute about indulgences as of little importance. Now he saw that Luther must be silenced quickly. The first step was to excommunicate him. In the bull, or letter of excommunication, the pope ordered him to be arrested and brought to Rome, and threatened to punish severely the people of any place that gave shelter to the heretic.² Many universities refused to publish the bull, and even the bishops objected to it. Above all, the elector of Saxony, one of the ablest among the German princes, protected Luther, who had answered the pope by publicly burning a copy of the bull in the streets. Hundreds of university students at Wittenberg formed in line, paraded the streets singing, and burned the books of Luther's enemies on a great bonfire. Luther was not silenced.

**The bull
of excom-
munication
(1520)**

The next step was to have Luther condemned without a hearing by the German Diet, or Parliament, and sent to Rome for execution. The emperor, Charles V, had no liking for Luther or his views, but he was not friendly to the pope. Hence he called Luther to the meeting of the Diet (1521), promising to protect him.

**Meeting
of the
German
Parliament
at Worms**

Luther, a mere monk, the son of a humble peasant, was now to stand before the greatest ruler of Europe and set his own personal opinion against the beliefs of the emperor, the pope, and all those high in authority. He well knew

¹See p. 291.

²To secure the publication of the bull the pope sent to Germany Luther's bitter personal enemy, Eck. Eck was allowed by the pope to fill in the names of certain followers of Luther who were to be condemned. He took this opportunity to put in the names of his own personal enemies and the men who had made fun of him. One of these answered by referring to Eck as "Eck with the swelled head" (*"gehobelter Eck"*). This epithet clung to him.

that he might be arrested at Worms and put to death with horrible tortures. Promises of protection had been broken before, especially in the case of John Huss,¹ and his friends



POPE LEO X

From the portrait by Raphael painted in 1516

Before the
representatives
of all
Germany
Luther
refuses to
recant

vainly urged him not to go. The city of Worms was crowded with people deeply interested in his fate, and as he entered the palace, shouts of encouragement rose from the crowd. Within the great hall filled with clergy, nobles, and deputies from the cities of Germany, Luther faced the young emperor. An official then asked Luther if he would recant the heresies in his books. Luther begged for time to reconsider, and many thought that he was about to yield.

The next day (April 18, 1521) he was again brought before the great assembly. Questioned as before, he answered with a thrilling speech, made first in German, then in Latin. In closing he said that he might have expressed himself too strongly about some things. If *he* had made mistakes, **he** would gladly correct them. But he would not bow blindly

¹See p. 393.

to whatever popes or church councils had declared, for he knew that often *they* had made mistakes. Asked again for a definite answer to the question, whether or not he would recant his heresies, he replied, "Unless convinced



LUTHER BEFORE CHARLES V AT THE DIET AT WORMS

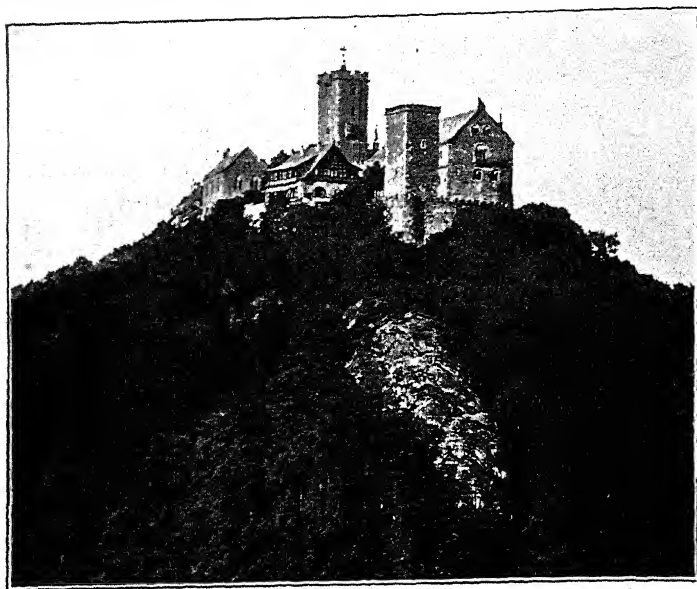
by the Scripture or by clear reason I cannot and will not revoke anything against my conscience. God help me. Amen."

As Luther left the hall, a body of Germans gathered to protect him from his enemies, and with shouts of triumph they accompanied him to his lodgings. Excitement ran high that night in Worms. The German people had at last found a leader not afraid to defy the pope and emperor and to voice their claims. Many of the nobles approved. The emperor, however, signed an edict declaring Luther an outlaw to be seized and put to death. But the separate states of Germany were too strong and too jealous of the emperor to allow this. Charles was soon called away to his wars with France, and for the next nine years he was too

Influence
of Luther's
speech

busy to trouble Luther. Meanwhile the great revolt spread with little hindrance from pope or emperor.

On the road from Worms, Luther was seized by trusty agents of the elector of Saxony and hurried to the elector's



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WARTBURG CASTLE

Luther's
translation
of the Bible

own castle of the Wartburg, where he stayed in hiding for nearly a year.¹ There he translated the New Testament into German. This became one of the most popular books in the German language. Until that time the German people had spoken many different dialects. Luther's Bible taught them one form of the German language, which became the national speech. \

While Luther was in hiding, his teachings spread rapidly, but soon dangers appeared, especially a great peasant rising

¹The elector of Saxony had ordered two of his councilors and his secretary to hide Luther safely. The elector wished to be kept ignorant of Luther's whereabouts in order publicly to deny any knowledge.

which broke out in southwestern Germany. The flame of revolt spread fast over nearly all the land. The peasants had long been discontented and now demanded (1) freedom from serfdom and tyranny, (2) lower payments to the clergy, and (3) the right to elect their village priests. They added



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FREDERICK, ELECTOR OF SAXONY

From the portrait by Albrecht Dürer

that they were willing to give up any demand that might be proved contrary to the Bible. Often the town laborers joined them in burning convents, taking castles, putting the nobles to death with torture, and in many other ways getting revenge for long years of tyranny. But their triumph was short. The nobles combined and crushed the revolt with horrible cruelty, killing nearly 150,000 peasants. The nobles were more tyrannical than ever, and the revolt left many bitter memories.

**The
Peasants'
Revolt
(1525)**

The Peasants' Revolt did much to check the spread of Lutheranism. At first Luther favored the peasants, for he

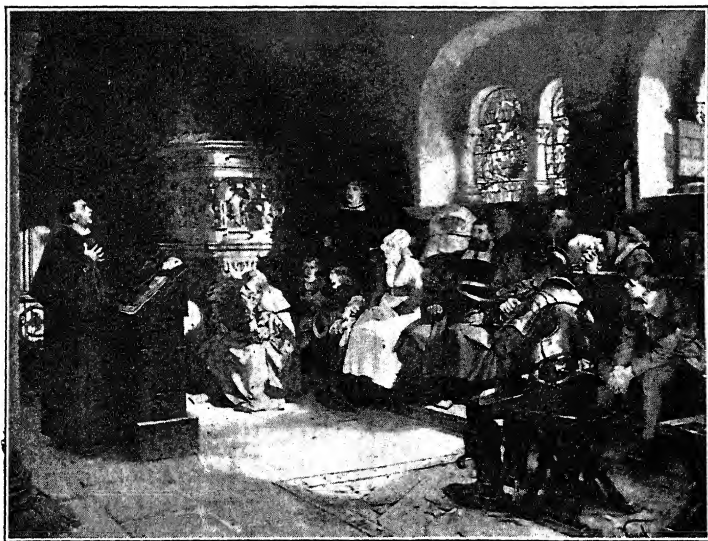


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PEASANTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY IN THE MARKET PLACE
From a drawing by Albrecht Dürer

was himself a peasant's son, but he could not approve of their violence and tried to check it. Unable to do so, he then urged the princes to suppress the revolt with all the violence necessary. The peasants called him "Doctor

Effects
of the
revolt
on Luther-
anism



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LUTHER PREACHING AT THE WARTBURG

From the painting by Hugo Vogel

Liar," for they said he had aroused them to rebel and then betrayed them.¹ The war made many princes fear that revolt against the pope would lead to rebellion against them. The pope, quick to use these fears, made some reforms to satisfy the princes, especially those of southern Germany, and induced them to combine to fight Lutheranism. Henceforth there were two camps in Germany, one following the new doctrines, the other favoring the old.

Luther had come to believe that it was not wrong for the clergy to marry. Now, just in the midst of the Peasants'

Luther's
marriage

¹Doubtless his words had had something to do with the rebellion, but the discontent was already smoldering and had itself helped the spread of Luther's doctrines.

Revolt, he married a former nun. This shocked many who were about to become his followers. Erasmus said bitterly that the Reformation had turned out to be merely a comedy ending in the wedding of an ex-monk and an ex-nun.¹



MELANCHTHON

From a drawing by Albrecht Dürer

The pope would gladly have made use of these events to suppress Lutheranism, but he had to depend on the emperor for help. Neither of them could force the German princes to arrest Luther. Some of them were willing to fight to protect him. Moreover Charles V had not yet decided to use force.

HOW CHARLES V DEALT WITH LUTHERANISM

Suppres-
sion by
Parliament

When not too busy with other affairs Charles V tried three ways of dealing with Lutheranism. First, he induced Parliament to order the Roman Catholic worship restored

¹Erasmus was a bachelor.

all over Germany (1529). The Lutherans protested against this, and ever since this protest those who broke away from the Roman church have been called Protestants.

Second, he tried to settle the dispute in a friendly way by persuading each side to yield something. He proposed to reform the evils in the church, such as the sale of indulgences, but not to depose the pope or make any changes in doctrines. At his request Luther and his closest friend, Melancthon, prepared a very moderate statement of their views (1530), the Augsburg Confession, which still contains the main beliefs of the Lutherans. Charles V would not agree to these, and Luther would yield no further.¹

**Compro-
mise**

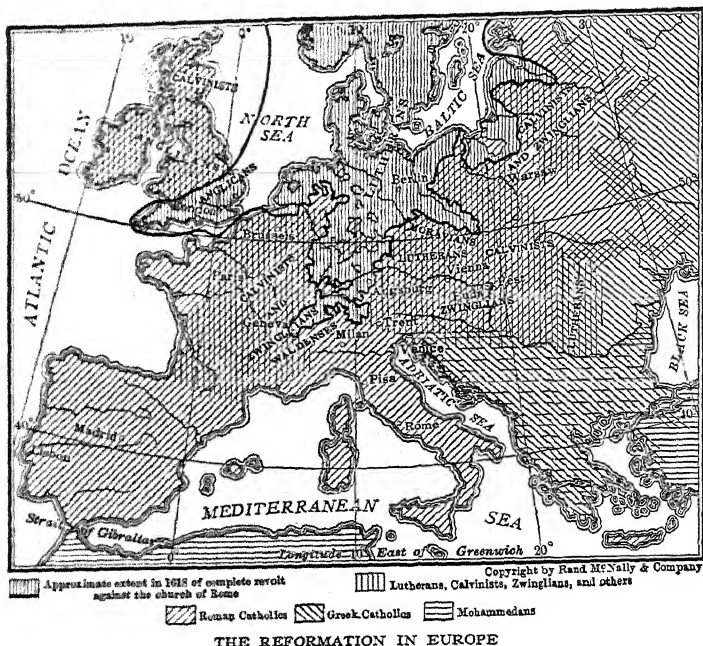
**The
Augsburg
Confession**

Third, when these plans failed, Emperor Charles decided to crush Lutheranism by force. But several difficulties stood in his way: (1) A number of strong Catholic princes were too jealous to help him. (2) The Lutherans had formed a strong league to defend themselves. (3) Much of Charles V's time was occupied by wars. The French king, Francis I, was his bitter rival for the control of Italy. The Ottoman Turks were allies of France and threatened the family lands of Charles in Austria. In 1529 they had with difficulty been driven away from Vienna. The French king also encouraged the Lutherans to fight Charles. These difficulties kept him busy for fourteen years (1531-1544). In the meantime the Protestants won nearly all northern Germany and much of southern Germany. Many of the bishops were planning to turn Protestant and continue to rule their lands as ordinary princes.²

War

¹The Catholics insisted that the priest performed the miracle of actually changing the bread and wine of the Communion into the body and blood of Christ, and that, unless a person received absolution from the priest and partook of this Body of Christ, his soul could not be saved. The Lutherans denied that the priest performed any miracle whatever and said that a sinner could obtain the salvation of his soul by direct prayer to God without the priest's absolution. These important differences in belief also resulted in the failure of later attempts to settle the disputes.

²The German bishops and monasteries held much land and received large incomes. When a prince turned Protestant, he usually took these lands for himself after breaking up the monasteries. Enthusiasm for Protestantism was sometimes aroused by this unworthy motive.



Defeat of the Lutherans

At last peace was made with France and the Turks (1544), and Charles V prepared to fight the Lutherans. He induced some of their leaders to remain neutral and bribed one to turn traitor. Then, a few months after Luther's death (1546), the emperor declared war. The treason of the young duke Maurice of Saxony was decisive. The Lutheran leaders were taken prisoners and their army was scattered. The German people were now to be forced to give up most of their Lutheran beliefs. The Protestant Revolt seemed almost crushed and the emperor the absolute ruler of all Germany.

HOW THE LUTHERANS WON THE VICTORY

Charles's triumph was short, for the Catholic princes themselves began to fear him, and the people were bitterly

discontented. The French king encouraged the German princes to rebel and, above all, Maurice of Saxony turned traitor a second time. With French help he secretly organized a great Protestant alliance. When all was ready (1552), he suddenly marched against the emperor with the

**Final
victory
of the
Protestants**



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CHARLES V

From the portrait by Titian

emperor's own army, of which he had been made commander. Charles had few soldiers with him and barely escaped capture by a hasty flight at night. All his plans for Germany were ruined. Bitterly disappointed, Charles abdicated, giving his Austrian and German lands to his brother Ferdinand, and his Spanish lands and the Netherlands

to his son Philip II. He then retired to a monastery in Spain where he spent the remainder of his days.

The
religious
question
settled
in Germany

In 1555 the German princes met in a parliament at Augsburg and settled the religious question in Germany. Lutheranism was recognized. Each ruler could adopt it or remain Catholic as he chose, and force his people to follow him. Those who disagreed could move away to some other country. All church lands held by Protestants in July, 1552, were to remain in their hands, but in future when a bishop or abbot became a Protestant he must give up his office and lands. This would tend to check such changes in faith.

The
Peace of
Augsburg

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Early in the sixteenth century in which group of European states was the mass of the people likely to have most to say in deciding for or against Protestantism? Why? (2) What special conditions soon after 1500 made a great religious revolt against the pope more likely than in the preceding centuries? Explain fully. (3) What reasons help to account for the fact that the Protestant Revolt broke out first in Germany rather than in France? in England? in Spain? (4) How did Luther free himself from his fear of punishment for his sins? (5) Was Luther a revolutionist in 1517? Prove your conclusion. (6) What was an indulgence and what was it believed to accomplish? Who could issue a full indulgence, and why? (7) Explain the abuses connected with the sale of indulgences in Germany in 1517. (8) Were the ninety-five theses revolutionary? Why? (9) Why was Luther condemned? Why was the emperor's edict condemning Luther not carried out? (10) What events tended to check the spread of the Protestant Revolt in Germany? Explain clearly how and why each had this tendency. (11) What conditions and events favored the spread of Lutheranism after 1521? (12) In what ways did Charles V try to put down Lutheranism? Explain why each failed. (13) To what extent was the Peace of Augsburg a victory for Protestantism? For religious toleration? Was it likely to prove a lasting settlement of the religious disputes in Germany? Why? (14) How did political conditions and international questions affect the Protestant Revolt in Germany? Give examples.

(15) How did economic conditions affect the Protestant Revolt in Germany? Give examples.

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THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND AND
IN THE BRITISH ISLES

THE WORK OF ZWINGLI AND CALVIN IN SWITZERLAND

The
government
of Switzer-
land

In 1500 Switzerland, like Germany, was not governed by an absolute ruler. The sturdy peasants of the mountains had won freedom from their lords, the counts of Hapsburg (about 1300). Some near-by cities joined their league. The union remained very loose, and the people of each little



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ZWINGLI

From the portrait by Holbein

district or canton managed their own affairs. There religious revolt could spread easily.

Even before Luther posted his theses, a rising Swiss clergyman, Zwingli, had begun to criticize the church. His

teachings were much like Luther's.¹ In 1518 he was called to preach in the city of Zurich, and there he started a little revolt which soon spread to several cities of southern Germany. But his followers at Zurich met bitter opposition from the mountain people. These original leaders of Swiss independence fought for the old church. A battle ensued in which Zwingli was killed (1531). Only a part of German-speaking Switzerland had adopted Protestantism, and thereafter but little change took place in that section of the country.

Career
of
Zwingli

In southwestern Switzerland, however, where French was spoken, Protestantism made great progress. The leading city, Geneva, became famous as the home of the great religious leader, John Calvin. He was born in northern France (1509) twenty-five years later than Luther. His parents were influential, and he received a fine education at the University of Paris. There he adopted Protestant views for which he was imprisoned. After his release he went to Basle, Switzerland, where he wrote his most famous book, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536). In this he stated his views with wonderful clearness. Lord Acton, a prominent Roman Catholic scholar, calls it "the finest work of reformation literature." While passing through Geneva on a journey, Calvin was induced to stay there and preach. After two years the citizens tired of him and his friends and drove them out.

Career
of John
Calvin

A few years later Calvin was asked to return. He received a regular salary from the city treasury, and all the citizens were ordered to live as Calvin thought right. The city government punished blasphemy and adultery by death;

¹ There was one great difference between Zwingli and Luther. Luther said that the body and blood of Christ were physically present in the bread and wine of the Communion, though he denied the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation (see p. 431, note 1). Zwingli maintained that the Communion was simply a memorial of Christ's death. For a time this difference threatened to keep the Protestants from combining against the emperor Charles V. Fortunately such a break was avoided, though Luther never felt friendly toward Zwingli.

absence from church services, gambling, and dancing by imprisonment. There was much opposition to these strict rules, but after a long struggle Calvin convinced the



JOHN CALVIN

From a painting in the library at Geneva

majority of the citizens that he was right. He remained the leader, almost the dictator, of Geneva until his death (1564). This close relationship of church and state is wholly different from present-day America, where the clergy are not paid by the government and have no power to punish people who disobey their orders.

Luther was the leader of the German Protestants and won few devoted followers except Germans and Scandinavians. Calvin had a like influence as leader of the Protestants of France, England, Scotland, and Holland. He carried on a wide correspondence with hosts of friends. To the little city-state of Geneva the Protestant leaders of Western Europe fled from persecution. When times were better, they returned home followers of Calvin. His writings were brilliant, his logic was clear and convincing, and his views

Calvin's
influence
on the
Protestant
movement

were definite. Luther had doubted whether his followers ought to defend themselves against the emperor in the German civil wars. Calvin had no such scruples about fighting when necessary. His followers, the militant Protestants, believed that they ought to rebel against a king or ruler who ordered anything contrary to God's will. They believed in the right of revolution. This was to be a great influence for popular liberty in the future, and the results in England, Holland, Scotland, and France will be shown. Even in Germany, Calvin won many followers.

The English colonists later carried his ideas to America, where they are still followed by many Protestants. His strict ideas of morality have great influence today in thousands of homes.

THE REFORMATION IN THE BRITISH ISLES

Many conditions in England favored religious changes. The people had long objected to the pope's interference in English affairs. They were jealous of the special privileges of the clergy, and some looked with longing eyes at the fine lands of the rich monasteries. John Wycliffe had led one of the greatest attempts to revolt from the medieval church.¹ This attempt had been crushed by force and many heretics burned at the stake; but the embers of discontent may still have been smoldering.

**Conditions
which
favored
change**

The Renaissance too had influenced England, and writings of humanists like Erasmus and Colet were popular.² Some few Englishmen had become followers of Luther. But the revolt in England did not begin until King Henry VIII seceded from Rome.

Soon after he became king, at the age of eighteen (1509), Henry VIII married his own brother's widow, Catherine, by special permission of the pope.³ Many years later the king tried to have this marriage annulled by the pope.

**Reasons
for Henry's
secession
from
Rome**

¹See p. 393.

²See pp. 400-403.

³The law of the church forbade a man to marry his brother's widow.

The
break
with
Rome

The matter met with delays, until Henry lost patience and had Parliament meet and make laws to injure the clergy and the pope. One of these cut off most of the money the pope received from England. It was made clear, however, that these laws would not go into effect if the pope annulled Henry's marriage. As the pope refused to yield, Parliament passed the "Act of Supremacy," making it treason to deny the king's headship of the church. Henry then obtained the annulment of his marriage from the court of the archbishop of Canterbury.

The church in England was now separated from the Roman Catholic church, though it kept up most of the old teachings and practices. Gradually a few changes toward Protestantism were allowed, but there was no real freedom. Catholics loyal to the pope were executed as traitors and Protestants were burned to death for heresy. The monks were no longer popular, and, as the king needed money, Parliament, at his suggestion, abolished the monasteries and gave him their property.¹ Much gold and many precious stones went into the royal treasury, but the greater part of the lands were given or sold by the king to the nobles. Those who received any of the spoils would be sure to oppose the restoration of the pope's power in England. The monastery lands were thus an enormous bribe to the nobles.

When Henry VIII died (1547), Protestantism had won many followers among the English people, but most of the teachings and practices of Catholicism still remained in force. England was separated from the pope, but was not yet Protestant.

Radical
religious
changes
under
Edward VI

King Henry VIII was survived by three children, Mary, Elizabeth, and Edward, all of whom were to rule England. Edward became king at the age of ten. His Protestant councilors destroyed holy relics and images of the saints,

¹The monastery lands would probably be worth over \$75,000,000 and the gold and silver about \$4,300,000 in money of today.

allowed priests to marry, and gave the clergy Protestant books with which to teach the people. All had to use the English Prayer Book in church services.¹ But in the meantime the so-called reformers were enriching themselves with



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HENRY VIII

From a portrait by Holbein, Hampton Court, England

church property and most Englishmen were becoming disgusted with their dishonesty. The sudden changes in religion that were introduced by Edward VI had gone too far for them.

At the early death of Edward VI, the princess Mary was soon recognized as queen (1553). Her first work was to

¹ Most of the Prayer Book was simply a translation of the old forms of service with a few changes toward Protestantism.

Restoration of Catholicism by Queen Mary

undo all religious changes made under Edward. Many of his dishonest officers were executed, and the Protestant bishops were driven from office. Then Parliament met and put the church back where Henry VIII had left it.



MEDAL

Commemorating the restoration of Romanism



QUEEN MARY

From the portrait painted by Antonio Moro

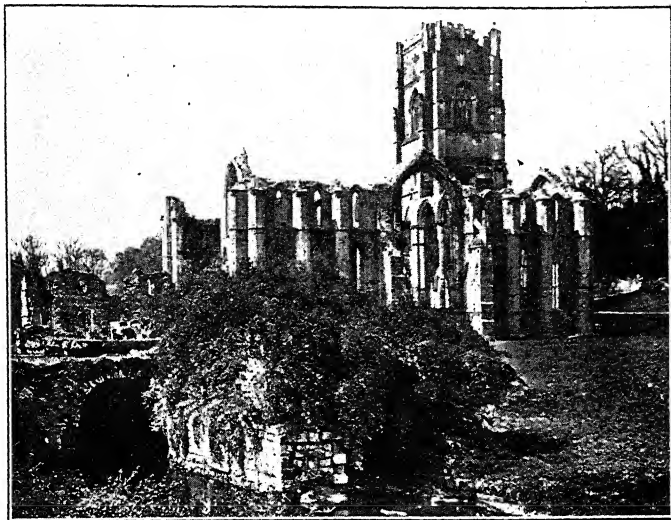
Blunders of Queen Mary

All this received popular approval; but Mary wanted to go still farther, and in so doing she made three great blunders. The first of these was her unpopular marriage to Philip II, who soon became king of Spain.¹ The second was the restoration of the pope's power in England,² thus making it fully a Catholic country again. The third and worst blunder was the persecution of Protestants. Many people refused to give up their Protestant beliefs, and the queen apparently thought that the execution of a few would make the rest yield.

¹ See p. 433.

² To silence the nobles the pope promised that he would not insist on the restoration of the monastery lands. Parliament then repealed the laws against the pope made in the reign of Henry VIII. But the nobles who held former monastery lands could not feel safe while the pope's authority was recognized in England.

The Roman Catholic clergy, eager to avenge their wrongs, urged her to punish heresy severely. She ordered five heretical bishops to be burned at the stake, among them the aged Cranmer who had granted Henry VIII his first divorce.



FOUNTAINS ABBEY, ENGLAND

Nearly three hundred persons were burned to death in three years. This cruelty failed, for the heretics met death bravely and were regarded as martyrs.¹ These persecutions did far more than laws or sermons to make the English people Protestants.

Mary's whole life seemed a failure. Her husband neglected her except when he wanted to get English help for the war against France. Philip won the victory, but England lost Calais, the last English foothold in France.² Mary felt the shame keenly and is reported to have said,

¹Bishop Latimer cried out to Bishop Ridley as the flames rose about them, "Be of good cheer and play the man; for we shall this day light such a candle in England as shall never be put out."

²See pp. 367, 370.

"When I die, you will find 'Calais' written on my heart." She grew more and more unpopular with her people and died unhappy, realizing that her efforts had been in vain, and that her successor was almost certain to undo her work.

WORK OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

**Reign of
Queen
Elizabeth**

Queen Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Hence many Catholics did not regard her as their rightful queen.¹ She decided that the best way to avoid a civil war was to be a moderate Protestant. The English people were tired of the religious extremes to which Edward VI and Mary had gone. Parliament now made Elizabeth ruler of the church as her father had been, ordered the English Prayer Book to be used in all church services, and required all citizens to attend church regularly. The Prayer Book, however, was changed so as to offend moderate Catholics as little as possible,² and few religious teachings were fixed by law. Thus the queen hoped to get the English people accustomed to the national church and slowly make them moderate Protestants.

**Religious
changes**

**Her
main
policies**

Queen Elizabeth felt obliged to keep the extreme Catholics from winning the people back to the old faith. A few of them plotted to kill her and put Mary, queen of Scots, in her place. Others hoped to remove her by armed revolt. The pope excommunicated her and tried to stir up rebellion against her. As such plots were discovered, laws of more

¹The Roman Catholic church had never acknowledged that the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn was legal. Hence Catholics regarded Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, as rightful queen of England. It was with Anne that Henry VIII had fallen in love before his first marriage had been annulled. His determination to marry her had done much to make him break with Catherine. See page 440.

²An example of this may be seen in the Prayer Book of the Church of England today. In administering the bread of the Communion the minister is instructed to say, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." The first of these sentences implies the real presence of Christ in the Communion and might satisfy some Roman Catholics. The second sentence contains Zwingli's teaching that the Communion was simply a memorial of Christ's death. See p. 437, note I.

and more severity were made against Roman Catholics. A number of the plotters were put to death.¹ Most penalties imposed, however, were only fines for not going



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QUEEN ELIZABETH

From the engraving by Hendrik de Hondt

to the national church on Sundays or for saying or attending Mass.

Queen Elizabeth was in less danger from the extreme Protestants. Many of them had been driven abroad in Mary's reign and had become ardent Calvinists.² They were loyal to Queen Elizabeth but dissatisfied with her church. They said its clergy were too worldly and its

¹Those who suffered most were foreigners and Englishmen trained on the Continent who were believed to be stirring up revolts against the government.

²See pp. 437-439.

ceremonies needed to be purified because they differed so little from those of the Catholic church. Hence these Protestants were called "Puritans." Queen Elizabeth could not let them break away from her church or start bitter rivalry with it.

How the
queen kept
out of
foreign
wars

When Elizabeth became queen, she found the government deeply in debt, the country poor, and many people quarreling bitterly about religion. England was then far weaker than France or Spain. To save England, Elizabeth felt that she must keep out of foreign wars until she had won her people and made them prosperous. Her most dangerous enemy, Philip II of Spain, planned to restore Catholicism in England by force. Fortunately the Dutch people rebelled against him and kept him too busy to attack England, and the queen cleverly won the friendship of France so that she could get help in case Philip made war on England.

English
attacks
on
Spanish
ships

In the meantime the English people were preparing for war. Spain held vast territories in North and South America where she allowed none but Spaniards to trade. English merchants often forced their way in and sold their goods in spite of Spanish laws but, when caught, they were punished cruelly as heretics. Other English ships then attacked the Spaniards to take revenge. Sometimes they took a Spanish ship loaded with gold and silver. This kind of warfare went on for many years. It was at this time that Francis Drake made his famous voyage around the South American continent into the Pacific, plundered the Spanish colonies all along the Pacific Coast, explored up to California, and then sailed across the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean home to England with his vast

¹Most of the extreme Protestants were content to stay in the national church and work for the reforms they desired. A few, however, felt such strong dissatisfaction that they could no longer remain members of the national church. They seceded and formed their own little church congregations. They were therefore called "Separatists." Queen Elizabeth persecuted them. It was a group of Separatists that founded the Plymouth colony in Massachusetts (1620).

booty in gold and silver. England rang with his praises. This was only one of hundreds of less startling attacks that caused heavy losses to Spain. King Philip was wild



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

PHILIP II OF SPAIN

From the portrait by Titian, Pitti Palace, Florence

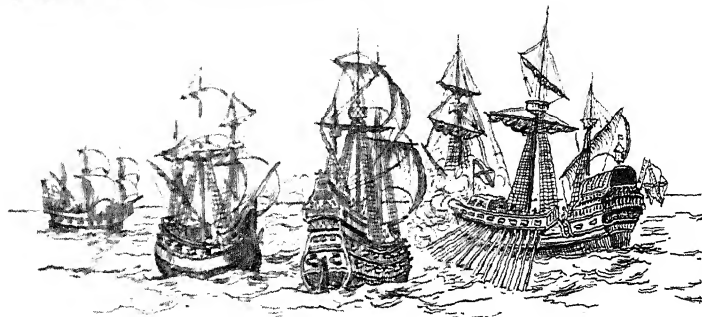
with rage, but put off fighting England until he had crushed the Dutch revolt.

At last he decided to finish England with one heavy blow. He prepared a great fleet of 130 ships fitted to carry 20,000 soldiers. This was called the "Invincible Armada." The fleet was to pass through the English Channel to the Netherlands, there take on the Spanish army, and land it on the coast of England. The dreaded Spanish infantry would then scatter the unprepared English troops, England would become a Spanish province, and Catholicism would be restored.

The
Spanish
attack on
England

The
Spanish
plans

The plan became known in England and excitement ran high. Catholics as well as Protestants united for defense. Soldiers were hurriedly drilled and bonfires prepared all



SHIPS OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

From the tapestry in the House of Parliament, London, destroyed in 1834

along the coast to signal the news of a Spanish landing. Englishmen prepared to die rather than yield to the tyrant Philip. But these preparations for war were not needed. Drake and Hawkins and their brave seamen were determined to have no Inquisition in England. The Armada was met in the Channel by a fleet of English ships. These ships were smaller than the great Spanish galleons, but the English sailors knew the sea and fought desperately for a free England. Besides, the English ships were faster and their cannon larger and better aimed than those of the Spaniards. These advantages made it possible for the English to pour a devastating fire on the Spanish vessels, while keeping at such a distance that they received little damage in return.

The Spaniards were forced to seek shelter at Antwerp and then, not daring to return to Spain the way they had come, they sailed north around the British Isles. There they were overtaken by a dreadful storm. Only half the ships of the Armada reached Spain again, and many of these were badly damaged.

The
defeat
of the
Spanish
Armada
(1588)

The Spanish defeat freed England from danger. The English nation was now united as never before. Protestant feeling and national patriotism were so closely combined that most young people grew up enthusiastic Protestants as well as patriotic Englishmen.¹

Effects
of the
English
victory

Events in Scotland added much to Elizabeth's difficulties. The Scotch clergy were rich and so unpopular that Protestantism spread very rapidly among the common people. Many of the nobles also turned Protestant in the hope of seizing the church lands. The king tried to stop this but failed. Then he asked for and obtained French soldiers to help crush the Scotch revolt. But Elizabeth also stepped in, helped the Scotch nobles win a decisive victory (1560), and when the beautiful Queen Mary Stuart returned to Scotland from France the next year,² she found Protestantism well established. For a few years there was peace; then Queen Mary's conduct provoked a revolt and she was driven to take refuge in England where Elizabeth kept her prisoner for nineteen years. She was the center of Catholic plots, and at last was executed on a charge of having taken part in a plot to kill Elizabeth (1587). Mary's defeat in Scotland made certain the success of Protestantism there. Her son, James, was brought up a Protestant and became king of England (1603) as well as of Scotland.

The Prot-
estant
Revolt in
Scotland

In Ireland, Protestantism made little headway owing largely to the hatred of the native Irish for their English conquerors.³ Henry VIII had tried really to govern the whole land and keep order. He also took control of the church in Ireland and broke up the monasteries which were

The
attempt
to extend
Protes-
tantism to
Ireland

¹In Queen Elizabeth's reign occurred one of the great outbursts of literary activity in the history of England. This was the age of the dramatists Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, of Edmund Spenser, the author of *The Faerie Queen*, and of the philosopher Francis Bacon.

²At her father's death (1542) Mary was just one week old. She was taken over to France, where she was brought up at court and married to a French prince who became King Francis II of France. He reigned less than one year before his death. It was then that Mary returned to Scotland.

³See pp. 354-355.

doing so much to civilize and help the people. The religious changes made in England were followed in Ireland. The church buildings were used for Protestant services, and



From The Story of Old Europe and Young America

BEDROOM OF QUEEN MARY STUART AT HOLYROOD PALACE, SCOTLAND

every effort was made to force the Irish people to change their religion. But they refused to attend Protestant services, and worshiped in the fields.

Naturally the Irish regarded this not as a reformation but simply as tyranny. A native Irishman who turned Protestant was regarded as a traitor not only to his church but to his country as well. Rebellions broke out again and again but were suppressed with great cruelty. Seizures of land followed, and thousands of square miles were taken from the Irish and given to Englishmen who would not live in Ireland. The native Irish were compelled to rent the land from these foreign landlords.

By the close of Elizabeth's reign Ireland was conquered. Her successor, James I, after completing the suppression of a revolt in northeastern Ireland, took large tracts of land and settled Scotch and north English colonists there. Most of them were stanch Presbyterians and so made an excellent garrison to help hold Ireland under control. Thrifty and industrious, these colonists prospered greatly. "The four northeastern counties of Ireland are still the most progressive and prosperous section of the island." Ireland was conquered, but the forced introduction of Protestantism, the seizure of the land, and the presence of the Protestant colonists aroused bitter hatred that still exists.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why did the Protestant Revolt spread more readily in Switzerland and Germany than in France and England? (2) Why could Luther and Zwingli not agree? Why was their dispute important? (3) Which had the wider influence as a religious leader, Luther or Calvin? Explain why and give your evidence. (4) What conditions and events prepared the English people to accept Protestantism? Would these probably have made England a Protestant country if Henry VIII had not chosen to secede from Rome? Why? (5) Why did Henry VIII expect the pope to grant his demand for a divorce? Why was this impossible for the pope at this time? (6) Did the secession of Henry VIII from the pope make England a Protestant country? Give proofs. (7) Why was it possible for Queen Mary so easily to restore Catholicism in England? (8) State the three great blunders of Queen Mary which made her religious settlement only temporary, and explain why each was a blunder from her point of view. (9) Explain why Queen Elizabeth persecuted the Roman Catholics. (10) Explain the objects of Elizabeth's foreign policy and how she succeeded. (11) Explain why the English people were more strongly Protestant at the close of Elizabeth's reign than at its beginning. (12) How did the defeat of the Spanish Armada help England colonize America? (13) How and why did the policies of Henry VIII and Elizabeth cause the Irish people to hate England?

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THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

THE WAR ON HERESY

The effort of the pope to crush by force the growing revolt against the church had met with little success. At last he saw that the only hope of stopping it was by reforming the evils within the church itself and thus making the people enthusiastic Catholics once more.¹

**Nature
and
progress
of the
Catholic
Reforma-
tion**

The nature of the Catholic Reformation can best be understood by a study of the three leading institutions through which the work was carried on: (1) the Council of Trent, (2) the Inquisition and the Index, and (3) the Jesuit Order.

The pope called a general council of the church to meet at Trent, Italy. At this meeting was drawn up a clear statement of what every Roman Catholic must believe. Many of these doctrines were quite the opposite of what the Protestants taught. The Council also ordered the reform of abuses in connection with indulgences,² worship of saints and images, and prayers to saints, but did not wholly do away with these customs. In later sessions of the Council (1545-1563),³ a number of other reforms were made. The clergy must be better educated and supervised, and must be

**The
Council
of Trent**

¹The reform of the church from within, without revolution, had been started in Spain long before Luther's time, but was not extended outside Spain until much later. See pp. 380-381.

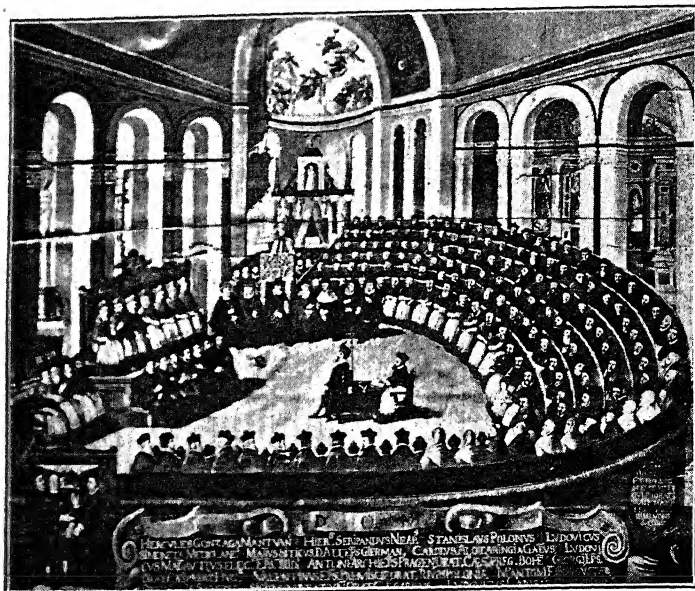
²See p. 422.

³There were several intervals of a number of years when the Council was not in session. Not until the last two years was the main work done. The Protestants saw that in any council like that of Constance or Basle they would be hopelessly outnumbered. Hence they opposed the Council and none of them came to Trent. The pope had great influence over the Council, for nearly two-thirds of its members were Italians. For previous church councils, see pp. 393-394.

enthusiastic and worthy men. The officers of the church must live at their posts and do their work in person.

The Inquisition and the Index

The leaders of the Catholic Reformation were determined to use force to kill heresy in every country where the government would back them. For this purpose the pope set up



THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

From a painting preserved at Trent, Italy

the Inquisition again.¹ Terror of its prisons and tortures did much to make people give up their Protestant beliefs and to keep others from adopting them. Men were also appointed to prepare a list of books or "Index of Prohibited Books" which no Roman Catholic might read. In this way Protestant teachings were kept away from the eyes of the faithful.

To drive Protestantism out of the Roman Catholic countries was not enough, however. Those countries that

¹See p. 390.

had become Protestant must be won back to the old faith. This was to be the task of the Jesuit Order. The Society of Jesus, as the order was called, was founded by one of the greatest men of his time, the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola. This young nobleman was a very brave and capable army officer. But when a severe wound received in battle made it impossible for him to win glory in war, he determined to devote his life to the service of the church. He entered a monastery where he practiced the most severe self-denial, fasting, praying, and whipping himself, but without finding happiness. His experiences were much like those of Luther.¹ Loyola, however, decided that it was the devil who made him so unhappy, and at last found peace through the sacraments of the church. Later he obliged every member of his order to go through such experiences at the command of a superior officer.

Ignatius
Loyola
and the
Jesuits

Loyola begged his way to Jerusalem as a pilgrim (1523). While there, he realized that without an education he could be of little service to the church, and, at the age of thirty-four, he began the study of Latin in a class with mere boys. Then he went to the University of Paris, where he won followers among the students. With the pope's consent (1540) he united them in a monastic order to spread the Catholic faith. It was different from any other order. Its members were under military discipline, bound to obey their general and the pope. Only picked men of education were admitted. They were taught to develop themselves by working for others.

Loyola laid great emphasis on education and the Jesuits founded and managed many schools. Through these they won control of many able young men and planted in them hatred of heresy. Loyola believed that frequent confession of sins to a priest was very important, and his followers received special rights to hear confessions. Jesuits of exceptional education and polish became confessors of kings,

Work of
the order

¹See pp. 420-421.

princes, and nobles, and so were in a position to advise and influence rulers who could decide whether Protestantism should triumph or fail in their domains. Working through them the Jesuits wielded a vast influence against heresy. Above all, the Jesuits were forceful and clever preachers who laid great stress on obedience to the pope and on beliefs most opposed to Protestantism.

**Foreign
missions**

Another phase of Jesuit activity was foreign missions. Jesuits traveled to the vast colonies of Spain and Portugal and to China, Japan, and India, everywhere making numerous converts among non-Christian peoples. In the course of their missionary work they often went on long and dangerous exploring expeditions such as those of the French Jesuits in North America. The priest, Father Marquette, and the trader, Joliet, were the first white men (1673) to explore the Mississippi Valley as far south as the mouth of the Arkansas River.

SUGGESTED READINGS

(1) How was the Catholic Reformation like the Lutheran Reformation? How was it different? (2) Why was the Council of Trent able to make reforms which the Council of Constance did not? Would the Protestant Revolt have taken place if the earlier councils had reformed the abuses as the Council of Trent did? (3) How did the Inquisition and the Index help check the spread of Protestantism? Compare the Index with the censorship as practiced by the countries at war, 1914-1918. (4) Compare the experiences of Luther and Loyola in the monastery. (5) How did the Jesuits work against Protestantism? Why were they more successful than other orders?

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THE ERA OF RELIGIOUS WARS (1555-1648)

REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

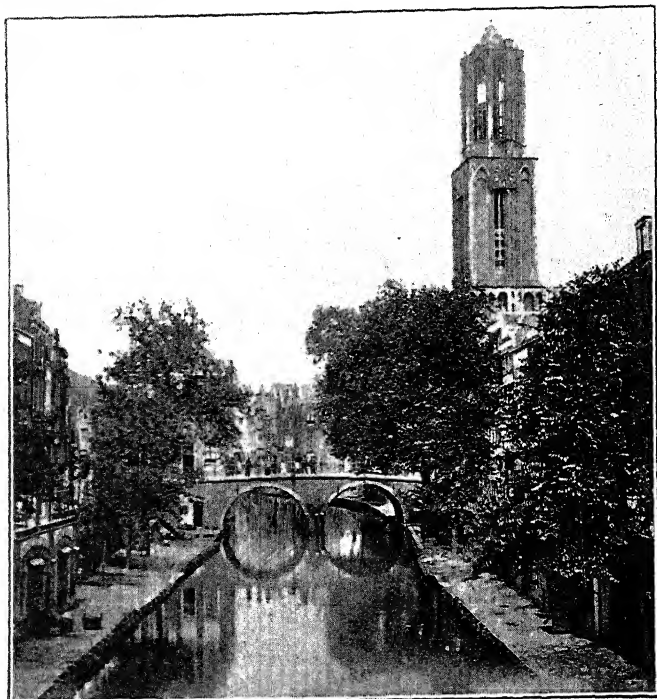
About 1555 it seemed that Protestantism might win all Europe. Even France and Austria seemed likely to follow Calvin's lead. Only Spain, Portugal, and Italy were loyal to the pope, and parts of Italy even were wavering. The Protestants were enthusiastic, while most Catholics were not. The Catholic Reformation, however, reanimated the Catholics. Wherever there was a chance to win control, the pope and the Jesuits determined to fight for it. A series of bitter wars between Protestants and Catholics followed. Often these were civil wars. Usually other questions were also at stake, but for nearly a hundred years religious differences were most important.

Most famous of all these wars was the Dutch struggle for freedom from Philip II of Spain, the greatest leader of the revived Catholicism. His generals and soldiers were the best in Europe. He had vast wealth, all of which he was willing to use to suppress Protestantism.

Philip's subjects in the Netherlands¹ were divided among seventeen provinces in which the people governed themselves.

¹These lands were about the same as modern Holland and Belgium.

Part of the land was below sea level, and the salt water was kept out by a vast system of dikes or embankments. Fresh-water canals crossed the country in every direction.



A SCENE IN UTRECHT, THE NETHERLANDS

There were many large manufacturing towns from which traders went forth to all parts of the world. The people were alert and held fast to the liberties their ancestors had won.

Under Charles V the people had prospered. But they feared his efforts to take away their freedom and unite the different provinces under one absolute king. They also disliked his persecution of the Protestants among them. Every person found with suspected books or believed guilty of attending secret prayer meetings was ordered to be

executed. The Spanish Inquisition tortured Protestants or burned them at the stake wherever they were found. It is said that its victims numbered 50,000 in Charles's reign. But this cruel persecution had failed to check the spread of the new faith.

The Spaniard, Philip II, carried these policies farther. He persecuted the Protestants cruelly, filled the government offices with upstarts and foreigners, and quartered Spanish soldiers in the homes of the people. Discontent spread rapidly and three hundred nobles made a formal protest, but in vain. A revolt broke out in Antwerp (1566). Prisoners of the Inquisition were released by mobs which broke into the churches and destroyed the crosses, altars, and images. Philip then sent an able general, Alva, with a Spanish army to invade the Netherlands. A special court, called the Council of Blood, condemned thousands of people to death. Thousands more fled from the land. All who criticized Philip suffered—Catholic nobles as well as humble Protestants.

**How
Philip II
of Spain
made his
subjects
hate him**

Armed resistance to Spain was begun by William of Orange, a German prince who had served Charles V and Philip II in the Netherlands. In 1568 he sold many of his estates and left the country, and from then until his assassination (1584), William the Silent, as he was called, was the great leader of the Dutch revolt. But the whole people did not at once rise in rebellion as William expected, and his ill-disciplined army was at first defeated by Alva's veterans. Later Alva's cruelty helped William and, after the first Dutch victory, many of the northern towns drove out the Spaniards, four of the northern provinces choosing William as their leader. The poorly paid Spanish soldiers were very cruel. When they recaptured a rebel city, few of the citizens escaped death or torture.

**The
beginning
of the
revolt**

Some of the bravest deeds of the war were performed at the siege of Leiden. A great Spanish army surrounded this fine old city. Only a small garrison was there to help

**The siege
of Leiden
(1573-1574)**

the townsmen. The Spaniards had taken so many cities that they seemed likely to win back all Holland if they took Leiden. Just then William had no army with which to break the siege. He did have a fleet of warships manned by the bravest fighting sailors of the time. But Leiden was surrounded by fertile fields rescued from the sea. The salt water was held back by great embankments called "dikes," and the ships could not reach the city.

After an eight-months siege, the people of Leiden wrote the prince (August 12, 1574) that they would soon starve unless relieved. William's answer was to cut the dikes and send the ships to take them food. Better to lose the work of years than give up to the Spaniards. But the water did not rise high enough to carry the ships all the way to the city. Meanwhile food supplies gave out and hundreds of mothers and children starved to death, while the relief ships lay stranded on the fields. At last a change in the direction of the wind carried the water into the fields. The ships floated, the Spanish forts were stormed, and, terrified by the advancing flood and the victorious fleet, the enemy fled. As the ships sailed into Leiden, the quays were lined with all who could stand. Bread was thrown to the crowd from every ship. Then they all went to church to give thanks to God for their deliverance. In honor of the heroic defense of the city, the University of Leiden was founded.

**Union of
all the
Nether-
lands
against
Philip II
(1576)**

At first few people outside of the northern provinces rebelled against the king of Spain. But now the Spanish soldiers, long unpaid and ill controlled, mutinied in the south. They sacked and burned and murdered in an awful orgy of crime. In Antwerp alone the loss was about \$100,000,000 in the money of today. The whole country was horrified; and the Catholics of the south joined with the Protestants of the north to fight for liberty and drive out the hated Spanish soldiers. This was the height of the revolt. The Spanish commanders soon recovered control and won back the southern people, most of whom remained Catholic.

William the Silent induced the seven Protestant provinces of the north to combine in the "Union of Utrecht," the declaration of independence of the Dutch Republic. A few years later, William was shot by an assassin sent by the king of Spain.¹ England, however, now openly took sides with the Dutch (1585), and three years later Philip sent his Great Armada against England.² Defeat of the Armada made Dutch victory almost certain and Spain was forced to give up hope of crushing the revolt, though she would not acknowledge Dutch independence until 1648. Protestantism had won in Holland.

Union
of
Utrecht
(1579)

THE CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE

While William of Orange was leading the Dutch fight for freedom, civil wars were raging in France between Catholics and Protestants. The Protestant Revolt in France differed from that in Germany in three respects: (1) The French people cared little for any change in religion. The pope and the clergy had collected much less money in France than they had in Germany, and other church abuses had been felt far less. (2) The first Protestant leaders in France did not try seriously to stir the common people to rebel. (3) The king opposed religious changes. France was united under his government, and his soldiers and officers could do much to check religious revolt. At first, King Francis I interfered little with the few French rebels against the church. Later, however, he wanted the pope's help in his wars with Charles V.³ Besides, he received much money from the French church and by agreement with the pope named all its high officials. All these advantages would be lost if he let his people become Protestants. Hence he ordered all who adopted the new beliefs to be arrested and burned at the stake as heretics.

¹For three years Philip had offered a large sum of money to anyone who would murder William of Orange. But all efforts failed until 1584. The murderer was executed, but his relatives were rewarded by the king of Spain.

²See pp. 447-448.

³See p. 431.

In spite of these obstacles the new faith spread over France, especially after Calvin took the lead. The Protestants, however, were too few in number to fight for control



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

FRANCIS I

From a painting by Holbein

**Causes
of the
civil
wars**

of France¹ until (after 1559) they were joined by a group of nobles led by the Bourbons, who were a younger branch of the royal family and eager to win control of the national government. For many years the crown had been worn by

¹The strength of the Huguenots was mostly among the lesser nobles and the middle classes. The lower classes remained strongly Catholic both in the cities and in the country.

weak men much under the influence of the strongly Catholic Guise family. Both the Bourbons and the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, hated the Guises bitterly and now joined forces against them.

Warfare did not go on all the time during the next thirty-four years. Truces were made and broken frequently. The fighting was treacherous and cruel. One of the worst examples of savagery occurred on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day, August 23, 1572. That night the Catholics of Paris were ordered at a given signal to kill all the Huguenots they could find. At least two thousand Huguenots were killed in Paris and eighty thousand in other parts of France.

When Henry of Navarre, head of the Bourbon family and leader of the Huguenots, became rightful king of France,¹ the more ardent Catholics, backed by Philip II of Spain, determined to bar him from the throne. Henry saw that he could not win the French people by force, and that France needed peace and freedom from foreign interference. He decided that the best way to end the war was to become a Catholic himself. Within eight months after he had taken this step (1593) he was crowned king and admitted to Paris.

In 1598 Henry IV published the famous Edict of Nantes in order to satisfy the Huguenots and prevent the reopening of religious war. By it they received the following rights:

1. Freedom of worship in two places in each government district of France, as well as in certain specified towns and in the castles of Huguenot nobles. But Protestant services were forbidden in Paris and at the king's court.

**The
Edict of
Nantes
(1598)**

2. Freedom to go anywhere in France.

3. The same rights at law as other Frenchmen and eligibility to any office.

4. Full control of La Rochelle and various other fortified places and the right to govern themselves in those regions partly independent of the king's authority.

¹Henry of Navarre was only distantly related to the sixteenth-century kings. He became king because all the sons of King Henry II died without heirs.

Henry IV also bettered the government and made the people more prosperous. He was a very popular and successful king and might well have made France the strongest



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

RICHELIEU

From the portrait by Philippe de Champaigne in the National Gallery at London

country of Europe.¹ Unfortunately for France, he was murdered (1610) before his son, Louis XIII, was of age.

Under Louis's mother, government again fell into weak and evil hands and civil war seemed likely. The country was saved by the genius of Richelieu, who became chief

¹It is said that Henry expressed a wish that every French peasant might be able to have a chicken in the pot for Sunday dinner.

minister (1624). He had been made a bishop at an early age, and later a cardinal. His chief interest, however, was in politics. He devoted himself to three tasks: (1) to make His policies



HENRY IV



LOUIS XIII

the Huguenots obey the king, (2) to subject the nobles to the king's will, and (3) having made the king's power absolute, to extend the boundaries of France by foreign war and make France the greatest power of Europe.

The Huguenots had determined to secede from France and strike for independence (1625). Richelieu gathered his resources and hit hard. In spite of help from England, the Huguenots were defeated and disarmed. Their military and political privileges were taken away, but Richelieu wisely secured to them their religious and civil rights. Suppression of Huguenot independence

The nobles had long held rights and privileges of government over many provinces.¹ Richelieu undermined their power by creating a new set of officers, called intendants, who obeyed his orders and finally took over most of the work of the government, leaving to the noble governors The nobles reduced to obedience

¹Some of these rights had come down from the Middle Ages. The castles of the nobles were fortified, and they delighted in fighting among themselves while they oppressed the peasantry under them. They often disobeyed the king's orders.

little but their salaries. The latter were bitter against Richelieu, but Louis XIII refused to dismiss him. Instead, he had a number of the nobles put to death as traitors. The rest were humbled.

**Extension
of the
boundaries
of France**

To accomplish his third object, foreign conquest, Richelieu believed the best plan was to make war on Spain and Austria. In order to win he allied France with the Protestant states of England, Sweden, and the Netherlands. He even fought on the Protestant side in the great Thirty Years' War.

Richelieu ranks among the ablest of French statesmen. He gave his country unity and religious peace under a strong royal government and made France the greatest power of Europe. Unfortunately he cared more for great affairs of state than for the welfare and happiness of the people. He did little to reform abuses in the government.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648)

Causes

The greatest of all the civil wars between Catholics and Protestants was the Thirty Years' War. The Catholics fought to win back all Germany to the old faith. The emperor hoped also to win supremacy in Germany, to become a real king. The Protestant princes fought for both religion and independence. Though the war began in Germany and was fought out there, gradually all the countries of Western Europe were drawn into it.

**The
Bohemian
period of
the war**

The immediate cause was the revolt of the Bohemians,¹ many of whom were Protestants, from the Catholic emperor Ferdinand II. After several stormy scenes the rebels threw two of the emperor's representatives out of a high castle window.² Then they declared their independence and chose as their king, Frederick, ruler of the Palatinate and leader of the Union of Protestant Princes. He accepted the offer,

¹Their descendants won their independence as a result of the Austrian defeat in the World War.

²"It was a fall of sheer one hundred feet, but, wonderful to say, had no evil consequences. The grateful victims, on scrambling out of the ditch, ascribed their rescue to the Virgin Mary, but skeptical Protestants called attention to the soft heaps of refuse which had accumulated in the moat." Schevill, *Political History of Modern Europe*, pp. 206-207.

hoping to get the help of these princes; but he soon found that his new kingdom made them jealous.¹ Moreover he was a Calvinist and the Lutherans would not help him. The elector of Saxony even took the imperial side. Frederick was utterly defeated near Prague by the imperial armies. The emperor won back Bohemia, seized the lands of all the rebels, and forced the people to become Catholics again. He even took from Frederick his title of elector. With the help of a Spanish army the Palatinate was seized and Frederick became a helpless fugitive (1622).

The Protestants of Europe were much alarmed at the emperor's victories and decided to send help. The king of Denmark led an army into Germany, but was soon defeated and forced to make peace. The imperial armies now occupied most of northern Germany, and the emperor issued the Edict of Restitution (1629), requiring vast tracts of land to be restored to the church. Most of this had long been held by Protestant princes and the people living there had become Protestants. This edict might even kill German Protestantism. It would greatly strengthen the emperor, who might unite Germany under absolute rule and so become the strongest power in Europe. France and Sweden had hoped to gain lands at the expense of disunited Germany. They could not afford to let the Hapsburg emperor win this war, and so they helped the Protestant princes fight him.

**The
Danish
period of
the war**

**Results
of the
imperial
victory**

**French
and
Swedish
inter-
vention**

Even the Catholic princes were jealous of the emperor's growing power. His victories had been largely due to one able general, Wallenstein, who raised an army of volunteers paid by extorting large sums from the cities or regions where they went. If any city refused to pay, it was destroyed. Other generals soon followed Wallenstein's example, and the country was devastated from one end to the other. It was a wonder that all Germany did not become a wilderness. Many whole districts were practically

¹This jealousy was partly due to the fact that Frederick would now have two votes in the electoral college which chose the emperor, one as Count Palatine and another as king of Bohemia.

land wars. The devastation and impoverishment of the land was the more complete because most armies of those days were composed of hired soldiers of every nationality



WALLENSTEIN

From the painting by C. Jäger

and religion, who were usually accompanied by their women and children, so that an army of 30,000 fighting men might have with it as many as 100,000 camp followers. Wallenstein's methods enraged the princes and people everywhere, and the emperor was forced to dismiss him (1630).

Just then Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, landed in Germany with a strong army and marched southward. Different from others of the time, his soldiers were God-fearing men of deep piety, who knelt in prayer before going into battle. Moreover, discipline was very strict and their leader a military genius. He was the first to use heavy artillery fire to demoralize the enemy and then follow it up by the sudden shock of a massed cavalry charge, thus completely breaking up a hostile army. Using these

Sweden
enters
the war
(1630)

CENTRAL EUROPE AFTER THE TREATY
OF WESTPHALIA, 1648

methods, he defeated a large imperial army and pushed on into Bavaria. His next move was against Vienna.

The emperor in terror appealed to Wallenstein for help. Given full control, that able general raised a new army and met Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen, near Leipzig. The Swedes won the fight, but Gustavus Adolphus, the great champion of Protestantism, was killed. Wallenstein now planned to dictate peace on his own terms and so become the real ruler of Germany. The emperor took away his command, and soon afterward Wallenstein was murdered by some of his officers.

By this time the religious causes of the war had been almost forgotten. The French king had been paying Sweden well for carrying it on. Now he allied himself with Sweden and Holland and took an active part in the war, which went on for thirteen years more. France and Sweden were determined to make conquests.¹ The emperor held out obstinately, but finally was forced to yield. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) ended the struggle. It contained the following main provisions:

France
takes
part
in the
war

1. Gains of the victors: (a) France won most of Alsace on the Upper Rhine. (b) Sweden won western Pomerania on the Baltic and a large piece of land at the mouths of the Elbe and Weser Rivers. These acquisitions gave her great commercial advantages. (c) Holland received the recognition of her independence.

Treaty
of
Westphalia

2. The religious settlements of the Peace of Augsburg² were continued except that the Calvinists were recognized as well as the Lutherans. Each ruler could dictate the religion of his subjects. The church lands were to be owned by those in possession on January 1, 1624. This last provision was a compromise.

3. Within Germany the princes won almost full independence. They could even make alliances with foreign

¹See p. 466.

²See p. 434.

powers. Germany became a mere geographical expression. Besides Austria, the two German states that had shown greatest strength were Brandenburg and Bavaria. These states now obtained more land and thus laid the foundation of their position as the leading states of northern and southern Germany.

RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS

Growth
of
religious
toleration

The Treaty of Westphalia marks the end of the religious struggles which had shaken Europe since Luther's time. Religious hatred was not dead, but leading men saw that neither Protestantism nor Catholicism could possibly crush the other. Religious toleration gradually won its way until now in most countries people of different religions live peaceably side by side.

Where
Protes-
tantism
was
established

Since 1648 very few European countries have changed their religion. Protestantism won chiefly in the northern nations, including England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, northern Germany, and parts of Switzerland. The nations most influenced by ancient Rome—France, Spain, and Italy—remained on the whole loyal to the pope. Most of southern Germany also remained Catholic. In France a minority of the people adopted Protestantism and won much religious toleration.¹ Elsewhere the religion of the ruler or of the majority of the people had to be outwardly followed by the remainder. In most Protestant countries the king took and retained the authority over the church formerly held by the pope.

The Protestants agreed in regarding the Bible as the supreme authority in religion and denied such Catholic doctrines and practices as transubstantiation,² prayers to saints, indulgences, and most of the sacraments. They abolished the monasteries and allowed the clergy to marry. Most Protestants asserted that one could reach heaven

¹See p. 463. Even in France religious bigotry later had its way and took from the Huguenots the toleration given by the Edict of Nantes.

²See p. 437, note 1.

without the help of the clergy, but they differed greatly among themselves in their beliefs, and their churches have shown a decided tendency to split into many different sects.

Through most of the sixteenth century the Hapsburgs had been the strongest rulers in Europe.¹ The French kings had rivaled them for a time, but were badly weakened by the civil wars ended by the Edict of Nantes.² England had not yet grown strong enough to play a great part on the Continent. The wealth and power of Spain were so great that even after the division of the empire of Charles V³ she was the leading state of Europe.

The international situation in the sixteenth century

At the close of the period of religious wars the situation was quite different. The wars of Charles V and Philip II had drawn too heavily on the resources of Spain. After the wars with the Ottoman Turks and the costly defeats by the English and the Dutch,⁴ Spain took part in the Thirty Years' War. After that she kept up the struggle for eleven years, only to suffer further losses.

Changes at the close of this period

Spain had never been an especially rich country, and her decline was hastened by the idleness of her people and the bigotry of her kings and clergy. The vast wealth in gold and silver obtained from America encouraged idleness, already a failing with many Spaniards. The people worked less and boasted more. The industrious Moors and Jews were driven from the land. Southern Spain under Moorish rule had blossomed like a rose garden; now it was deserted. The kings gave the people no share in government. The Inquisition checked freedom of thought and progress in many lines. All these causes led to a lasting decline from which Spain has never recovered.⁵

Why Spain declined

¹See p. 383.

²See p. 463.

³See p. 433.

⁴See pp. 448, 461.

⁵It is strange that during the years of Spain's decline in the seventeenth century some remarkable works of art and literature were produced there. It was then that Cervantes wrote his *Don Quixote*, full of clever humor, and Lope de Vega and others produced a noteworthy dramatic literature. The paintings of Velasquez and Murillo are now regarded as masterpieces. Yet there was no general awakening of intelligence among the common people of Spain.

Decline
of
Germany

Germany had suffered terribly during the Thirty Years' War, and did not fully recover from it for more than a hundred years. "Augsburg, the great southern center of



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PHILIP IV OF SPAIN

From the painting by Velasquez

trade, had had 80,000 inhabitants; the war reduced the city to a provincial town of 16,000. Thousands of villages were destroyed, whole districts were depopulated. In Brandenburg one could travel days without meeting a peasant; in Saxony bands of wolves took possession of the empty villages."¹ At the close of the war the population of Germany was only about one-third what it had been.

There was less political unity than before. Many of the German states had formerly looked to the Austrian

¹Schevill, *Political History of Modern Europe*, p. 226.

Hapsburgs for leadership. By 1648 Hapsburg weakness was plain. France won a strong hold on the upper Rhine through the possession of Alsace. The Rhine was no longer wholly a German river. German princes began to look to Paris for favors and to imitate everything French. The way was opened for further French conquests.¹

Everything pointed to France as the strongest country of Europe for the next fifty years. Her king was absolute and had a fine army and great wealth.² Sweden and Holland had weakened themselves in the long wars. The resources of England had grown, but the struggle between king and Parliament kept her busy at home most of the time. Only after Parliament had won supremacy (1688) was England ready to challenge France. Hence the seventeenth century as a whole may be called the period of French headship of Europe.

Rise of
France

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How could the wars of religion in the sixteenth century have been avoided? Give proofs. (2) Which motives had most influence in bringing about the revolt of the Netherlands, the religious or the political? Give proofs. (3) Why did the southern provinces of the Netherlands not persist in revolt against Spain? How has this affected their later history? (4) To what outside influences and events was the Dutch success against Philip II due? (5) Why did Protestantism never win the French people as it did those of Germany? (6) For what objects was each faction fighting in the French civil wars of the late sixteenth century? Would religious causes alone have produced these wars? Why? (7) Do you believe that Henry IV did right to give up Protestantism and become a Catholic in 1593? Explain your reasons. (8) Was the Edict of Nantes the best possible solution of the religious question in France? Why? (9) In what respects was Richelieu a wise ruler? In what respects not? (10) Do you believe that the Thirty

¹In the same way many lesser European rulers admired German militarism and married German princesses during the period of Hohenzollern glory (up to 1918).

²See pp. 464-466.

Years' War could have been avoided? Why? How? (11) What motives led the different princes and states to take part in the Thirty Years' War? Explain for each of the following: the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, the king of Denmark, Gustavus Adolphus, France, and Spain. (12) Would you say that the gains of Protestantism from the Thirty Years' War were greater than the losses? Give your reasons. (13) What country gained most as a result of the Thirty Years' War? Why? What country lost most? Why? (14) Why did the religious wars hurt Germany more than France? If Henry IV had not become a Catholic, might France have suffered as much as Germany? Why? (15) Why did Spain gradually sink to a second-rate or third-rate power after 1648?

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENTS. WARS FOR TERRI- TORIAL AGGRANDIZEMENT

THE GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND

INTELLECTUAL GROWTH OF THE TIME

Literary
revival
in England

England about 1600 was the home of an unusual number of great writers and scholars. The later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign had seen a great literary revival in England. In prose, poetry, history, theology, and especially in the drama, works of great merit were written. The discoveries and explorations of the time broadened men's minds. The victories over Catholicism and Spain stirred national patriotism and pride. Able men felt an impelling stimulus to write. This literary outburst lasted into the reign of King James I. Then the greatest dramatist, Shakespeare, wrote some of his best plays, such as *Othello* and *King Lear*. Then also a body of able writers and scholars made the famous English translation of the Bible which is still used wherever English is spoken.

Shakes-
peare

Francis
Bacon

An English government official, Francis Bacon, wrote to urge the importance of depending, not on what Aristotle or some other ancient had said, but on the results of actual experiments. The best way, he said, to learn about plants, animals, and the materials of which the earth is made is to examine them closely. The new knowledge thus gained could then be used to get more. The methods of study and experiment urged by Bacon made possible the great inventions of the later Industrial Revolution. Thus William

Harvey, an English physician, discovered that the blood flows from the heart through the arteries and into the tiny blood vessels of the body and then returns to the heart through the veins. **Harvey**

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND
ABOUT 1600

Between 1500 and 1600 there were great changes in the life of the English people. Up to 1500 England had been a land of farms. Crops had been good, wages high, and the common people happy. But now the landlords learned that they could make more money by raising sheep and selling their wool to the manufacturers in Flanders than by farming. To do this they fenced off the open fields, turned out the people, and turned in the sheep. Only a few shepherds were needed to care for them. When Henry VIII broke up the monasteries, most of their tenants were turned out to make room for sheep. Where once fields of ripening wheat had covered the land, now only sheep grazed about. Whole villages that had rung with the shouts and songs of the peasants happy at the harvest, were now still. Houses fell in ruins, while their former occupants wandered miserably over the country, hunting for work or for land to till. Prices were rising fast and the poor people suffered cruelly. Hosts of idle, desperate men tramped about while their wives and children starved. **How the poor suffered from the rise of sheep raising**

The landlords, however, were making money fast, and they controlled the government. To check the evils of poverty and idleness, Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments had enacted laws to control laborers and give the justices of the peace the right to fix wages and prices. Able-bodied men must do farm work if they had no other employment. Persons who could not work were to be cared for at the expense of the parish taxpayers. These laws put the common people under strict control of the employing classes, for the justices were well-to-do landlords. **Elizabethan poor laws**

At the same time that these changes were going on, towns began to grow rapidly. Englishmen felt there was no reason why English wool could not be made into cloth at



From a sixteenth-century manuscript
THE RICH MAN AND THE POOR MAN

The rise of manufacturing and the growth of the towns helps the poor

home instead of in Flanders. To secure skilled laborers Queen Elizabeth welcomed persecuted Protestants from the Continent and encouraged them to teach their trades to Englishmen.¹ Well-to-do men saw in manufacturing a new opportunity to make profits. They bought wool and hired laborers to make it into cloth. This gave work to the idle laborers. A larger demand for food in the thriving towns gradually made the raising of food crops as profitable as sheep raising. This led to the employment of more men to cultivate the soil. Thus by 1600 England had begun to be a manufacturing as well as an agricultural country, and there was greater prosperity throughout the land.

Rise of a merchant class

Moreover, a new class of merchants had arisen. These men were engaged in the business of selling English goods to people of foreign countries and importing other goods from

¹Many skilled laborers came from the Netherlands at the time of Alva's cruelties (1567-1573) (see p. 459) and from France after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, 1572 (see p. 463).

abroad. Many of them had formed great companies which received from the king the sole right to trade with certain regions. Such were the East India Company, organized to trade with India and the East Indies; the Levant Company, to trade with the lands at the east end of the Mediterranean; the Muscovy Company; and the later Hudson's Bay Company. By extending the field for the sale of goods, these companies enabled English manufacturers to make more cloth and thus give employment to more laborers. These in turn would buy more, and so make all classes of the people more prosperous.

The growth of manufacturing and foreign trade also did much to make possible the struggle for popular liberty. It built up a large body of prosperous, wide-awake citizens sure to want a share in government. The rich merchants and manufacturers felt their growing importance. Their employees gathered in the towns were far more wide-awake than the farm laborers and more willing to stand up for their rights. Among them Protestantism obtained its first foothold. Later, that form of Protestantism called Puritanism¹ won many adherents among them. The townspeople stood for Parliament against the king when civil war broke out.

How these changes helped bring about the struggle between king and Parliament

Another class of people of whom many took the side of Parliament were the yeomen. These were farmers who owned land producing an income of forty shillings or more a year. They were not rich enough to avoid work with their own hands, but they were independent and prosperous. They had the right to vote for members of the House of Commons. The yeomen were not so much inclined to adopt new opinions or ways as the townspeople, but they were a numerous and valuable part of the population.

The yeomen

Many of the gentry or "squires" also took the side of Parliament. They were landowners rich enough not to work with their hands, but were not noblemen. The

The country "squires"

¹See pp. 445-446.

king appointed many of them to serve as "justices of the peace." They enforced the laws, held courts, and managed local government through the country districts. For this they were not paid by the king. Many younger sons of the squires went to the towns and there prospered as merchants. Many successful merchants bought land and became squires. Hence the squires were not unfriendly to the merchants. Many squires were elected to the House of Commons and equally with the merchants were active in demanding that Parliament should have a larger share in governing the land.

Puritanism

This independent spirit was due partly to the influence of the Puritans. They believed the church services should be made simpler and the sermons a more prominent part of the services. They worked hard for reform in the lives of the people and reform in government to give the people more power. They were not afraid to overthrow a bad king even by revolution.¹

Parliament under the Tudors

Under the Tudor rulers, especially Henry VII and Henry VIII (1485-1547), the people had counted for little in government. Parliament met every few years, but the king was usually able to control it. From 1295 to about 1450 Parliament, led by the nobles, had won from the king an important share in government.² But after that the nobles had been greatly weakened³ and the middle classes, the well-to-do commoners in town and country, had neither the strength nor the desire to take the lead and win more power for Parliament. The Tudors were usually quick to see what the middle classes wanted and seldom tried to do anything that would arouse too great opposition. Henry VIII and Elizabeth had their own way because they followed legal forms, called Parliament now and then, and were clever politicians. But before Elizabeth died, discontent had spread. The merchants and townspeople, the squires, and the yeomen wanted a larger share in managing the

¹See p. 439.

²See pp. 358-362, 370-371.

³See pp. 372-373.

government. Often the queen would not yield to their wishes voiced in the House of Commons. Disputes occurred about religion,¹ freedom of speech in Parliament, and the abuse of monopolies. The queen had granted to her courtiers exclusive rights to deal in many necessities of life such as coal, salt, and leather, and the monopolists had forced the people to pay outrageous prices. Popular discontent was so great that the queen was forced to end these monopolies. A new spirit of independence was growing up. When the aged Queen Elizabeth died, the struggle began.

JAMES I AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE QUARREL WITH PARLIAMENT

Queen Elizabeth's successor was James I, son of Mary Stuart of Scotland.² He and his son and two grandsons are called the Stuart kings. The struggle with Parliament was hastened by (1) his unwise stand in religion, (2) his theories and methods of government, (3) his financial policies, and (4) his foreign policy.

Causes of
quarrels
with
Parliament

James hated the Puritans and required the clergy of the national church to follow all the rules about church ceremonies. Three hundred Puritan clergymen were dismissed for refusing to do so (1604), and from then on they and their many friends hated King James.

James's
unwise
religious
policies

James was also bitterly hated by the Catholics. At first he had favored them, but soon he began to persecute them. Then a band of desperate Catholics decided to destroy king and Parliament with one blow. In a cellar under the Parliament house they put barrels of powder and covered them with heavy pieces of iron. When the king and Parliament met, all were to be blown up. Without their leaders, the Protestants might be defeated and Catholicism restored by force. But some one betrayed the plot. Guy Fawkes, the leader, was arrested as he guarded the powder, and the rest of the plotters were caught and killed without mercy.

¹See p. 444, note 2.

²See pp. 449-450.

Protestant Englishmen were wild with rage, and never forgot this Gunpowder Plot. They were ready to believe anything bad of the Catholics, most of whom were ignorant of the plot and would have strongly disapproved of it had they been informed.

James's
theories
and
methods
of gov-
ernment

James believed in the divine right of kings and made himself hated by lecturing Parliament on that subject.¹ Once he said, "As for the absolute prerogative of the crown that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do. So it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." This was very offensive to the many Puritans in Parliament. Had James said nothing about his divine rights, he would have had a better chance of exercising them. The House of Commons answered by stating the rights of Parliament and the people.

Moreover, James did not govern ably or well. He chose unworthy, upstart favorites, put them in high office, and enriched them with the people's money. The most famous of these was George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whom the king raised from poverty to vast wealth in a few years.

Financial
policies

Fortunately Parliament had a hold on the king through its control of new taxes. Prices were rising and even the thrifty Queen Elizabeth had found it hard to make ends meet. James was wasteful and was forced to impose new taxes. He began to tax imports without the consent of Parliament, a procedure which the Commons declared to be illegal. The king maintained that he was merely regulating trade. This and other disputes about taxes continued whenever James called Parliament to obtain more money.

James's foreign policy was another grievance. He early ended the long and profitable war with Spain² which the

¹See p. 505.

²See pp. 446-448. English ships were safely taking many rich Spanish prizes. Of course the seamen wanted the war to go on. Moreover, the English people still hated the Spaniards most cordially.

people wished to continue, and then decided to marry his son to a Spanish princess.¹ English Protestants feared this match would result in the restoration of Catholicism in England. Fortunately Prince Charles failed to win the lady, and so he and his friend Buckingham became eager for war against Spain. In 1625 Parliament voted money for this purpose.²

Unwise
foreign
policy

BITTER QUARRELS OF CHARLES I WITH PARLIAMENT

In 1625 Charles I succeeded his father. He was more dignified but less intelligent. He was narrow-minded and had all his father's ideas of divine right. His father's favorite, Buckingham, had him under full control.

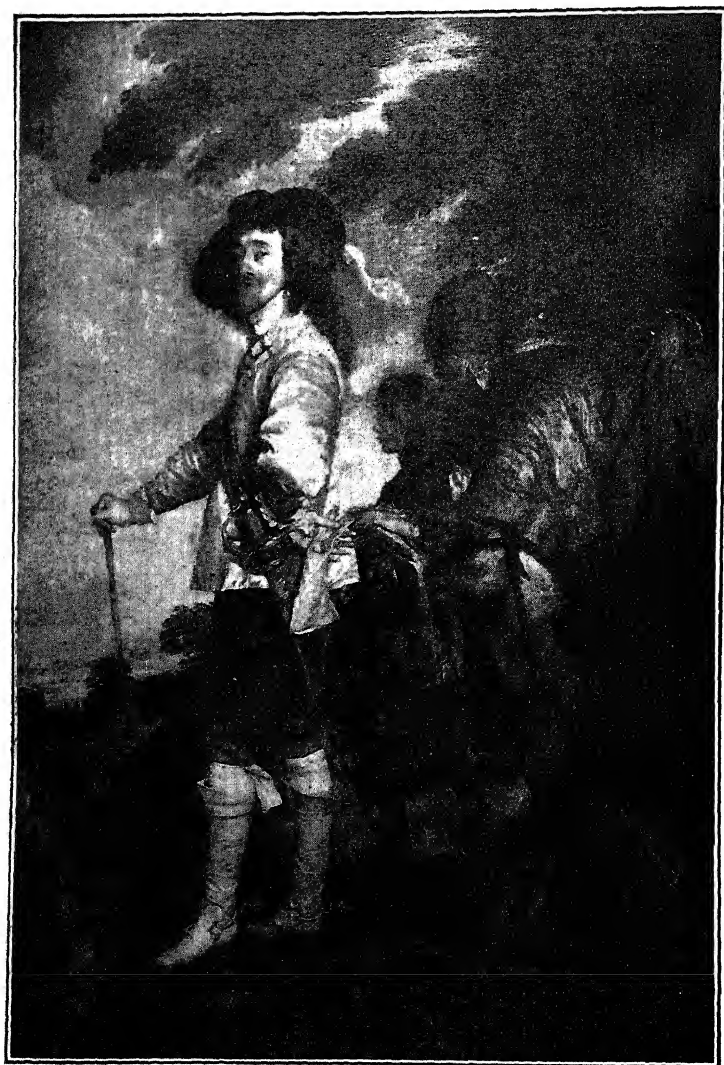
Break
between
Charles
and
Parliament

Quarrels with Parliament began at once. Its members believed that Buckingham was responsible for the English defeats in the war. They determined to end the disastrous bungling, and to put the king's ministers under Parliament's control. First they must get rid of Buckingham, and to do this the Commons impeached him; that is, brought him before the House of Lords to be tried for stealing public money. King Charles at once dissolved Parliament, and Buckingham was declared innocent of the charges. But the Parliament had not given Charles the money he wanted. He now asked the nation for it, but received little. Then he ordered the people to lend him money, to be paid to his officers like a tax just as if Parliament had voted it. This was plainly illegal, for the king would never repay it. Some eighty gentlemen refused to pay and were imprisoned. Many lesser persons who would not pay were forced into the army to die. In the winter of 1627-1628 thousands of families were ordered to feed and

Quarrels
leading
to the
Petition
of Right

¹He had already arranged a marriage between his daughter Elizabeth and Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine and leader of the Protestant princes of Germany. See pp. 466-467.

²Parliament had met in 1621 and at once began to attack monopolies. Then it revived the ancient right of impeaching the king's ministers for misconduct in office, and severely criticized the king's policy of friendship with Spain. James lost his temper, declared he would not have them meddling in his business, and dismissed them.



CHARLES I

From the painting by Vandyke

lodge the king's soldiers in their homes without pay. The recruits were very rough and disorderly. Throughout the countryside they stole and murdered.

The English people were justly angry,¹ and when the next Parliament met, its leaders, Eliot and Wentworth, drew up the famous Petition of Right. It forbade (1) quartering soldiers in the homes of the people, (2) use of martial law when common law was proper, (3) all gifts, loans, or taxes without Parliamentary grant, and (4) imprisonment of any citizen without showing cause. A liberal grant of money was offered the king at the same time. Charles hesitated long but finally consented to make the Petition of Right a law. It ranks with Magna Carta as a guaranty of liberty.

The Petition of Right

But King Charles did not intend to obey the Petition of Right. He said tonnage and poundage, or duties on imports, were not taxes and continued collecting them without Parliament's consent. The king had also promoted clergymen who introduced stricter forms in church services and taught the people that they must obey their divinely appointed king in everything. Best known of these was William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. The Puritans knew that the Protestants were being utterly defeated in Germany. They feared that Laud and his friends, besides helping the king to become a despot, were preparing to restore Catholicism in England.²

Why the leaders of Parliament were still dissatisfied

Wild with fear and rage, the House of Commons called before it the collectors of tonnage and poundage. To stop this, Charles ordered Parliament to adjourn. Knowing that they would not meet again, the leaders of the House acted quickly. Two members held the speaker in his seat while another locked the door and kept the key in his pocket. When Eliot stood up to speak, shouts of "Traitor! Traitor!"

Eliot's three resolutions

¹To make matters worse, the king blundered in diplomacy as well as in war. He wanted to help the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War. To do this he needed the alliance of France. Instead he tried to fight both France and Spain and was disgracefully defeated. See p. 465.

²In this they were mistaken. Laud had no desire or intention to make England Roman Catholic again.

and threats of violence were uttered by the few royalists in the House. While the king's officers pounded on the door, Eliot read his three resolutions:

- (1) Whoever brings in new religious doctrines and customs without Parliament's consent,
- (2) Whoever advises or helps to collect tonnage and poundage without Parliamentary grant, and
- (3) Whoever voluntarily pays them is a betrayer of English liberty and a national enemy.

A great majority of the members voted these resolutions. Then just before armed men came to force the door, they streamed out, not to meet again for eleven years.

Eliot's
end

The king took his revenge by sending Eliot and his friends to prison. This was possible as long as he could dismiss the judges at his pleasure. Through control over them he was able to violate the Petition of Right. Gradually most of Eliot's friends apologized and were released. Eliot too could have been free had he admitted wrongdoing.¹ He refused and four years later died of consumption, a martyr to the cause of liberty. When Eliot's son asked for permission to bury his father at home, King Charles replied, "Let Sir John's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died." So his grave is in the Tower of London.

How
Charles
governed
without
Parliament

During the next eleven years (1629-1640) no Parliament met. King Charles issued his edicts instead of laws and punished those who disobeyed. He collected money from the people in ways declared by his judges to be lawful, though most people believed they were not.² Most famous of these methods of taxation was "ship money." Long before, the coast regions had been required in war times either to provide the king with ships or to pay "ship money" to build them. Now in time of peace the king

¹Two others remained in prison until 1640.

²Heavy fines were collected from men who were wealthy enough to become knights and had not done so, and from landowners who occupied lands once a part of the royal forests. The customs duties were raised.

forced the people of the whole land to pay this new tax which Parliament had not authorized.

John Hampden, a wealthy gentleman, refused to pay 20 shillings, his share. When he was tried (1637), seven of the twelve judges decided that "ship money" was lawful. The chief justice said that the king was above the law and no act of Parliament made any difference. News of the decision had been eagerly awaited. Everyone could see that liberty was at stake. If Charles I could get money without Parliament, he would soon have an army and there would be no more freedom in England.

**Hampden
refuses
to pay
ship money**

Many of the Puritans had already left the country. Thousands of God-fearing men and women went to found colonies in New England where they could govern themselves and worship God as they pleased. Puritans who stayed were persecuted. Laud made the church services more like the Roman Catholic. Religious meetings outside the churches were forbidden. Men who wrote books or pamphlets criticizing him were put in the pillory to be pelted with vegetables and ancient eggs. Some had their ears cut off. Laud also tried to reform the gentry. He advanced many clergymen to high office in the state.

**The
Puritans
begin to
leave**

**How
Laud
made
enemies**

Had Charles avoided war, he might have become a despotic king. But he and Laud tried to force on the Scots a ready-made prayer book based on that of England. When the new service was first read in Edinburgh, there was a riot. One woman even threw her stool at the clergyman's head. The archbishop was driven out with sticks and stones. All southern Scots signed a "Solemn Covenant" to defend their religion with their lives (1638). Charles collected an army to enforce obedience, but the Scots armed and marched south into England. To stop them Charles offered to pay them £850 a day until peace was made. To secure this money he was forced to call a Parliament, which he dared not dissolve until the money was voted, as the Scottish army remained encamped in the North of England.

**Revolt in
Scotland
foils the
king**

**The Long
Parliament**

The famous Long Parliament met in November, 1640. Its leaders, Hampden, Pym, and Vane, saw that they had the upper hand. First they attacked the leading advisers of the king, Lord Strafford (formerly known as Wentworth) and Archbishop Laud.¹ Strafford was executed. Parliament then made a law that it could not be dissolved without its own consent. To make further attempts at despotism impossible, it abolished forever the courts used to punish the king's opponents. All the ways by which Charles had obtained money without the consent of Parliament were declared unlawful and forbidden. To all these laws the king gave his consent. Nearly all were permanent.

**Religious
differences
cause a
split in
Parliament**

Thus far nearly all members of Parliament had agreed. But the Puritans now wished to abolish the office of bishop and stop the use of the Prayer Book. They also felt that the king could not be trusted to keep the laws already made and so wished to take away most of his power.² Many members did not wish to go so far. This gave the king good hope of defeating the Puritans. The Puritan leader, Pym, then proposed the "Grand Remonstrance," an appeal to the English people demanding (1) that the king's ministers be controlled by Parliament, and (2) that the church be reformed. After a stormy debate, in which members almost came to blows, the Commons passed the Remonstrance by a majority of only eleven votes (November 22, 1641).

**Attack
on the
five mem-
bers and
the begin-
ning of
civil war**

The king now tried to seize the Puritan leaders. He charged five of them with treason and went to the House to arrest them himself. The five fled in time. The king's followers gathered just outside the door, cocking their pistols and threatening death to traitors in Parliament. This violence helped the Puritans, for London armed to protect Parliament. A week later Charles left the city, never to

¹Since 1628 Wentworth had gone to the king's side and was regarded by the parliamentary leaders as a traitor to the cause of liberty. See p. 485. The lesser officers of the king who had carried out his despotic policies were hunted down and either imprisoned or forced to leave England.

²Even then Charles was plotting to overthrow Parliament by force.

return as a free man. Parliament took control of the militia, and the struggle between the Puritan Parliament and the Episcopal king ended in war (August, 1642).

CROMWELL LEADS TO VICTORY

The South and East, the richer and more thickly settled parts of England, and the navy were generally for Parliament. The navy kept the king from getting supplies and help from abroad. The conservative North and West for the most part supported the king. His followers were called Cavaliers, while the followers of Parliament were called Roundheads because most of them wore their hair cut very short instead of long as did most gentlemen of the time. The king had the advantage at first, but he did not strike

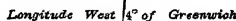
The first
civil war
(1642-1646)



From *Cromwell in Little Lives of Great Men*
THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR

at once at London, the center of Parliament's strength. A new army of extreme Puritans was formed by Oliver Cromwell. Like that of Gustavus Adolphus¹ this "New Model" army was composed of God-fearing men who sang hymns on the march and always prayed before battle. They were determined to win or die, and with Scotch help they defeated the king at Marston Moor and Naseby and forced him to surrender (1646).

¹See p. 468.



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DIVISION OF ENGLAND. 1643 TO 1645

The first civil war was no sooner over than quarrels broke out between Parliament and the army. Most of the members left in Parliament were Presbyterians who wanted to force everyone to accept their beliefs. The army was composed mainly of Independents. They thought everyone should be free to accept whatever beliefs he pleased except the Anglican and Roman Catholic doctrines. Parliament tried to disband the army without paying the soldiers, make Charles I king again, and subdue the Independents. A second civil war followed. Victory was soon won by the New Model army under Cromwell and Lord Fairfax.

The second
civil
war
(1648)

The soldiers were now utterly weary of the elusive king and the intolerant Parliament. They expelled from Parliament all but about sixty members on whom they could depend.¹ Then they put the king on trial for treason. Charles denied its authority, but the special high court found him guilty and had him beheaded.

Execution
of
Charles I

For the next eleven years England was really governed by the army and its commander in chief, Oliver Cromwell. Several different bodies of men, called parliaments, met and went through the forms of lawmaking. They were dissolved one by one. There was no wholly free election. The Independents now in control believed in government by the people; but they were a small minority which had won control only by force, and a free Parliament would surely try to overthrow them and get revenge. Events finally led them to make Cromwell dictator with almost absolute power. Rebellions in Ireland and Scotland were suppressed. The army was all-powerful.

England
under
the
govern-
ment of
Cromwell
and the
army

Neither Cromwell nor his army wanted to rule by armed force alone; but in no other way could they carry their ideas into effect. By so doing they made the majority of Englishmen dislike Puritanism. The English people hated this military government which strictly enforced the Puritan ideals of conduct. They wanted the old sports and Maypole

Why
Crom-
well's rule
could
not last

¹The original membership had been about five hundred.

dances. They had a strong love for monarchy. They liked the church services conducted according to the Prayer



Book and were tired of the long Puritan sermons.¹ Thus the way was prepared for the restoration of the monarchy.

THE RESTORATION OF MONARCHY REIGN OF CHARLES II

The
restoration
of the
Stuart
kings

When Cromwell died (1658), there was no man able to take his place. The army officers could not agree, and after a year of confusion, one of the generals sent for all the members of the old Long Parliament² and had them arrange for a free election of a new Parliament and then dissolve. Meanwhile from Charles I's son, who was in Holland, he obtained a promise to protect liberty of conscience and to pardon all persons not excepted by Parliament, if he were made king. The new Parliament then formally invited Charles to come to England and become king.

Charles II landed in Dover amid shouts of joy from a great crowd (May 25, 1660). Everywhere he was welcomed with delight. The streets of London were choked with cheering crowds, for the Puritan ascendancy was ended.

¹The Puritans had the same strict ideas of how one should live as had John Calvin. See pp. 437-438.

²See pp. 488-489.

Charles II, although the ablest of the Stuart kings, was lazy and sought pleasure in dissipation. In this the court and most young men of good families gladly joined. Hymn singing was no longer fashionable—drunkenness was. Though many of the middle class and the country gentry kept their old ideals of morality, fashionable people indulged in shameful orgies. Most literature of the restoration period shows how common were vice and immorality.¹

The
reaction
against
Puritanism

Strangely enough, the years after 1660 also were marked by the expression of Puritan ideals in some great works of literature. It was in this time of Puritan defeat that John Milton wrote his famous *Paradise Lost* and John Bunyan his *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The reaction against Puritanism made the national church Episcopalian once more. All persons had to attend its services, and Parliament allowed no religious services unless the Prayer Book was used.² More than twelve hundred Puritan clergymen were driven from their churches and forbidden to teach, preach, or come within five miles of any large town in England. These severe laws caused great suffering to hosts of sincerely religious people. Henceforth they were called Nonconformists or Dissenters.³

Many Puritans must have felt that the civil wars had been fought in vain, but this was not true. The members of Parliament were determined to control taxation and the church. The king did not have money enough to govern without Parliamentary grants. Moreover, Charles II owed

Lasting
results
of the
Puritan
Revolution

¹Notwithstanding the decline of many Puritan ideals of life, the strict observance of the Sabbath remained. Travelers from Continental Europe still notice the strange quiet of Sunday in England.

²All holders of municipal offices, all clergymen, and all teachers were required to take an oath declaring resistance to the king to be unlawful, to accept the Prayer Book complete, and to receive the Communion according to the rites of the national church.

³These terms are still used in speaking of English Protestants who do not attend the national Episcopalian church. Well-to-do people of Puritan inclinations usually conformed to the law. The lower classes stayed outside the church and long had little chance to become educated. Hence the Episcopal church has greater social and political influence even today than any other denomination in England.

his crown to Parliament. He saw how and why his father had failed and was determined not to risk his own safety or "go on his travels" into exile again. Hence he was willing to yield to Parliament when necessary to keep peace.

Nevertheless Charles II planned to free himself from Parliament's control. King Louis XIV of France paid him well to attack Holland when the French did¹ and promised French soldiers to help him force the English people to submit to his despotism. It was suspected that Charles was planning to restore Catholicism. Fear of this was kept up by the conquests of Louis XIV and his persecution of the Huguenots, and by the knowledge that Charles's brother and heir, James, was a determined Catholic.

The
Popish
Plot

In 1673 there was an actual panic over the so-called "Popish Plot." One Titus Oates swore he knew of a plot to murder King Charles, put James on the throne, and suppress Protestantism by French arms. This utterly false tale was widely believed, and London especially went wild with excitement. Many Catholics were arrested, convicted by the perjury of Oates and his fellows, and executed.²

The rise
of the
great
political
parties

About this time regular political parties began to appear. The earl of Shaftesbury was busy organizing opposition to the king in Parliament, and the panic over the Popish Plot helped him. At once he proposed a bill to prevent the Catholic James from ever becoming king; but to this Charles would not consent. The king was backed by a group called Tories, who were opposed to giving Parliament more power. Shaftesbury and his friends, called the "Whigs," wished to give Parliament supremacy.

The Whigs were the first to carry on great popular election campaigns somewhat like those of today. London at that time had hundreds of coffeehouses where men met to eat, drink, and talk politics. Some of them were like clubs of

¹Checked in his plans for conquest in 1668, Louis XIV determined to be free next time. Hence the agreements with Charles II. See p. 510.

²The memory of the Gunpowder Plot undoubtedly helped make men believe this false story. See pp. 481-482.

today. From their headquarters, the Green-Ribbon Club, the Whig leaders sent out speakers to stir up people at the coffeehouses. Then to make the biggest impression they prepared a great torchlight parade. In this, men were dressed to look like Jesuits, cardinals, and various enemies of the Whigs. In the midst was a large wax figure of the pope in all his vestments. As the paraders marched through the crowded streets lighted by their torches and by bonfires, hundreds of bystanders fell in behind. Before the Green-Ribbon Club the climax came. After speeches and loud anti-Catholic songs, the figure of the pope was cast upon a great bonfire amid the cheers of the crowd.

By such means the people of England were aroused to send Whigs to Parliament. They won three elections in the next two years, but King Charles would not let his brother be barred out. For the last five years of his reign he got enough French gold and did not need to call Parliament. In the meantime he changed the franchise in the towns, thus the Tories would surely win the elections and so insure the loyalty of Parliament. King Charles's despotic plans were nearly realized, for he could do about as he pleased as long as he stayed a Protestant.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

James II started with as much power as Henry VIII.¹ Parliament gave him plenty of money for life and he had a regular army to put down opposition. But he determined to make the national church Catholic. To do this he quarreled with Parliament and broke the laws which forbade Catholics to hold offices.² Even the Tories began to fear him.³ At

¹See pp. 439-441. It is true that the Habeas Corpus Act (1679) gave Englishmen protection against arbitrary imprisonment without a fair trial. The French had no such protection until more than a century later.

²Under Charles II, Parliament had made a law, called the Test Act, which forbade any but members of the Church of England to hold a government office.

³The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) taught Englishmen what they might expect from a despotic king in control of their homes and their lives. See p. 509.

last a number of leading Englishmen asked William of Orange, ruler of Holland, to come to England and drive James out.

William
of Orange
comes to
England

William had married James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and was himself of Stuart blood. He might therefore hope to become king. He was the leader of a great European alliance against Louis XIV of France¹ and needed English.



Gramscott Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE

From the painting by Turner

help in the war. Hence he gladly accepted the invitation. William and his army received a joyous welcome in England. James's army now began to desert him, and, losing courage, he fled to France. Parliament put William and Mary in his place on the throne.

Results
of the
Revolution
of 1688

This Revolution of 1688 led to great gains for the cause of liberty both in England and in all Europe. The allies fighting the greedy Louis XIV of France might have been defeated without English help.² Louis had terrorized all his neighbors by seizing their lands or devastating them with fire and sword. He hated the brave Dutch with

¹See p. 510.

²See pp. 510-513.

especial bitterness. To keep England out of the war he sent French troops with James to win Ireland. Nearly all the Irish declared for James, but William won the decisive battle of the Boyne and reconquered Ireland after a hard struggle.¹ A Scotch revolt he crushed more easily. These risings, and a French attack on England by sea, stirred the English people to fury. William could now put England at the head of the great European alliance against France.

In England the revolution led to especially great gains in political liberty:

1. Parliament had declared the throne vacant and offered it to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. The "divine right of kings" theory could no longer be urged, for the new sovereigns were set up by the elected representatives of the English people. **Greater liberty for Englishmen**

2. Parliament had now won the struggle for supremacy. The king could no longer levy taxes or maintain an army without the consent of Parliament. Thus Parliament kept the powers of the purse and the sword in its own hands.

3. A few years earlier Parliament had voted the Habeas Corpus Act (1679) to enable every person against whom no definite charge had been made to secure release from prison. This kept the king from imprisoning anyone without charge or trial as other rulers in Europe often did. Now Parliament drew up and made into law a detailed

¹The agreement made when the Irish army surrendered had been that all who would swear allegiance to King William would have religious freedom and would not lose their property. The Protestant parliament in Ireland would not ratify this and proceeded to confiscate over a million acres belonging to Catholics. Other property was seized later, with the result that by 1700 not over one-tenth of the land was owned by Catholics. Most unjust measures were adopted to make the position of Catholics very difficult. Hence hosts of the better-educated Irish Catholics left the country in despair. By 1750 nearly half a million had gone. Without their natural leaders the common people suffered even greater oppression. The English government made tyrannical laws forbidding the export of woolen goods from Ireland anywhere except to England and then placed such heavy duties that little could be sent there. Thus Irish woolen manufacturing industry was destroyed. Later some help was given to build up the Irish linen industry in the Protestant Northeast. Apparently Catholics in Ireland were doomed to poverty and misery, but Protestants might prosper.

**The Bill
of Rights**

statement of the rights of Englishmen. This was called the Bill of Rights and declared among other things:

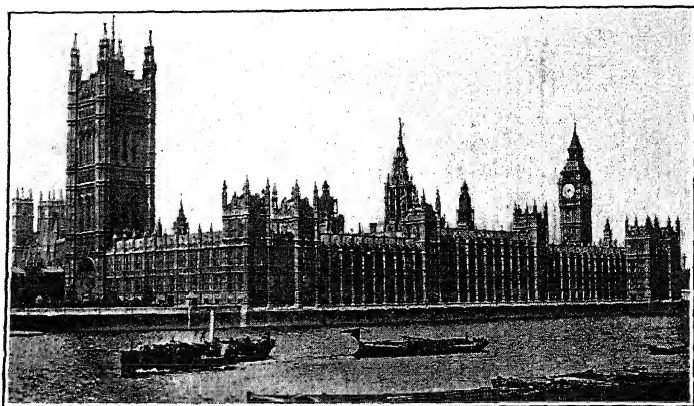
That the king had no right to set aside or not carry out the law.

That the people had the right freely to petition the king.
That it was illegal to keep a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament.

That no member of Parliament might be called to account outside Parliament for words spoken there.

That judges in the law courts must not lay too heavy fines or allow cruel and unusual punishments.

Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and this Bill of Rights are the most important documents of the English constitution. A comparison of the Bill of Rights with the first



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

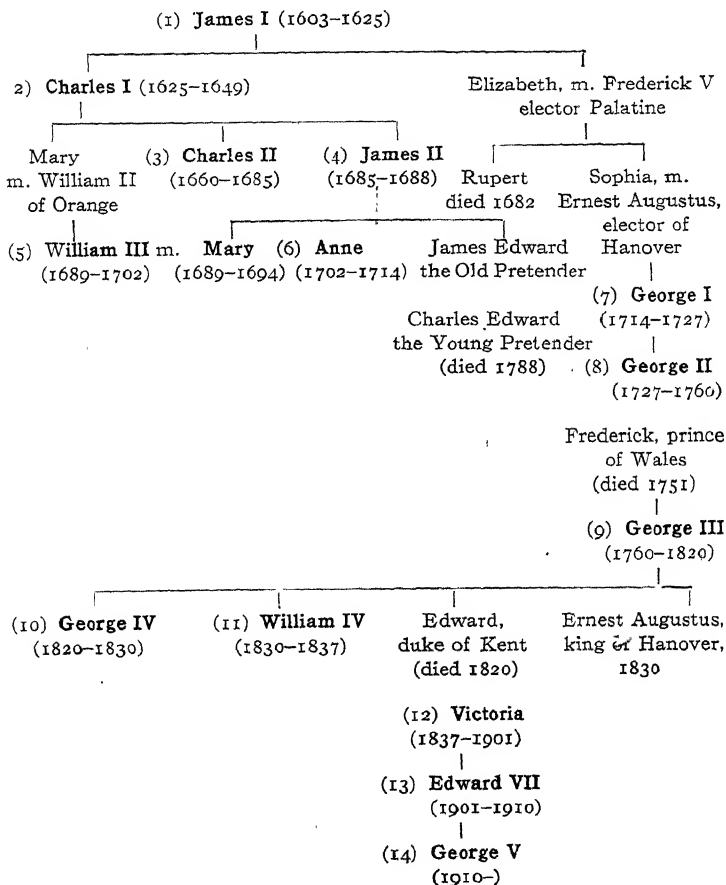
ten amendments to the United States Constitution will reveal many similarities.

**Religious
toleration**

4. Parliament also passed a Toleration Act giving Protestant Dissenters freedom of worship. Catholics were allowed to hold their services privately. There was no longer any real danger of Catholicism being set up by force in England. The Bill of Rights declared that no Roman

Catholic or anyone who married a Roman Catholic could ever be king or queen of England. A later law, the Act of Settlement (1701), made the granddaughter of James I, Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her descendants the heirs to the throne after the death of Queen Anne. The direct male heirs of James II were Catholics and hence barred.¹

¹This law made the German George I the king (1714). Each English sovereign since then has been his descendant. See genealogical table below.



5. In order to make good its supremacy Parliament needed power to set up and depose the king's ministers at will, a measure which would mean taking the actual government of the country from the king. The modern cabinet system of government does this.

THE CABINET SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

The cabinet system of government started soon after the revolution. There was keen rivalry between the Whigs, who constituted the war party, and the Tories, or peace party. King William preferred to put in office the best men, regardless of party. But he often found his plans blocked because some of his ministers could not get along peaceably with the Whig majority in Parliament. A clever politician suggested that if he chose only Whig ministers he would have no trouble, and so the king tried that scheme for a while. His successor, Queen Anne, also found that she sometimes had to appoint Whig ministers whom she disliked. This custom of choosing the ministers from the party having a majority in the House of Commons grew stronger under King George I (1714-1729). He cared little for English politics and hated the Tories who had tried to bar him from the throne.¹ Hence he favored the Whigs at first. Once in power they were able to keep a majority in the Commons for over forty years. George I did not understand English and his ministers did not speak German. Naturally he was bored by the meetings of his ministry, or cabinet, as it was called, and ceased to attend. This gave the ministers a freer hand than before, and under the leadership of Robert Walpole they acted almost independently of the king. For twenty-one years (1721-1742) "Walpole directed the general course of government, presided over the cabinet councils, secured the appointment or the dismissal of his ministerial colleagues, and presented and defended the

¹Just before the death of Queen Anne the Tories had tried to restore the exiled Stuarts and break the Act of Settlement.

measures of government in the House of Commons."¹ Hence he came to be called the prime minister. The cabinet really governed England. The king reigned but did not rule.

When George III became king (1760) he refused to be thus set aside and determined to choose and control his ministers. For several years he kept them in power by building up a party of the "king's friends" in the House of Commons. Offices and money were freely used for this purpose. It was while George III was trying to free himself from cabinet control that the war for the independence of the American colonies took place. As George III grew older, however, he learned the folly of trying to thwart the people's will and gave up the attempt. The cabinet system of government was again followed, and has lasted with few changes to the present time.

**George III
attempts
to appoint
his own
ministers**

The prime minister is the leader of the political party having a majority in the House of Commons and chooses his cabinet from the members of his party in Parliament. If the prime minister is defeated in the Commons on any important measure, he and his fellow ministers resign and a cabinet from the winning party takes charge, or the defeated cabinet asks for a general election and remains in office if victorious. The government is in the king's name, but it is in reality carried on by the cabinet representing the people. The king never vetoes any law and the House of Lords cannot permanently prevent a measure from becoming a law. Thus the modern cabinet system enables the voters of the country to control both the Parliament that makes the laws and the officers who carry out the laws and govern the country.

**The
modern
cabinet**

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What led to the bitter feeling between James I and Parliament? Why? (2) Why was the Petition of Right a great step

¹Larson, *History of England and the British Commonwealth*, pp. 484-485.

toward control of government by the English people? How was Charles I able to violate it in the next few years? (3) What special causes made King Charles I hated by his people (1629-1640)? (4) Could the first civil war have been avoided? How? Give your reasons. (5) Why did Cromwell and his friends have King Charles I executed? Was it just or unjust? Was it a wise policy? Why? (6) Why could Cromwell's system of government not exist long in England? (7) Which party in Britain during the period 1640-1660 was most in favor of religious toleration: Charles I, the Long Parliament, or the army? Give proofs. (8) What lasting influence did the Puritan Revolution have on England? (9) What were the reasons for the decided anti-Catholic feeling of the average Englishman, 1660-1688? (10) What policies of James II led to his overthrow? (11) When was the struggle between crown and Parliament finally ended? Review the main steps back to the origin of Parliament. (12) What changes did the Bill of Rights make in the English constitution? Prove the correctness of your answer. (13) Why was Parliament's control of the government more secure after 1689 than before? (14) In what respects and why is the modern cabinet system of government democratic? (15) How did the Revolution of 1688 help its growth? What other influences helped and hindered it up to about 1775?

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LOUIS XIV

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

HOME POLICIES OF LOUIS XIV

Richelieu had prepared France for the leadership of Europe.¹ France had made great gains by the Treaty of Westphalia,² and a few years later Spain had to give up to France all she had north of the Pyrenees. At home the French king's word was law. Into this position of power Louis XIV stepped when he took personal charge of France and began to rule without a chief minister.

How
Richelieu
prepared
for the
triumphs
of
Louis XIV

Louis XIV declared that he received his power from God and that he was responsible only to God for its use. He said he governed by divine right, and if he chose to oppress his people, they had no right to rebel against the king whom God had put over them.³ The king could collect unlimited taxes and spend the money as he pleased. He was the chief judge of the realm and could decide any lawsuit as he wished. The liberty and even the lives of his subjects were in his control. He could and often did put people in prison without giving any reason. Such an order for arrest and imprisonment was called a *lettre de cachet*. Under the successors of Louis XIV these could be obtained already signed, with the name of the person to be arrested left out, so that the courtier who received the document could fill in the name of any personal enemy of whom he wished to be rid.

Policies of
Louis XIV
at home

In appearance and bearing Louis was every inch a king, for he was dignified and yet winning in manner and conversation. He made his court the grandest in Europe. At Versailles, a town near Paris, he built a wonderful palace large enough to house 10,000 people. The front of the building was 630 yards long and there were 375 windows on that side alone. In the palace and the extensive gardens attached was provided everything that art could supply or

Palace and
court at
Versailles

¹See pp. 464-466.

²See pp. 469-470.

³Contrast this divine-right-of-kings theory with the principles of the American Declaration of Independence. Louis XIV is reported to have said, "I am the State."

luxury demand. This probably cost the French people over \$100,000,000 to build and over \$500,000 a year for upkeep.

Ceremonial
of the
court

In this luxury Louis XIV lived a life of careful ceremony. It was thought a high honor to hand him his shirt in the morning. From early morning until late at night the nobles endeavored to be near him to win his favor and receive pensions and gifts. By living at the palace they lost touch with the people they had formerly governed and had no longer any influence independent of the king. All Europe was deeply impressed, and France became the leader in art and culture. French manners and dress, French speech, French art, literature, and science set the fashion in Europe.

Ultimate
effects of
absolutism

Louis XIV governed well, though his ministers did not adopt new methods. Louis himself was no genius. He expected obedience to orders, not new ideas; hence in his old age his ministers and generals were inferior to those of other countries who had not been trained merely to absolute obedience. For the next hundred years France had this kind of officers and consequently suffered many defeats.

Absolutism is successful if the ruler and his ministers are capable and honest. Otherwise its failure is the more evident. The French monarchy finally broke down, and this led directly to the violent changes of the great French Revolution. The French people had had no experience in governing, for everything had been done by the king's officers. Hence, when revolution came and put the people in control, they made terrible blunders. Not until the nineteenth century did the French people gradually learn how to govern themselves. On the other hand, by the end of the nineteenth century, the English people had already had several hundred years in which to learn.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES OF LOUIS XIV . AND COLBERT

When Louis XIV took control, the people paid heavy taxes, but most of the money was stolen by the king's

officials. An able minister of finance, Colbert, at once stopped this. By economy and honesty he lowered the taxes and filled the treasury. In less than ten years the king's income was 125 per cent greater, though the people paid only 15 per cent more taxes.

Economic
policies of
Louis XIV
and
Colbert

Colbert planned also to make the people more prosperous so they could pay taxes more easily. He believed the best way to do this was to sell more goods abroad and buy less of foreigners. He protected French manufactures by keeping out foreign goods. He improved the roads and dug canals to cheapen transportation.¹ The colonies were extended and their interests cared for.

The king's policy helped to make French glass, lace, tapestries, and silks the most famous in the world, but his extravagance and wars undid much of Colbert's good work. The reforms of taxation did not go far enough, for Louis did not force the nobles and the clergy to pay according to their wealth. These and other abuses were left to spread in the next century and to help bring about the Revolution.

Results of
Colbert's
work

The condition of the common people was not much improved. In spite of all Colbert's efforts, French manufactures did not grow fast. This was partly because Colbert, in trying to improve the quality of French goods, interfered greatly with business by making detailed rules as to how long, how wide, how heavy, and of what colors each piece of cloth must be. If a manufacturer tried to fill an order from London for silk of a new pattern, he might be punished for his violation of the law. If a workman happened to make a piece of cloth three inches shorter or longer than the law required, he might be punished. Workmen were not

¹The most famous of Colbert's canals was that of Languedoc which connected the Garonne River and the Mediterranean, thus establishing water communication between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. "For more than a century it remained without a rival. When at last other nations began to realize the importance of quick and easy communication, French roads and canals became the models upon which they worked, French engineering talent the authority to which they appealed; and the Suez Canal in the present day derives its ancestry from the canal of Languedoc and the genius of Colbert."—Wakeman, *Europe, 1598-1715*, p. 199.

allowed to do their work in a new way. The common penalty was to put the offending workman in the stocks on the public square where boys could pelt him with decayed fruit and eggs. All this discouraged enterprise and progress. When foreign buyers could not get what they wanted in France, they refused to buy French goods. Hence Colbert did not succeed in building up any great manufacturing cities in France.

Little
growth of
agriculture

Colbert also interfered with agriculture, sometimes forbidding the export of grain from one province to another and at other times allowing it. The farmer never could be sure that he would be able to sell his grain at a fair price. The government might forbid him to send his wheat away and so force him to let it rot in the barn. Under such conditions the farmers did not try to raise larger crops.

A great many of the French people were peasant farmers. Each family lived in a low thatched cottage, often without glass in its few windows. The peasant dared not improve it for fear of being taxed more heavily. His clothing and furniture were somewhat better than the cottage, but life still was rough and comfortless. Some of the farmers owned their little farms, but many more rented of the clergy and nobles the same land their ancestors had tilled for five hundred years. Besides their rent, the peasants were obliged to pay heavy taxes to the king, the clergy, and the nobles. Their methods of farming were little better than those of the Middle Ages. They still used the wasteful "open-field" system,¹ and crops were poor and farm animals small. Yet in spite of all these hard conditions, many a French peasant was able to hide away a little money in an old stocking to be taken out to buy a piece of land. This money could be saved only by the unsparing labor of men, women, and children. In this way the French peasants were able slowly to buy more and more land. This remarkable industry and thrift has helped to make France of today

¹See pp. 257-259.

a country of small farms owned by a large number of people rather than a land of large estates like modern England.

In religion as in government, Louis XIV wanted the fullest obedience of his subjects. The religious independence of the Huguenots offended him, although they numbered only about 1,000,000 out of 15,000,000 Frenchmen and were no longer dangerous to the king. The Jesuits helped convince him that the Huguenots were ready for "conversion." First he drove the Huguenots from all public offices, restoring offices and giving pensions to those who became Catholics. The next year he closed the Huguenot churches and schools. Thousands then began to leave the country. Louis forbade this under severe penalties, and sent brutal soldiers to live in Huguenot homes in the hope that insults to their wives and daughters would drive the victims to give up their religion. Thousands of "conversions" were announced. At last (1685) he revoked the Edict of Nantes,¹ thus making all Huguenots outlaws. This resulted in the loss to France of many valuable workmen, for thousands of Huguenots fled to England, Prussia, and Holland. Those who stayed in France endured cruel persecution for many years.

Religious
policies of
Louis XIV

In literature and learning, as well as in government and industry, France under Louis XIV was the model of all Europe. It was the period of Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, and many other famous writers. The Academy of Sciences was founded to encourage learning, and today membership in the Academy is thought a high honor. The royal library was enlarged, and literary and scientific men and artists were honored and pensioned by the king.

Literature
under
Louis XIV

WARS OF LOUIS XIV AND THEIR RESULTS

When Louis XIV became king, France was bordered by the lands of declining Spain and of weak German princes. Some of the German lands lay between France and the

Advantages
of France

¹See page 465.

Rhine, a river that seemed to many Frenchmen a natural boundary to which France ought to extend. The resources of France had increased rapidly under Colbert's care, and the treasury was filled. The king's navy was strong, his generals were able, and his army the best in Europe. In Vauban, Louis had the greatest military engineer of his time. No city which he fortified could be taken without a long siege.

Louis'
ambition
for
military
conquest

These advantages might have enabled France to resist any attack at home and become the greatest commercial power of Europe. Her colonies were already important and could have been greatly extended. Spain and Portugal had declined and were no longer to be feared. Holland would not have been strong enough to become a rival of France in trade. The quarrel between the English kings and Parliament was not yet settled, and so England probably would not interfere. We can see now that France in 1671 stood at the parting of the ways. Should she aim at the commercial supremacy of the world or military supremacy in Europe? Should she fight to annex a few hundred square miles in Europe or to add hundreds of thousands of square miles beyond the seas? French tradition favored military supremacy, and Louis made that his choice.

The
first two
wars of
Louis XIV

In the first of his four wars, Louis XIV tried to seize the Spanish Netherlands (i.e., modern Belgium).¹ His armies occupied part of the land; but Holland, England, and Sweden forced him to stop. Louis made great preparations to win the spoils next time and punish the Dutch.² He bought the alliance of England and invaded Holland

¹Had Louis XIV only known the wealth and industrial power the coal and iron of Belgium would later provide, he would have been even more determined to annex this valuable land.

²The French armies of this period were quite different from those of Wallenstein and Tilly. Strict discipline was maintained and the soldiers were drilled to march in step. The troops had regular uniforms and full equipment provided by the government. Bayonets were attached to the muskets to serve as pikes. Pontoon bridges were provided for crossing streams. Vast stores of food were supplied so the soldiers would not pillage the country through which they passed. These improvements, added to the natural bravery of the French soldiers and the brilliancy of such commanders as Turenne and Condé, made the French army the best in Europe.

with 176,000 men (1672). In six weeks his army was close to Amsterdam, but in their extreme peril the Dutch showed their old bravery.¹ The peasants moved from their fertile fields, the dikes were cut, and Amsterdam was saved. A great Dutch fleet defeated the combined fleets of France and England. Led by William of Orange, descendant of William the Silent, the Dutch won allies, and soon nearly all Europe was enlisted against France. When peace was made (1678-79), the Dutch regained all their lands and kept the Spanish Netherlands out of French hands. France retained Franche Comté, a region just west of Switzerland which had belonged to Spain. Louis XIV had been partly checked, but he had not learned that his plans of conquest would surely make other rulers combine against him. By his attack on Holland he had aroused a lasting enemy. William of Orange lost more battles than he won, but hung on like a bulldog, determined to block the schemes of Louis XIV. The next war was to be a gigantic duel between Louis and William.

Louis continued to take lands that did not belong to him. His soldiers occupied the rest of Alsace,² and even the city of Strasbourg. No one could tell what next he might try to seize. This enabled William of Orange to form a great alliance against Louis including nearly every ruler in Europe except James II of England. When William of Orange became king of England through the Revolution of 1688, England, too, joined the alliance.³ France still held her own in Europe; but the English, with their fleet, defeated the French and then began to take their colonies and trade.⁴ At the Peace of Ryswick (1697), Louis XIV gave up part of what he had won since the close of the last war and recognized William III as king of England.

¹See pp. 459-461.

²See p. 469.

³See p. 496.

⁴The war was also waged in North America between the French and English colonists. In our colonial history it is known as King William's War. Thereafter each great European war in which France and England were enemies was accompanied by a corresponding war between the colonists of those countries.

But the ambition of Louis XIV was not yet satisfied. When Charles II of Spain died without a son (1700), he willed his kingdom to Louis' grandson, Philip. Louis broke his agreements and accepted it for his grandson. French soldiers now occupied the Spanish Netherlands that Louis before had failed to win. Louis made it clear that he intended to unite France and Spain under one king. This aroused the enmity of the rest of Europe¹ and led to the great War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713).

Causes
leading
to the
renewal
of the
war

The resources of France were less than those of the allies, who, besides, had the two greatest generals, Prince Eugene leading the Austrian armies and the Duke of Marlborough the English. The war was fought in Spain and Portugal, in Italy, in Germany, in the Netherlands, in North America, and on the seas. In many respects it was much like the World War (1914-1918). The French started with better preparation and seized much land, but gradually their armies were forced back until France was threatened with actual invasion. But all Europe was tired of war, and a general peace was made at Utrecht (1713) on the following terms:

The War
of the
Spanish
Succession
(1701-1713)

1. Philip V was recognized king of Spain, but France and Spain were not to be united under one ruler.
2. Austria received the Spanish Netherlands and much land in Italy.
3. Louis XIV kept what he had won in his earlier conquests.
4. England won Gibraltar, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the Hudson Bay Territory, and the island of Minorca, and received special privileges to trade with the Spanish colonies. This meant a considerable extension of the British Empire.

The
Treaty of
Utrecht
(1713)

Two years after the Peace of Utrecht, Louis XIV passed away, leaving the prospects for the future of France dark.

¹Louis XIV angered the English by recognizing the exiled Stuart prince James as king of England, contrary to his agreement. The prince was the son of James II who had lost his crown and fled to France as a result of the Revolution of 1688. The English merchants also feared the loss of their trade with the Spanish colonies in case France obtained control of them. The ruler of Austria wished to seize the Spanish crown for one of his family.

**Results
of the
wars of
Louis XIV**

His great-grandson, Louis, a boy of five years, was his heir. Under him France was to suffer still more from the evils which had sprung up under Louis XIV. Unchecked absolutism, unreformed taxation, and religious intolerance continued. Louis XIV had spent the treasure and blood of his people like water and, while the king and the nobles lived grandly, the people were almost starving. Louis left a burden of debt on his people which was increased by his successors until it led directly to the outbreak of the great Revolution.

France had gained some territory and had terrorized all Europe for a time; but the Dutch had been driven into an alliance with their natural commercial rivals, the English, and England had laid the foundations of the colonial and commercial supremacy which France might have had. This supremacy England won during the eighteenth century when Louis XV continued the ruinous policies of his predecessor.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Explain the advantages and disadvantages of absolute monarchy. Illustrate these where you can by references to the history of France. (2) In what respects did the absolutism of Louis XIV help bring about the great French Revolution a century later? (3) What did Colbert do to make France the foremost nation of Europe? In what respects did his reforms not go far enough? How did this help bring about later revolution? (4) Which was the more enlightened ruler, Louis XIV or Cardinal Richelieu? Why? (5) What advantages did Louis XIV have which helped him to win great victories? (6) In what respects do you think his foreign policies unwise? Why? (7) Why did the French leaders wish to annex the Spanish Netherlands? What power opposed this? Why? Why is this region more valuable today than it was then? (8) How did the change of kings in England (1688) affect the European wars? (9) By what arguments was William of Orange able to persuade many states to ally themselves with Holland against France? (10) Explain the results of the wars of Louis XIV.

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RISE OF SWEDEN, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND CHARLES XII

The Scandi-
navian
states

Three countries, little noticed until now, loom up in the seventeenth century: Sweden, Russia, and Brandenburg. The Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had been founded as early as Charlemagne's time, but had played little part in European affairs. In 1397 they were united under one ruler, but in Luther's time Sweden broke away, led by Gustavus Vasa, who became king (1523). The government became Lutheran and the people adopted the new religious beliefs. Norway and Denmark continued under the rule of the Danish king and also adopted Protestantism. In the next hundred years the Swedes seized the eastern shores of the Baltic.

Work of
Gustavus
Adolphus

Sweden was lifted to the rank of a first-rate power largely by the genius of King Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632). He entered the Thirty Years' War not only to help the Protestants but to win enough land along the southern shore of the Baltic to make it almost a Swedish lake. His brilliant victories in Germany made him the "idol of the Swedes and the hero of the German Protestants," whom he saved.¹ Had he lived, he might have made an early and glorious peace. As it was, his successors fought on and by the Treaty of Westphalia received lands in northern Germany which gave Sweden control over the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser rivers. The ambitions of Gustavus Adolphus were not fully realized, but Swedish military power had won the deep respect of all Europe. Sweden's population and wealth were not great enough, however, to stand the strain of prolonged wars. Her gains had been made at the expense of her neighbors, Denmark, Prussia, Poland, and Russia, all of whom wanted revenge.

Charles XII
of Sweden

When Charles XII, a boy of fifteen, became king, Denmark, Poland, and Russia combined against him

¹See pp. 468-469.

(1700). Charles XII was a military genius, and without warning he attacked and defeated Denmark, then sailed to the eastern Baltic and with 8,000 men defeated 50,000 Russians. The Polish king he drove from his throne after a struggle lasting several years. Next he again attacked the Russians, who had returned to the Baltic, but was badly beaten and fled to Turkey. There he stayed until driven out by the sultan. At last he returned home (1714) and was immediately attacked by neighboring states. Again he took up the fight, but his people were tired out. After his death a few years later, Sweden gave up most of her lands on the south and east shores of the Baltic and lost the proud rank which the military genius of her kings had given her.

REIGN OF PETER THE GREAT IN RUSSIA

In the ninth century, Rurik the Northman came from Sweden with his followers and conquered the Slavic tribes living on the great plain of central European Russia. These tribes he organized into a state under Northman leadership. Continuing their conquests in all directions, Rurik and his Northmen came in contact with Constantinople, and adopted for themselves and their subjects the Christianity of the Byzantine Empire. After Rurik, the land was divided into many principalities under his descendants, and these princes kept up a continual conflict among themselves. Each prince sought to increase his holdings at the expense of the others. After several hundred years the princes were conquered by the Tatars from Central Asia. This placed the Russians under eastern influences and separated them from the rest of Europe.¹ After a time the princes of Moscow won freedom from the Tatars (about 1500) and began gradually to acquire more land. Then Russian pioneers pushed on into Asia and won the vast empire of Siberia for the tsars, as the princes of Moscow were now called. But Russia remained cut off

Russia
before the
time of
Peter
the Great

¹The western Slavs, who had escaped conquest by the Tatars, were combined into the kingdom of Poland which accepted the Christianity of Western Europe.

from Western Europe by (1) religious differences, (2) vast distances crossed by poor roads, (3) lack of good outlets to the sea, and (4) the ignorance and backwardness of her



PETER THE GREAT

people. Few towns had grown up and there was almost no middle class between the nobles and the downtrodden serfs.

Such were the conditions when the great hero of Russian history, Tsar Peter the Great, came into power (1689). He was determined (1) to win outlets to the sea, (2) to remove all checks to his absolute power, and (3) to introduce the customs and civilization of Western Europe.

He first attacked the Turks and took the city of Azov on the Black Sea. Then he went on an investigating tour through Western Europe, taking with him over two hundred young Russians. Everywhere he looked with untiring

**Aims of
Tsar
Peter the
Great
(1672-1725)**

**His trip
to Western
Europe**

curiosity into whatever was new. He had a passionate love for ships and shipbuilding, but interested himself also in government and law, medicine and surgery, and machinery of every kind. He wanted to see everything for himself.

**Peter's
attempt
to
modernize
Russia**

He was called home suddenly by the revolt of his army, which opposed the new ideas. The mutiny was crushed with ferocious cruelty. The half-barbarian tsar is said to have cut off the heads of several leaders himself. He organized a new army under foreign officers and then went to work to westernize Russia. He put foreigners in high offices. He ordered the adoption of western ways in harvesting, boatbuilding, shoemaking, and other industries. The Russians were ordered to cut off their long beards, and when his nobles did not obey, he turned barber himself. He had them wear western clothes too. The tsar ordered to execution many who opposed these changes.

He realized that to become a commercial country Russia must have good ports on the Baltic Sea. Sweden, now declining, held these, so he joined in an attack on Sweden. In the war Russia won a foothold on the Baltic. There Peter built the new city of St. Petersburg, now called Leningrad, which became the capital of the new Russia. In the South, Peter was involved in another war with the Turks in which he lost Azov and was fortunate to escape with his life. But the great gains in the North were retained.

**Peter's
war
with
Sweden**

Peter's greatest work was to connect Russia with Western Europe. Of course the habits of its vast population could not be changed in a few years; but after his time western influences grew stronger, and Russia became more and more a power to be reckoned with in European affairs.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

Modern Prussia grew out of the little province of Brandenburg. In the Middle Ages Brandenburg was an outpost of Germany against the Slavs on the East, winning new land from them. From 1415 to 1918 it was ruled by the

**Branden-
burg before
the time of
the Great
Elector**

Hohenzollern family. Soon after 1600 the Hohenzollerns won some bits of land near the Rhine and also the province of East Prussia. These gains nearly doubled the territory of



FREDERICK WILLIAM, THE GREAT ELECTOR

An engraving after the painting by W. Camphausen

Brandenburg,¹ but the new lands were separated from the old, and so the rulers were spurred on to secure the intervening lands.

At last a really able ruler, Frederick William, came to the throne. He was known as the Great Elector. By the

¹ The ruler of Brandenburg had been one of the seven great princes of the later medieval Empire who had the right to choose the emperor. Several of these princes assumed the title "Elector" in consequence. See p. 381.

Peace of Westphalia he won some land to connect Brandenburg with the Baltic and narrowed the gaps between his scattered possessions. He took from his people all privileges and rights that kept him from taxing and governing them as he alone wished, for he meant to have absolute power. He organized a regular standing army and enlarged it steadily. With this he could take part in the wars of the time and win new lands.

Work of Frederick William, the Great Elector

Frederick William governed his people well and did his best to make them more prosperous. He built many roads and dug a canal to join the Oder River to the Spree, thus providing a good trade route to the North Sea. He attracted to Brandenburg over twenty thousand Huguenots who had fled from the tyranny of Louis XIV,¹ and who brought in many new industries. Other colonists were welcomed. The taxes paid by his people were not wasted at a court like that of Louis XIV. His government was good, economical, and honest. His people had no share in it, for he regarded them as his children, to be well fed and cared for, taught to obey and "spanked" when they did not do so. These policies have usually been followed by the kings of Prussia since the Great Elector's time.

Material progress under the Great Elector

The next elector, Frederick, obtained the title of king from the German emperor (1700). That ruler disliked to make one of his vassals king, so Frederick was crowned "king in Prussia," which was outside the empire.² Gradually the term Prussia came into use instead of Brandenburg as a name for all the Hohenzollern dominions.

Prussia becomes a kingdom

The next king, Frederick William I, was more like the Great Elector. He organized the civil officers of Prussia into various grades and stopped waste and theft. He

Reforms of Frederick William I

¹See p. 509.

²He took his kingly title from the outlying province of Prussia rather than his ancient dominion, Brandenburg, because the emperor preferred to have him king of a region outside the empire, as Prussia was. The title "king in Prussia" was adopted to prevent complaint from the king of Poland, who still held West Prussia. Later kings, however, called themselves kings of Prussia.

increased the army to 80,000 men, a very large and expensive force for so small and poor a country. But he thought it necessary if he were to hold his lands and add to them. His army was drilled to perfection by officers who knew that the king's eye was on them and that he punished disobedience or neglect with the utmost severity. He also built up the resources of his people as did the Great Elector. He left his son, Frederick the Great, a well-filled treasury, an excellent army, and a body of able government officers.

Frederick William I is famous for his "Tobacco Parliament" and his tall soldiers. His most trusted advisers met with him in the evening and discussed affairs of state amid thick clouds of smoke while they drank huge quantities of beer. His greatest hobby was a regiment of tall soldiers. The king would always pay a good sum for a giant recruit. Of course he took care never to put his giants under fire, for they would make too easy targets.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What events in Russian history have helped to keep the Russian people backward in civilization? (2) Compare conditions in Russia when Peter the Great became tsar with those with which Charlemagne had to deal as king of the Franks. What advantages did Peter have over Charlemagne in building a strong kingdom? (3) What did Peter the Great do to modernize Russia? Why were his policies not more successful? (4) How did Frederick William win the title of the "Great Elector"? Compare his policies with those of Richelieu. Which was the greater statesman? Compare him also with Louis XIV of France. Which was the greater statesman, the Great Elector or Louis? Why? (5) Was the army of King Frederick William I an extravagance for Prussia? Why? (6) Criticize the policies of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII and give your reasons.

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SPECIAL TOPICS

Peter the Great's Travels in the West. MORFILL, *Story of Russia*, 141-146.

Character and work of Peter the Great. RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, II, chap. ii; ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, II, 303-312; MORFILL, *Story of Russia*, 157-173.

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THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL WARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1715-1789)

TERRITORIAL RIVALRY OF THE POWERS

Between the death of Louis XIV (1715) and the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789) the powers of Europe fought a series of great wars. These wars were due to two great causes, the first of which was the desire for more land in Europe. The kings were eager to seize the lands of their weaker neighbors, wholly disregarding the rights and wishes of the people. The chief offenders were the kings of France and Prussia. England wished as before to keep France from seizing the Netherlands or obtaining too much land elsewhere. A second great cause was rivalry for foreign trade and colonies. The British had made great gains along these lines during the wars of Louis XIV.¹ Then some French statesmen began to develop the French colonies

¹See pp. 510-513.

and trade. Hence England and France were almost sure to clash. In the great wars of that period, the navies of France and Spain fought against the English, while their colonists and traders struggled for supremacy in North America and India.

The great wars (1715-1789) were world-wide. They may be grouped in three main divisions according to their results:

1. The rise of Prussia to rank among the great powers through the work of Frederick the Great.
2. The establishment of the British Empire in North America, India, and Australia.
3. The partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

PRUSSIA UNDER FREDERICK THE GREAT

Frederick
the Great
of Prussia

The coming of Frederick II to the Prussian throne in 1740 marks the beginning of the wars of this period. The young prince liked reading and music, which his gruff father despised. The boy had tried to run away from home, and was imprisoned. He was then put in one of the lower government offices and made to work his way upward. This experience taught Frederick every branch of the government service. No king of his time was better trained for his work.

Causes of
Frederick's
attack on
Austria

Frederick was hardly crowned when the emperor, Charles VI,¹ passed away, leaving to his daughter, Maria Theresa, the Hapsburg lands of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and parts of the Netherlands and northern Italy. Most of the powers, including Prussia, had promised not to interfere with her inheritance of these lands. But Frederick, with a full treasury and a strong army, determined to seize a part of the Hapsburg territory. Accordingly he sent his army into the Hapsburg province of Silesia and took possession of it (December, 1740). It was wholesale robbery.

Soon Frederick was joined by Bavaria, Saxony, Spain, and France, all hoping to seize parts of Maria Theresa's

¹Charles VI was the last representative of the direct male line of Hapsburgs, descended from Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg. See p. 381.

inheritance. Her position was critical, but when she appealed to her people for help, new armies were formed and her enemies checked. England and Holland also joined Austria. At the close of the war, known as the War of the

War of the
Austrian
Succession
(1740-1748)



Detail of a painting by A. F. Werner

FREDERICK'S ARMY ON THE MARCH

Austrian Succession, the king of Prussia kept the province of Silesia, but Maria Theresa saved all the other Hapsburg lands. No other state won new lands, though England had gained and France had lost influence.

During the ten years of peace that followed, Frederick of Prussia worked hard to repair losses, make his country richer, and prepare for another war. He wished not only



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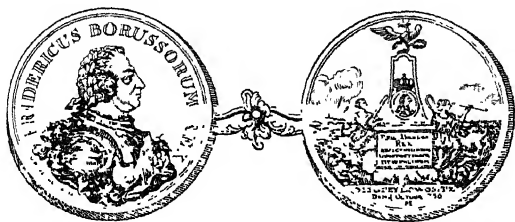
PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA IN THE TIME OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

to keep Silesia but to make further conquests. The high-spirited Maria Theresa planned to recover Silesia and humble Frederick. Russia was already hostile to Prussia, as were several German states. Austria needed a great ally, and the Austrian diplomats set to work to win France.

**Prepara-
tions for
renewal
of war**

There were two sets of rival powers, Austria vs. Prussia, and France vs. England. The struggle for supremacy in

**Diplomatic
revolution**



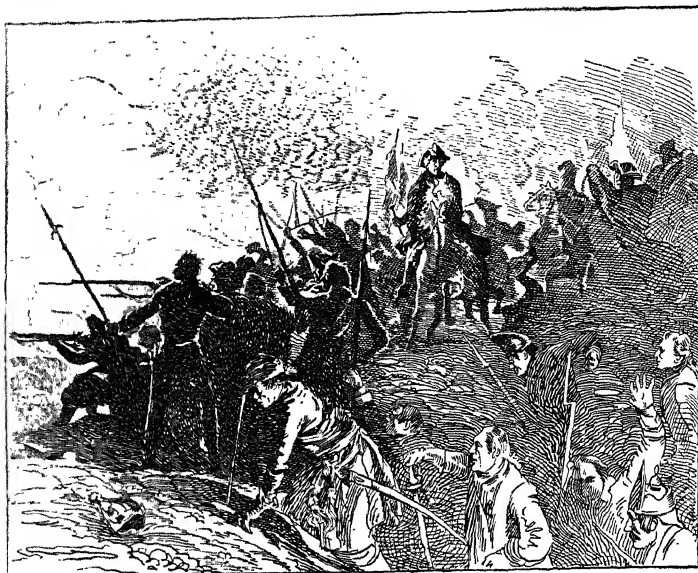
From Frederick the Great in Little Lives of Great Men
MEDAL, COMMEMORATING FREDERICK'S VICTORY AT LOWOSITZ
(MODERN LOBOSITZ), OCTOBER 1, 1756

North America and India broke out in 1754 and both France and England wanted allies. Frederick seized his opportunity and made an alliance with England (January, 1756). France then joined Austria and the allies of Austria almost surrounded the scattered lands of Prussia. Frederick's 5,000,000 people were to fight against more than 100,000,000 and their vastly greater wealth.

King Frederick decided to strike first. With his wonderful army he marched into Saxony and occupied the country (1756). He forced the Saxon soldiers to join the Prussian army and taxed the Saxon people more heavily than his own. Next year Frederick, with an army of 150,000, not counting 40,000 in garrisons, was forced to meet the attacks of armies totaling at least 430,000 men. The Swedes invaded his lands from the north, the Russians from the east, the Austrians from the south, and the French from the west. At first the Prussians were defeated, the outlying parts of Prussia were occupied, and even Berlin was taken by the Russians. All seemed lost, but

**Seven
Years'
War
(1756-1763)**

before the year was over, Frederick won brilliant victories.¹ At Rossbach the French and their German allies were defeated and driven out. Almost immediately Frederick



FREDERICK AT THE BATTLE OF HOCHKIRK

was back in Silesia, and at Leuthen his 34,000 Prussians defeated 80,000 Austrians.

Next year his prospects were a little better, for England sent troops to help protect Hanover and gave Prussia

¹Frederick's dogged determination is illustrated by a secret letter which he sent to his home minister. In this he gives instructions on what to do with the royal family and the government records in case of a serious defeat and invasion by the enemy. About himself he adds, "If it happened that I were killed, the public affairs must go on without the smallest alteration or its being noticeable that they are in other hands. . . . If I should be taken prisoner by the enemy, I prohibit all of you from paying the least regard to my person, or taking the least heed of what I might write from my place of detention. Should such misfortune happen me, I wish to sacrifice myself for the State; and you must obey my brother, who as well as all my Ministers and Generals shall answer to me with their heads, not to offer any province or ransom for me, but to continue the war, pushing their advantages, as if I never had existed in the world."—Carlyle, *Frederick the Great* (abridged edition), pp. 197–198.

£670,000 a year in gold. Frederick used this money with the utmost care, for his country was poor and parts of it were in the enemy's hands. He won many bloody battles in



FREDERICK THE GREAT
From a painting by W. Camphausen

N

the next few years, sometimes saved from defeat only by the slowness of his enemies. Nevertheless, his army grew weaker and his enemies gradually learned from him the art of war. At last the English government refused to pay

him any more (1762). He had only 60,000 soldiers left, and the next campaign might end all. A turn of fortune saved him. His bitter enemy, the tsarina of Russia, died, and her successor, a warm admirer of Frederick, at once made peace. For a while the Russian armies even fought on the Prussian side. Then at the close of 1762 France and England stopped fighting, and early in 1763 a general peace was made. Prussia kept Silesia. Frederick had lost no land.

**Material
develop-
ment of
Prussia**

He now devoted himself to the arts of peace. His first work was to repair the terrible losses caused by the war. More than one hundred and eighty thousand Prussians had fallen in battle. The population had been reduced over ten per cent, and whole provinces were devastated. But Frederick had come out of the war with no debt and about \$17,000,000 in his treasury. Much of this he used to help the most needy of his people get a fresh start. Artillery horses were sent to the plow and thousands of ruined farm-houses were rebuilt. In 1765 he rebuilt 14,500 houses in two provinces alone. Districts which had suffered most were freed from taxation for a time. To repeople the land, an offer of money, horses, and seed was made to new settlers. Swamps were drained and dikes built to open new farm lands. Better methods of cultivation were taught and new crops, especially the potato, were started.¹ Frederick also made new roads and canals and introduced new methods of manufacturing and new industries. Great progress was made in the manufacture of silks, woolens, porcelain, and glass.

**Frederick's
autocratic
govern-
ment
weakens
Prussia**

Until his death (1786) Frederick worked hard at the business of government, never sparing himself. He often spent half his day reading petitions and complaints, even those of poor peasants. Every official of Prussia knew that he was watched by his king. Frederick often interfered

¹The potato was introduced into Europe in the sixteenth century, but did not come into common use until the eighteenth century. Even now the French people do not make as much use of it as do the people of America. Its cheapness appealed strongly to Frederick the Great, who did much to introduce it in his poverty-stricken country.

directly when he thought the poor were being oppressed, for he felt personally responsible for the prosperity of his people.¹ But he looked after everything himself, allowing them no share whatever in their government. He dealt with



FREDERICK AND HIS GUESTS AT ~~SANS~~ SOUCI

From a painting by Menzel

Carlyle

his leading ministers almost as if they were ignorant clerks. As long as he lived, his energy, industry, and watchfulness kept all branches of government efficient. But under him no capable successors were trained, and so after his death Prussia gradually weakened.

In the midst of his hard work Frederick still found time for literature and music. In the evenings there were frequent concerts, and talks with literary men. He played

¹When a deputation of citizens from a town which he had helped rebuild after a disastrous fire thanked him feelingly, he answered: "You don't need to thank me; when my subjects fall into misfortune, it is my duty to help them up again; for that reason I am here." Carlyle, *Frederick the Great* (abridged edition), p. 336.

Frederick's
literary
and
musical
interests

the flute very well and it is said that he had as many as twenty flutes in his music rooms. Voltaire, the most famous literary man of his day, used to make long visits to Berlin, for in this age of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, German authors famous in prose and poetry, and of the great German philosopher Kant, Frederick cared more for French than for German literature.

THE FRENCH AND BRITISH IN AMERICA

European
colonies
in America

So far, little has been said of the European colonies in America. The great discoveries of the Renaissance¹ enabled Portugal and Spain to win wonderful empires. The Portuguese won Brazil, and Spanish adventurers took possession of all the rest of South America, Central America, and Mexico, including California and Texas and Florida. Had the Great Armada not been defeated by the English,² Spain might even have seized all North America.

While the Dutch were winning freedom from Spain³ they seized many Portuguese colonies⁴ in the East Indies, most of which they still hold. In North America the Dutch chose New York as the site of a colony, but later were forced to give it up to the English.

The great rivals for the continent of North America were France and England. France early sent explorers, traders, and missionaries to America. Her first colony to become permanent was Quebec (1608). During the next hundred years Frenchmen went up the St. Lawrence, over the Great Lakes, crossed the Mississippi, and followed that great river to the Gulf. On the way from Quebec to New Orleans they set up trading posts or forts, many of which still bear such French names as St. Louis or Detroit. Everywhere the courteous and agreeable French made friends with the Indians and carried on a profitable business trapping and trading for furs. French Jesuit missionaries worked hard to convert the Indians to Christianity.

¹See pp. 406-413.

²See p. 448.

³See pp. 457-461.

⁴Portugal was then under Spanish control.

The French "staked out" a great colonial empire but did not succeed in settling it with French people. The bigoted Louis XIV would not let Huguenots come to America and there were not enough others who wanted to come.¹ Those who did often married Indian women and lived like Indians.

Beginnings
of English
coloniza-
tion

The home government also interfered continually with the colonists, trying to regulate their industry as Colbert



THE SITE OF QUEBEC

Mace, Primary History

did at home.² They were allowed no share in their own government, for the governor sent from France decided everything.

The English did not become interested in colonies until Queen Elizabeth's time. Then bold adventurers such as Hawkins and Drake won wealth and glory by attacking the wide domains of Spain.³ Such men as Sir Walter Raleigh began to see that England must act quickly to win a share in America. Early in the reign of James I some "gentlemen adventurers" started the colony of Jamestown, Virginia (1607). They were eager for wealth and were discouraged when they failed to gain it quickly. Other Englishmen were glad to leave England because it was hard to make a good living there owing to the growth of population, and hence the little settlement at Jamestown grew fast.

¹See p. 509.

²See pp. 507-508.

³See pp. 446-448.

The Puritans, fleeing from oppression, soon founded other colonies to the north.¹ Followers of other religions also founded colonies along the Atlantic Coast. The Dutch were ousted from New York and the Swedes from the Delaware country. By 1688 there was a fringe of English colonies all along the North Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia.

These colonies were quite different from the French. They had a total population of 250,000, a far greater number than the French. These were actual settlers, a majority of them farmers who had their own homes and were bringing up large families of pure English blood. The king left them largely to themselves. They had the liberties of Englishmen, such as freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment.² They had their own colonial assemblies, modeled on Parliament, which represented the people. Land was easily obtained, and so men could be independent. There was far greater equality among the English colonists than there was among the people in England.

Rivalry
between
France
and
England
for control
of North
America

The Revolution of 1688³ was followed by a series of wars between France and England and during each war the French and English colonists, with some help from home, fought in America. At the close of the War of the Spanish Succession,⁴ England won Nova Scotia while the French kept Canada and made good their claims to the vast interior region west of the Allegheny Mountains (1713).

After this both France and England were governed by peaceful ministers who long did their best to avoid war. But ill feeling grew up between England and Spain because of quarrels over the right to trade with the Spanish colonies granted by the Treaty of Utrecht.⁴ These disputes led to war (1739), in the course of which English fleets plundered the Spanish colonies and seized some of them. Later,

¹See pp. 444, note 2, and 480.

²See pp. 497-498.

³See pp. 495-497.

⁴See pp. 513-514.

England and her ally Holland were drawn into the great War of the Austrian Succession.¹ They seized some French colonies also, but restored them when peace was made. The French navy, however, had suffered in the war, and France began to lose hold of her remaining colonies.

Besides the hatred resulting from the wars since 1688 and the differences in race, government, and religion, business rivalry helped bring about another war between the French and English colonists. The English were steadily growing in numbers and in confidence in themselves. They were beginning to cross the Alleghenies to obtain new land and, in order to hold them in check and to strengthen French control of the great interior region, the French planned a series of forts to guard the communications between the St. Lawrence and the great lakes and the waterways of the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys. If the French succeeded in this project, the growing English colonies would find their westward movement blocked. Hence the English refused to grant the French claim to the Ohio Valley.

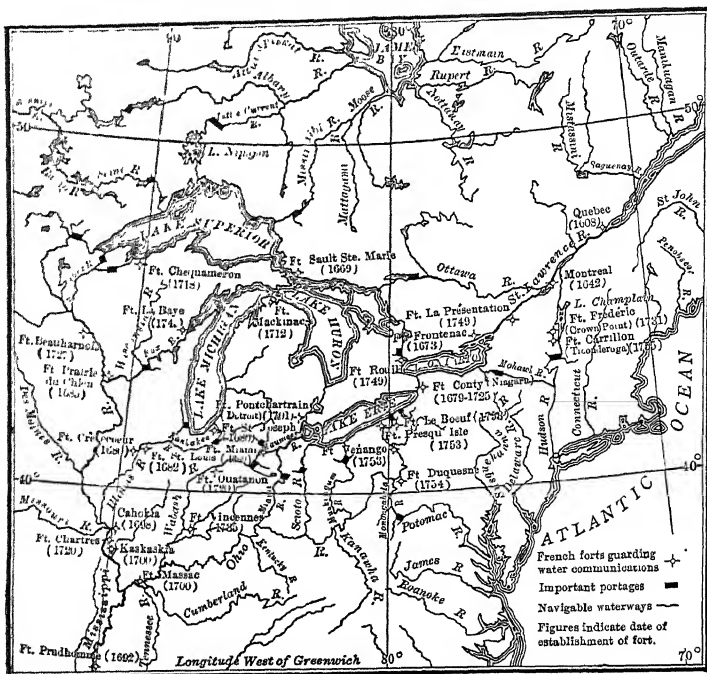
In 1754 a body of Virginians under George Washington was sent to build a new fort on the present site of Pittsburgh. But the French arrived there first and built a fort which they named Fort Duquesne. Washington's force had to surrender. The next year General Braddock marched against Fort Duquesne with over two thousand regulars and militia, but was utterly defeated. Then the English began to seize French ships and by 1756 a general war was certain.

**Beginning
of the
Seven
Years'
War in
America**

For a time the French were successful, owing to stupidity and dishonesty in the British government. But in 1757 William Pitt was placed in control and at once infused new energy into those under him. He rapidly promoted able young officers, giving them full power and authority and all the necessary soldiers and supplies. Best of all, he filled every officer with patriotism and determination to win at

**How
William
Pitt
turned
defeat to
victory**

¹See pp. 524-525.



THE FRENCH FORTS AND PORTAGES IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION

any cost. No one ever talked with Pitt without feeling himself a braver man.

Pitt had had little military experience or training, but it was he who planned a most remarkable series of expeditions on land and sea. France must be defeated everywhere, in Germany, in America, in India, and on the seas. To help Prussia defeat France, Pitt supplied Frederick the Great with plenty of money. Thus the French were kept busy making war on land and neglected their colonies and their navy. Pitt then sent expeditions to attack the coasts of France. The French ports were blockaded, and soon the French fleets were driven from the seas. This made it difficult for the French to send help to their colonies.

It was in America, however, that Pitt's leadership accomplished most. He stirred the colonists to patriotic efforts and gave them soldiers and able leaders. In 1758 the great



LOUIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM



JAMES WOLFE

French port of Louisburg controlling the outlet to the Gulf of St. Lawrence was taken, and the French chain of forts west of the Alleghenies was broken by the capture of Fort Duquesne. For 1759 Pitt planned nothing less than the conquest of Canada. The main expedition was sent under General Wolfe up the St. Lawrence River to seize Quebec and Montreal. Three other expeditions were sent northward and westward from the English colonies to strike at the St. Lawrence Valley. Wolfe was opposed by the able General Montcalm who had nearly twice as many soldiers and held strongly fortified positions. For eleven weeks Wolfe besieged Quebec. His first attack was repulsed with heavy losses, and, as the weeks passed, hope of success steadily grew less. To the British on their ships the rocky fortress appeared impregnable. But at last Wolfe formed a daring plan to slip past the French lookouts and land his men at a cove two miles above the town. Then he led them by a little-used path up to the heights above and set them

in battle array before the city. In the desperate battle that followed, both Montcalm and Wolfe were killed. But the British were victorious and occupied Quebec. The next year Pitt's armies met at Montreal, and all Canada was won.

Only a few years before, France had claimed the vast interior of North America. The French language and civilization under the despots Louis XIV and Louis XV seemed likely to rule in the region that now comprises the greater part of the United States and Canada. But when the war closed in 1763 France gave Louisiana to Spain and yielded practically all the rest of her North American lands to Great Britain. Pitt had put the English language and civilization and the English ideas of religious toleration and self-government in control of North America as far west as the Mississippi River.

FRENCH AND BRITISH RIVALRY IN INDIA

Struggle
for the
control of
India

Meanwhile a struggle was going on in India. Both England and France had chartered East India companies to fit out ships, keep up trading stations, and even to fight for trade. By 1700 the French and English companies were stronger than their earlier rivals, the Portuguese and the Dutch, and were engaged in bitter contest.¹ Both English and French had established trading stations along the coast and from these points agents journeyed into the interior.

Conditions
in India

An emperor called the "Great Mogul" was supposed to rule the vast Indian Empire. But by 1740 his power had weakened and the real rulers were the local princes, each governing his own district. The Mogul Empire was fast breaking up and an able Frenchman, Dupleix, planned to conquer it all by aiding one native prince against another. He enlisted many natives as soldiers. These so-called "sepoys," disciplined and armed in European fashion and led by white officers, could easily defeat many times their

Policies
of Dupleix
and Clive

¹The Portuguese had started this profitable trade. The Dutch had later won over most of it. See pp. 407-408 and 532.

number of undisciplined natives, and Dupleix used them to help his allies, thus building up great influence in India. But one of the clerks of the English East India Company, Robert Clive, also organized troops of sepoys, and with these he helped the anti-French princes, winning even greater influence than had the French. Dupleix was recalled in disgrace (1754).

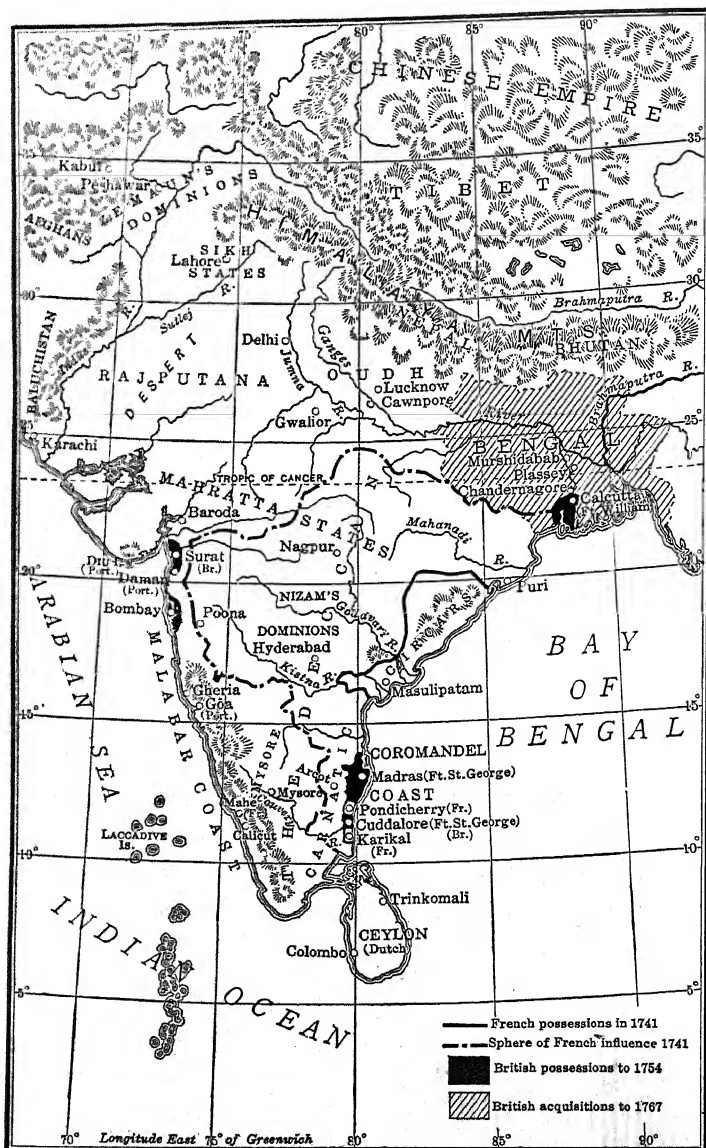
The Seven Years' War in India was begun by a deed of horrid cruelty. The native ruler of Bengal took the English post at Calcutta in the north and imprisoned 146 merchants in a small, low dungeon, the "Black Hole" of Calcutta, where 123 died during one night. To avenge this foul deed, Clive attacked the French and their native ally, utterly defeated them at the battle of Plassey, and conquered all Bengal (1757). Three years later the French in the south were defeated and driven from that part of India. Though by the Treaty of Paris (1763), which closed the war, the French recovered a few unfortified posts on the shore of India, they had lost their influence with the natives. The English East India Company was now without a rival. Its officers gradually pushed into the interior, taking control of some regions and protecting friendly princes in others, until they controlled nearly the whole Indian Empire. Later (1784) the British Parliament set up a board to supervise the work of the company which governed this vast area. Not until 1858 did officials under the direct control of Parliament fully take the place of the East India Company.

England was the sole gainer by the terrible Seven Years' War. The merchant ships of France were driven from the sea, her fighting navy was destroyed, and she kept only such colonies as the British consented to return to her. Even her armies were defeated. By trying to follow the policies of Louis XIV of getting more land in Europe, France had lost her chance to become the greatest trading nation of the world.¹ Great Britain won that position, and her colonial

**Events
of the
Seven
Years'
War in
India**

**Results
of the
Seven
Years'
War**

¹See pp. 509-514.



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GROWTH OF BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA TO 1767

empire has been immensely valuable ever since. The prosperity of modern European nations depends largely upon their foreign trade. Many factories in the great cities would have to shut down if their products were sold only to European customers. Great shipping centers like Liverpool would decline if they served the trade of Europe only. For one hundred and fifty years British manufacturers have enjoyed great commercial advantages from those colonies which France lost in the eighteenth century.¹

Just at the close of the Seven Years' War there rose to power a French statesman, the duke of Choiseul, who realized what blunders former leaders had made. He spent large sums in building a new fighting navy and preparing for a war of revenge against England.

REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

The revolt of the English colonists in America gave the French their chance. Like the other colonial powers, Britain tried to control the trade of her colonists for the advantage of the British. All European states that had colonies tried to limit them to producing raw materials which were to be sold only in the mother country for the purchase of manufactured goods. Hence the American colonists were forbidden to send to any other country or even to another place in the colonies any iron or any woolen cloth they had made. Sugar, tobacco, and cotton might

Revolt of the American colonies gives France a chance for revenge

¹Since 1763 the British Empire has kept on growing, except for the loss of the American colonies in 1783. In the years before the World War some leading men in Germany envied Britain her colonial empire and hoped for an opportunity to seize part or all of it. Perhaps it was with this in mind that they rapidly built a great fighting navy after 1900.

In the eighteenth century there was no united Germany, and Prussia was seeking colonists, not sending them out. Hence no German colonies were founded at a time when the British were acquiring such vast territories. For several years before 1914 the population of Germany was increasing at the rate of about 800,000 a year and there were no German colonies in temperate zones where her citizens could go and live under the German flag. German manufacturers built up an enormous export trade, but they did it in spite of the great advantages which the British manufacturers had in British colonies. The Germans felt that they must sell their goods if their factories were to be kept going and a living provided for the growing population of Germany.

not be shipped to any country other than Britain. All trade must go to and from the colonies in British or colonial ships.

These laws were really less severe than they seem, for England was the colonists' best market, her shipping laws helped them, and Britain defended them. Moreover, the



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TAX STAMPS USED IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN 1765

trade laws were badly enforced. The Spanish and French colonists were treated much more severely.

After the Seven Years' War, American discontent grew fast. There was no longer a threat of French conquest from Canada. Efforts were made to enforce the trade laws strictly and British troops were now to be kept in the colonies and paid in part by taxes laid on the colonists by Parliament. The Stamp Act aroused furious arguments, the colonists claiming that they could be taxed legally only by their own elected assemblies, while Parliament claimed the right to tax even though it contained no colonial representatives. After the Stamp Act was repealed, Parliament still insisted on its taxing powers and laid a small tax on imported tea. The colonists refused to buy the tea, and in Boston a mob threw it into the sea. That city, with the whole colony of Massachusetts, was then punished for rebellion. The other colonies feared for themselves and joined in sending representatives to a Continental Congress (1774) which agreed to resist. In the next year the quarrel led to bloodshed at Lexington and Concord, and the war began.

Not all the colonists favored a war for independence. Many of the well-to-do people wished to remain under British rule, but these loyalists, or "Tories," were in a minority. In some regions, however, the struggle was like a civil war. The colonies were spread out over long distances and did not pull together any too well. They had a wonderful leader, George Washington, but alone against the vast resources of Britain they might not have won if they had not early received secret aid from France and Spain. A number of French volunteers went to serve in the American army and after the surrender of Burgoyne's British army, France recognized American independence, made an alliance with the colonies, and began open war against England.

**How the
Americans
won**

England could get no important ally in Europe and soon was at war with Spain and Holland as well as with France and the American colonists. At the same time she was threatened by a league of armed neutrals comprising Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, and Naples, all enraged at the high-handed seizure of their property at sea by British men-of-war. Leading Englishmen saw that they could not conquer America against these odds. In 1781, while a French army joined the American in besieging Cornwallis, the English general at Yorktown, the French fleet for a time won control of the North Atlantic Coast and so kept help from reaching the English. The resulting surrender of Cornwallis convinced the English people that they could not win and led to the Treaty of Versailles (1783). England recognized the independence of the United States, and Spain won East Florida and the island of Minorca¹ in the Mediterranean.

**Results of
the war**

It was now generally believed that England had begun to decline. But she still kept most of the foreign trade of the United States which the French had hoped to win, and soon won new continents which helped take the place of

**Recovery
of Britain**

¹See p. 513.

the lost American colonies. Captain Cook had explored the shores of Australia (1769-1776) and the first British settlements were soon made on that continent (1778).



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CARRYING THE OUTER WORKS AT YORKTOWN

Gradually both Australia and New Zealand were colonized, thus adding vast areas to the British Empire.

**Decline of
France,
Spain, and
Holland**

France had humbled Great Britain, but at heavy cost. The government was greatly weakened. Revolutionary ideas from America had been spread in France and the government had run so heavily in debt that bankruptcy was imminent. Spain had gained little from the war and Holland nothing. Both these countries now declined rapidly in importance and later fell under the influence of France.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND

**Causes of
the decline
of Poland**

The disregard of popular rights, national feeling, and the rights of weaker states common among eighteenth-century rulers is best shown by the partition of Poland.

The Poles are a Slavic people related to the Russians.¹ In the Middle Ages they had many able kings who succeeded in building up a strong state between Germany, Hungary, and Russia. They also won an outlet to the Baltic Sea by annexing West Prussia. After the close of the Middle Ages, however, Poland declined steadily. This decline was due to a number of causes: (1) Its people belonged to four different races and religions. The Poles were largely Roman Catholics, their Russian subjects belonged to the Greek church, and the Germans were Protestants. In addition to these were the Jews, a very numerous and enterprising people. The Russians, Germans, and Jews all disliked the Roman Catholics, who refused them any share in the government (1733). (2) The people were scattered over a great plain with no protecting rivers or mountains for boundaries. (3) The nobles were numerous and mostly poor. They oppressed the peasants, who were their serfs, and so the latter had everything to gain and nothing to lose from the conquest of the land by foreign rulers. (4) There was little commerce or industry. (5) The government was very weak. The kings were elected by the nobles and were usually chosen, not for ability or strength, but because they were likely to be the tools of the Russian tsar or obedient to the nobles. In Parliament the vote of one nobleman was enough to defeat any project. This was called the "Liberum Veto," and it made the reform of the government almost impossible. (6) The rulers of Russia and Prussia hoped to seize Polish lands and so tried to keep Poland from growing strong again. Frederick the Great especially wanted West Prussia, which lay between his provinces of East Prussia and Brandenburg.² France and Austria opposed Prussia and Russia in their projects.

In 1772 Frederick the Great at last persuaded Austria to accept a slice of Poland and allow Russia and Prussia each to get one. The Poles, threatened with complete

**Partition
of Poland**

¹See p. 517, note 1.

²See pp. 520-521.

conquest, were forced to consent, but in the next twenty years there was a revival of patriotism in that part of Poland which kept its independence. A new constitution was made (1791), which increased the king's power, abolished the "Liberum Veto," and promised to make Poland stronger.

Russia helped undo this reform and in 1793 Russia and Prussia took additional large slices of Polish land. Then after a great Polish revolt had been crushed by Russian armies, the rest of Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria (1795), Russia receiving the lion's share.

Since then the fires of patriotism have burned more brightly in the hearts of the Poles. Napoleon won their help because they thought he would make them independent again. But he deceived them, and when Napoleon fell, Russia won more of Poland than ever before, though Austria and Prussia kept part of their gains. In 1830 and 1863 the Poles again rebelled against the tsar but the revolts failed. During the World War (1914-1918) both Germany and Russia tried to win the Poles by promising them self-government. At last the defeat of Germany and Austria and the Russian revolution enabled the Poles to realize their dreams. Poland once more is independent.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Compare the European wars of the middle eighteenth century with the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as to causes, results, and importance regarding the building of states and the fixing of boundaries. Which were the more important? Why? (2) Which was less justifiable, Frederick the Great's attack on Austria or Peter the Great's attack on Sweden? Why? (3) Explain the main reasons for the stand each of the great powers took in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. (4) Compare and contrast Prussia's part in the Seven Years' War with that of Germany and Austria-Hungary in the World War of 1914. Note who began the war, the geographical and other advantages of the two opposing groups

of states, and the general plans of campaign. (5) Do you believe King Frederick deserved his title of "the Great"? Compare his work with that of the Great Elector. What defects do you see in his system of government? (6) Why is the Seven Years' War of vital importance in the history of the United States? (7) In what order of importance in world history would you rank the battle of Plassey, the capture of Quebec, and the battles of Rossbach and Leuthen? Explain your reasons. (8) If you had been king of France in 1740-1763, how would your policies have differed from those of Louis XV? (9) Why was England so successful in the Seven Years' War? (10) Why was India so easily conquered by European states? Of what value was it to Great Britain? (11) Why was it possible for the comparatively weak English colonists in America to win their independence from the great British Empire which had won such victories over stronger powers only a few years before? (12) Why did the power of Britain not decline after the loss of the American colonies? (13) Why did Poland decline and lose its independence?

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THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

FRANCE AND EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ABUSES

When the French Revolution is mentioned, many persons think of mob violence and the massacre of hosts of innocent victims. But the fact that there was violence in the course of the Revolution must not be allowed to hide the real meaning of the movement. Since the Protestant Revolt there had been no great popular risings on the Continent of Europe. In the eighteenth century the common people often were treated as if they had no rights. They were heavily taxed by the government, the church, and the nobles, and their freedom was limited in various ways. The French Revolution was chiefly a great popular revolt against these abuses. It was a great step toward freeing the common people—a truly revolutionary change, beside which earlier revolutions seem to have accomplished almost nothing. The Revolution of 1688 had not changed the lives of the English people. It simply marked the end of the long struggle for parliamentary control of the government. The American Revolution had set up an independent United States, but it did not essentially change the ordinary daily life of Americans. The French Revolution was not a protest against new abuses; it was a revolt against such a host of old abuses that their overthrow made a wonderful change in the lives of all Frenchmen.

**Meaning
and impor-
tance of
the Revolu-
tion**

The outworn customs and laws which the Revolution abolished are known as the Old Régime. They were not

**Economic
and social
abuses of
the Old
Régime**

continued to France--in fact, conditions were far worse in other countries. Nearly everywhere the peasants or farm laborers were like serfs of the Middle Ages.¹ They used farm tools of the medieval pattern,² and were densely ignorant. In England and France actual serfdom had almost entirely died out before 1500, but many features of the old system remained. Though many French peasants had bought the land they cultivated, they still were compelled to pay the lord of the manor for the use of his bake oven, wine press, and mill. Where they still rented the land there were other burdens. But these burdens were far more hateful to the free peasants of France who were working, saving, and buying more land whenever they could, than to the down-trodden peasantry of Germany and Hungary.

**Restric-
tions on
industry in
the towns**

In the towns the medieval guilds helped keep the laborers down. There was one guild for each of the old established trades, and few new members were taken in. Thus the guilds shut out many who wanted work, also keeping prices high. Colbert's rules for manufacturing were still detrimental to business.³ No workman might do anything outside his trade. A cobbler would be punished for making a new pair of shoes; a baker of bread might not make pies or cakes; a barber might not curl hair.

**Restric-
tions on
trade and
agriculture**

Customs duties were collected on goods carried from one province to another. Goods passing from Marseille to Paris would be taxed almost as much as if they came from Italy. This checked trade. The government would not allow grain to be sold freely anywhere in France and thus the people of one province might go hungry while food was plentiful in another. To prevent farmers from growing grapes instead of grain, the government sometimes sent officers to destroy the vineyards.

¹See pp. 261-262.

²There were few iron plows in all France. Hence the French crop of wheat averaged eighteen bushels to the acre while in England the usual yield was twenty-eight bushels to the acre.

³See pp. 507-508.

Above the common people were the nobles and the clergy, who had special privileges. Very few nobles were directly descended from those of the feudal age, for almost any prosperous man could persuade the king to give him a title or make him a noble. The chief privilege of the French nobles was freedom from taxation.¹ Thus the heaviest taxes fell on the peasantry and workmen, leaving the rich nearly free. In 1787 the commoners of ten provinces paid \$2,000,000 as an income tax; the nobles and clergy paid about \$400,000. Yet the nobles owned nearly one-fifth and the clergy over one-sixth of all the land of France. In some places the poor peasant paid as much as half his income in taxes to the government. Most nobles lived at the king's court where they drew large salaries and had little work. Many received pensions. They held all offices in the army and most of the better places in the church. No peasant could kill deer, pigeons, or rabbits, even if they were destroying his crops, for only nobles could hunt. Most of the nobles gave little attention to the management of their estates and had their agents squeeze every possible penny out of their tenants.

**Privileged
classes**

In most countries the clergy as well as the nobles were a privileged class. In Roman Catholic countries they had their own courts, controlled schools, hospitals, and orphanages, and often prevented the printing or sale of books in which they were criticized. The church in France had an income of \$50,000,000 a year, but paid little to support the government.² The clergy numbered about 130,000 but the higher offices were held by only about 11,000, who had enormous incomes and lived in luxury. Some even were freethinkers. The priests who did the real work of the

**Power and
privileges
of the
clergy**

¹In the Middle Ages the nobles had fought in person in the kings' armies, and so had been freed from paying taxes to support the army as did the townspeople and peasants.

²Voluntary gifts to the state were made occasionally, but grants to the church from the public treasury usually exceeded the amounts paid in as gifts. Many of the bishops and abbots were also manorial lords and collected dues as such.

church received very small salaries and had almost no chance of promotion.

ABUSES IN GOVERNMENT

Abuses
in the
French
government

The king of France had almost despotic power. All sorts of questions had to be referred to him and his ministers. If a bridge were to be built, the price, kind of bridge, and all details must be decided at Versailles. Should the roof of a church be damaged by a windstorm, the intendant¹ must write to Versailles before repairs could be made and at least one year would pass before the work could be done. Moreover, the government often misused its vast power by imprisoning innocent people without trial.²

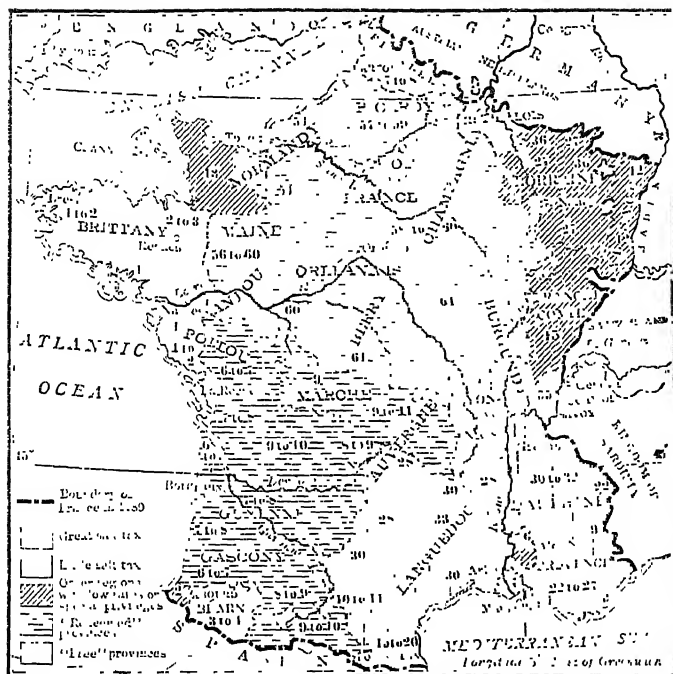
The king could spend all the public money he pleased, and was fearfully extravagant. Pensions amounting to nearly \$6,000,000 a year were paid, not to disabled soldiers or their families, but to favorite nobles. The royal princes received over \$5,000,000 a year in pensions, the members of the Noailles family, \$400,000 a year. At the other end of the pension list was the hairdresser Ducrest, who received a pension of \$340 for having dressed the hair of a daughter of the Count of Artois, who had died before having any hair at all. Even dead men drew pensions and in most cases those who had pensions had done nothing to merit them. The king also drew many checks payable to bearer. A noble might meet the king and tell him a pitiful tale of the loss of his fortune at the gambling table the night before, and the king would write him a check for \$50,000 wrung from the poor peasants. From 1779 to 1787 such checks payable to bearer averaged over \$20,000,000 a year.³

Though all France was subject to the king, the different provinces did not all have the same laws and customs. When earlier kings had won the various provinces, they had

¹See p. 465.

²See p. 504.

³The purchasing power of money has so declined that today these figures must be multiplied by five or six to show the extent of the financial abuses of that time.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE SALT TAX IN FRANCE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

The figures show the relative prices paid for salt in the different districts

left many special privileges and customs in each province. There were as many as 285 different kinds of local law in force in different parts of France. These differences hindered trade. Taxes were much heavier in some regions than in others. Most irregular of all was the salt tax. Salt was sold only by government agents, and every grown person had to buy seven pounds each year. But the price varied from two francs in one region to as much as sixty francs in another. It was very difficult to guard the boundaries of the many different districts and stop smuggling.

A good king would have instituted some reforms; but throughout his long reign Louis XV did not even try to

Louis XV
fails
to reform
abuses

improve conditions. He cared only for his pleasures and usually allowed his favorites to mismanage the government. Dishonesty and waste reigned supreme, and taxation grew heavier while the government sank deeper into debt.

INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF THE AGE

How the
Old Régime
was under-
mined

Most of these abuses had existed a long time and had received little criticism. Until the eighteenth century it was generally thought that whatever had long been customary must be right and must deserve to remain. Now intellectual leaders were teaching that everything must submit to the test of reason and be abolished if shown to be unreasonable. Reverence for the past was more easily discredited because so many revolutionary scientific discoveries were being made.

Intellectual
progress
since the
Renaissance

Scientific progress had continued after the time of the Renaissance. The work of the English scientist and philosopher, Francis Bacon (1561-1626), has already been discussed.¹ The brilliant Frenchman, Descartes (1596-1650), followed the same method of learning the truth by experiment. Sometimes called the "father of modern philosophy," he also took the keenest interest in psychology, mathematics, and physics. He invented analytic geometry. After him a series of philosophers who followed his ideas formed what is called the Cartesian School. The famous English mathematician, Isaac Newton (1642-1727), measured the attraction that each of the heavenly bodies has for the others and found that this force, called gravitation, keeps the sun, moon, and stars revolving in their regular paths. About the same time a great German philosopher, von Leibnitz, worked out a new branch of mathematics, differential calculus, much used by modern scientists. A Dutch scholar first discovered (1665) the presence of corpuscles in the blood and tiny animals in stagnant water, thus preparing the way for further discoveries in biology and physiology.

¹ See p. 476.

This scientific progress in the eighteenth century followed lines like that of the Renaissance and led to extensive investigation and many discoveries. In physics, the American Benjamin Franklin and the Italians Galvani and Volta made

Scientific
progress
of the
eighteenth
century



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



RENÉ DESCARTES

themselves famous. The latter are commemorated in the words "galvanize" and "volt." Lavoisier (1742-1794), the famous French chemist, was the first to succeed in changing water into the two gases, oxygen and hydrogen. Physicians extended the discoveries already made by Harvey regarding the circulation of the blood, and near the close of the eighteenth century Edward Jenner, an English physician, proved that vaccination would prevent smallpox. Botany and zoölogy, also, were studied as never before.

This rapid progress in science was hastened by the remarkable popularity of scientists in the eighteenth century. Kings, princes, and rich men all over Europe took pride in buying telescopes and other scientific apparatus and paying learned men pensions so they would have leisure to experiment. It was the fashion to dabble in science, or at least to talk about it. As early as 1662 King Charles II of England started a Royal Society to promote research. Four years later the French Academy of Sciences was

Why this
progress
was so
rapid

founded. Many scientific books were printed and sold. This great public interest in their work stimulated the scientists to investigation and led to more discoveries.

Voltaire

A number of brilliant Frenchmen set out to show all Europe how foolish were the abuses of the Old Régime. Prominent among these men was Voltaire (1694-1778), who himself had been beaten by ruffians in the pay of an offended nobleman and imprisoned by a *lettre de cachet*.¹ In a most brilliant style and with the bitterest satire he made sport of the Old Régime. He regarded the church as the greatest enemy to freedom of thought and human progress. He urged that no man be forced to accept any religion at all. All doctrines must be tested by reason and cast aside if found wanting. These criticisms did much to undermine the Old Régime, for Voltaire was wonderfully popular.

A new
school of
economists

Political economy or economics was now studied as a special branch of science. In trying to find the genuine causes of national prosperity the French economists, Quesnay and Turgot, concluded that the government must stop interfering with, and trying to regulate, manufacturing and trade. All business should be free, everyone should be allowed to do any work he wished, and there should be no tariffs to check trade either within France itself or between France and other countries. These economists used the phrase *laissez-faire* ("let alone") so often that they have been called the "*laissez-faire* group." A Scotch teacher, Adam Smith, wrote a famous book called *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), in which he explained these ideas so clearly that many British statesmen and business men were convinced.

Diderot
and his
encyclo-
pedia

No less brilliant was Diderot (1713-1784), who edited the first French encyclopedia. He persuaded the ablest scientists and philosophers of his time to join him in writing articles until every subject was covered. The seventeen volumes were extraordinarily popular. Even society ladies

¹See p. 504.

sat up all night to read them. Diderot and the encyclopedists, as his contributors were called, were most successful in spreading new ideas and criticisms of outworn abuses.

The most notable political thinker of the time was Rousseau. He taught that a return to a state of nature where all men were free and equal would remedy the evils of the time. In his most famous little book, *The Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau declared that "man was born free and yet is everywhere in chains." Men have of their



VOLTAIRE



ROUSSEAU

own accord given kings and princes the power to govern merely as servants of the people. The real sovereign therefore is the people and they can depose the king and change their government when they wish.¹ Rousseau's teachings were eagerly accepted by the discontented in France and during the Revolution they tried to put them into effect.

REFORMS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

The reformers first influenced such rulers as Frederick the Great of Prussia, Joseph II of Austria, and Catherine II

¹It will be noticed that many of Rousseau's teachings are much like the statements of our own Declaration of Independence (1776). This is because both authors obtained their ideas from the writings of John Locke and other Englishmen who before 1700 stated the doctrines of the "rights of man."

Reforms
started by
enlightened
despots

of Russia, known as "enlightened despots." These rulers believed it their duty to improve the condition of their subjects by reforms, but not to give up their absolute power. Frederick the Great gave Prussia one single system of laws, granted religious toleration, and declared that the state must care for the poor and unemployed. He would not, however, give the people a share in the government nor abolish serfdom. Catherine II and Joseph II started reforms but did not carry them far.

Reform
in France
before the
Revolution

The young Louis XVI of France promised at first to be an enlightened despot (1774). He made Turgot his minister of finance, and the great economist soon removed many hindrances to trade and cut down the needless expenses of the royal court. He insisted that the government must live within its income without borrowing or raising the taxes. The courtiers and the beautiful but frivolous queen, Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, bitterly opposed this economy and in two years brought about Turgot's dismissal. His successor undid much of Turgot's work and wasted all he had saved. But France had had a sample of reform which made the abuses still more unbearable. Turgot's fall probably made revolution certain.

The next important finance minister, Necker, had to borrow vast sums for the war in alliance with the United States against England (1778-1783). He tried to economize, but the courtiers and the queen had him dismissed. After a few more years of wild spending, the end was reached. No more money could be borrowed unless reforms were made. A meeting of privileged notables was called, in the hope that they would give up their freedom from taxation, but they refused. The finance minister tried to levy new taxes. The *Parlement* of Paris, the highest court of France, objected and declared that "only the nation assembled in the Estates-General can give the consent necessary to the establishment of a permanent tax." The ancient assembly

had not met since 1614, and now there was a general demand that it be called.¹

The opposition of the *Parlement* of Paris and other courts made it so difficult to raise money that Louis XVI finally decided to call the Estates-General to meet May 1, 1789. At last the French nation was to sweep away the Old Régime.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why was the French Revolution more important than that of 1688? (2) Why had peasant burdens lasted so long? Why had restrictions on industry, trade, and agriculture not been removed earlier? (3) Why were the peasants of France better off than those of Germany? (4) What special privileges did the nobles and clergy have? How and why were these obtained? Why had they not been abolished before? (5) In what respects was the church in France a "state within the state"? What abuses were there in the French church? (6) Make a list of the good and bad features of the French system of government before 1789. Show why each was good or bad. (7) Explain the connection between the scientific discoveries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the French Revolution. (8) Explain in your own words how men like Voltaire, Rousseau, Turgot, and Diderot helped bring about the Revolution. Did they accomplish anything useful outside of France? (9) Have you read any political teachings like those of Rousseau in any important documents in American history? If so, what are they? Why is there such similarity? (10) Did Turgot's reform work have any real influence on the Revolution? Why? (11) In what ways did England and Englishmen help bring about the French Revolution? (12) How did the American Revolution affect that of France? (13) Why did Louis XVI call the Estates-General? (14) Could a king of unusual ability have prevented the Revolution from breaking out? How?

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¹See pp. 342-343 and 371-372.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE FIRST OR MIDDLE-CLASS REVOLUTION, 1789-1791

The calling of the Estates-General led to much discussion about who should compose it and what it should do. Formerly each of its three Estates, the clergy, the nobles, and the common people, had had the same number of representatives. Each of these three groups had sat by itself and had one vote. The king now gave the commoners as many representatives as the nobles and clergy combined, but still expected each group to meet and vote separately. Thus the deputies of 300,000 privileged persons still had double the voting power of the 25,000,000 common people. No real reform was likely to be made unless they all met together and each deputy had one vote. Even then the

**The
Estates-
General**

**Problems
arising
from the
summons**

two upper classes combined would have as many votes as the commoners.

**National
Assembly
formed**

The Estates-General met first at Versailles, May 5, 1789.¹ The deputies of the Third Estate refused to meet separately, and for weeks no business was carried on. Then, led by the able statesman, Mirabeau, they asked the clergy and



MIRABEAU

From a portrait in the Carnavalet Museum

nobles to join them. Two-thirds of the clerical deputies were parish priests who favored the people and disliked their bishops and the nobles, and so they began to join the

¹Following an old custom each deputy was told to bring with him a list of grievances and suggestions for reform from his people. These lists show that the French people nearly all demanded a constitution to check the king's absolute power, but hardly thought of having a republican form of government.

commoners. At last the latter declared themselves the National Assembly with full power over taxation and all other national matters.

Three days later (June 20) they found soldiers posted to shut them out of their hall. Believing this meant that the king was planning to send them home, they angrily withdrew to a near-by building known as the "Tennis Court." There with loud shouts and cheers they swore to stay and give France a constitution, whatever the king might do. This famous "Oath of the Tennis Court" was real defiance of Louis XVI and his soldiers. It was the declaration of independence of the French people. Two days later 149 deputies of the clergy headed by two archbishops joined the commoners in the National Assembly. This made it far larger than the rest of the Estates-General.

**Oath of
the Tennis
Court**

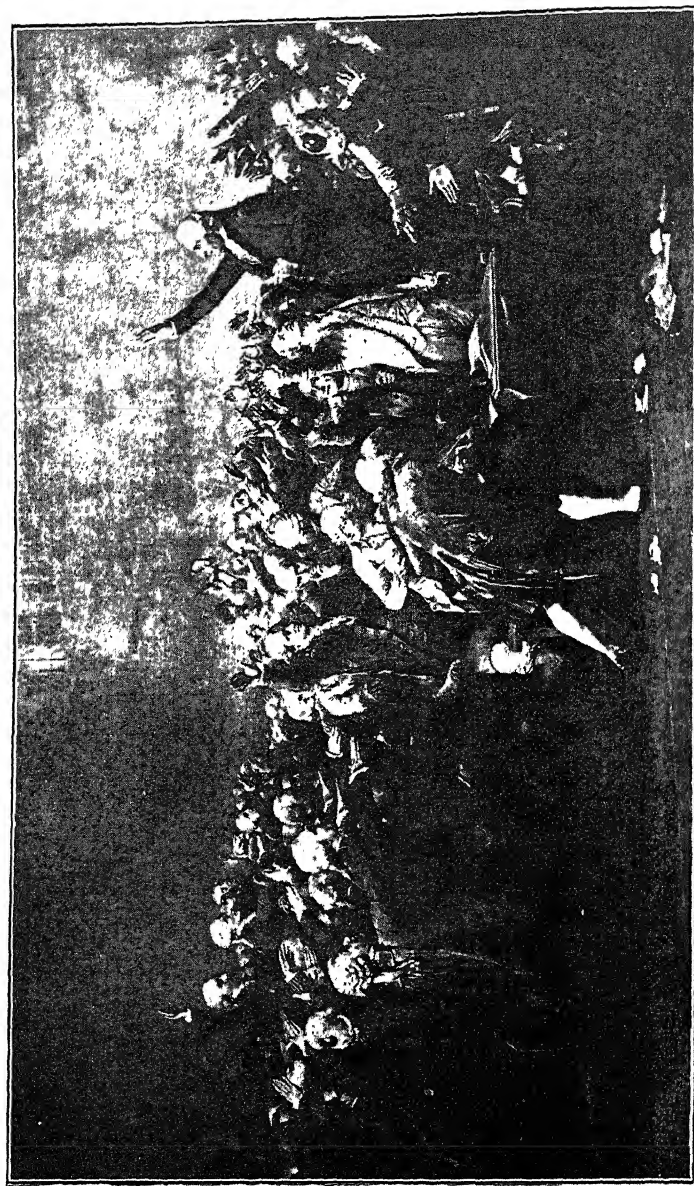
Louis now called all the three Estates before him and ordered them to meet and vote separately. The deputies of the people refused to obey and stayed in the hall. The king's officer told them to leave, but Mirabeau stood up and told him that the people's deputies would leave only at the point of the bayonet. Thus defied to use force if he dared, Louis ordered all the clergy and nobles to join the commoners in the National Assembly. Thus made legal, this body began work on the new constitution.

**Louis
yields to
National
Assembly**

Louis XVI had yielded because he knew that he could not trust his French soldiers to attack the people's deputies. But he had many regiments of foreign soldiers who would have no scruples. The queen and the courtiers induced him to bring these soldiers to Versailles to break up the Assembly. Those of his advisers who wished reform were suddenly dismissed from office (July 11). It was now clear that Louis XVI had decided to use force. What could save the Assembly?

**Nobles
plan to
disperse
the
Assembly**

The people of Paris came to the rescue. Rumors of the king's plans had spread among them. The printing presses were now turning out numerous books, pamphlets, and



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

THE OATH OF THE TENNIS COURT
From the painting by Louis Charles Auguste Coudier, Versailles

newspapers bitterly denouncing the clergy and nobles and demanding liberty for the people. Agitators drew crowds about them on the streets and in cafés and made stirring



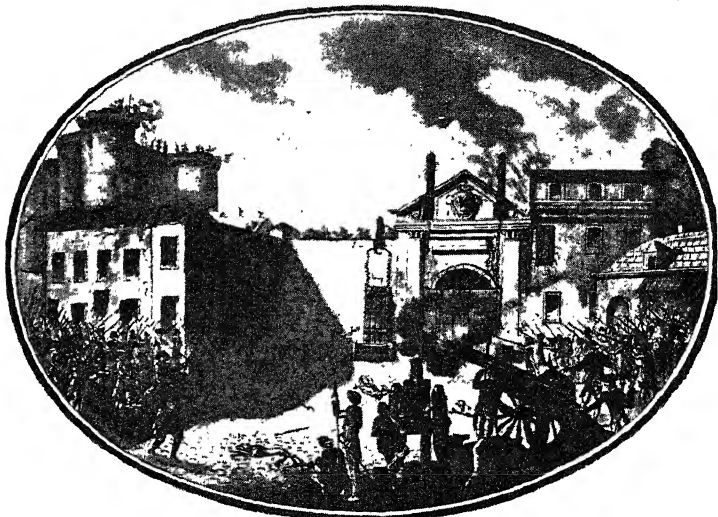
LOUIS XVI

speeches calling on the people to rise and throw off the oppressor's chains. Their words fell on good soil. The people were miserable because there had been little work to get that summer. Crops were bad and bread was both scarce and dear. Thousands of unemployed had flocked to Paris, and the city was full of idle, hungry people ready to riot.

When the news from Versailles reached Paris (July 12), the people's anger broke into flames. Word was quickly passed that they must organize and obtain arms to protect themselves and the Assembly from slaughter. That night mobs ran yelling through the streets of Paris, breaking into stores to get arms, food, and drink. The next day was

**Attack
on the
Bastille
(July 14,
1789)**

quieter, for the leaders were organizing the crowds. On the morning of July 14 alarm bells called everybody out. Few as yet were armed, and there was an eager search for



FALL OF THE BASTILLE

From a painting in the Carnavalet Museum

more weapons. Some one said there were plenty in the Bastille, and a mob rushed thither (July 14). The Bastille was a great feudal castle with stone walls over ten feet thick, long used as a prison. Awful stories of its dungeons and the tortures prisoners endured there made it an object of terror and bitter hatred.

The governor of the Bastille had only a small garrison, but the people had no cannon and therefore no chance of taking the fortress. They surrounded it and demanded its surrender. When the gates were opened to admit an envoy, hundreds of men rushed in. Some of these fired on the defenders and they fired in return. The mob outside almost went mad, and when at last the defenders forced their commander to surrender, the mob fell upon them and

murdered him and many of his men. The walls of the hated prison were pulled down and people danced where it had stood. July 14 is now the great national holiday, the French Independence Day.

Everywhere the fall of the Bastille was hailed as a great stroke for freedom. Undoubtedly it saved the Assembly from attack, for the king sent away the foreign soldiers. The courtiers began leaving France to obtain foreign help in restoring the Old Régime.¹ The National Assembly now seemed all-powerful, but the people of Paris had real control. The middle classes formed a national guard to keep order in the city, and Lafayette, the Frenchman most beloved by Americans, was put in command.² Similar national guards were formed in other cities, and so the nation was fully armed. Louis XVI was no longer absolute ruler.

Effect of the fall of the Bastille

Spread of revolt

The peasants now began to rise in revolt against their lords. They attacked and in some cases succeeded in burning the lord's manor in order to destroy the documents in which were recorded the peasants' feudal obligations. Reports of the outbreak in the provinces reached the deputies (August 4, 1789). That night the liberal nobles proposed to abolish the manorial system. Wild with enthusiasm, clergymen as well as nobles rose one by one and gave up their special privileges. Hunting and other manorial rights, church taxes, monopoly of offices, pensions, freedom from taxation, internal customs lines, serfdom, and other relics of the Middle Ages were suddenly swept away by decrees of the Assembly. Thus many of the worst features of the Old Régime were declared abolished. Then the members went to the king's chapel and proclaimed Louis XVI the "Restorer of French Liberty."

Peasants' revolts

Nobles give up their special privileges (August 4, 1789)

¹These nobles were called the *émigrés* ("emigrants"), and they did great harm to the king and nobles who stayed in France. Their violent threats convinced the people of Paris that Louis XVI and the nobles were all traitors to their country.

²Through his association with Washington and their victories in the War of American Independence, Lafayette had a great reputation as a general.

Reasons
for
further
violence

The king had had nothing to do with these acts. To carry them out much time and great effort were needed, and many nobles, who regretted they had yielded that night, delayed the work. It was known that the queen hated the Revolution. Moreover the people of Paris still suffered from hunger, and they wondered why liberty did not give them plenty to eat.

Mob goes
to Ver-
sailles

Meanwhile the Assembly did little to help them, and the queen plotted its overthrow. It was rumored in Paris that she had collected many regiments of trained soldiers for the purpose. At last a wild mob started for Versailles (October 5, 1789), determined to get food. Lafayette and some national guards hastened after them, but they could not or would not stop them. All that night rioting went on in the streets of Versailles, and early in the morning the rioters broke into the palace and killed several guards in their efforts to seize the queen. She barely escaped their clutches. Later the king appeared on the balcony with members of his family and promised the people food. He was persuaded to leave his grand palace to go to Paris and live among his people. The royal family of eight persons was crowded into one carriage and, surrounded by the mob, slowly made its way to Paris. Around the carriage the rioters bore on their pikes the heads of the guards who had died to save the queen. As they marched they shouted, "Now we have the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's son. We shall have bread."

King and
his family
brought
back to
Paris
(October
5-6, 1789)

Mob
controls
Assembly

The king and his family now lived at the Tuileries Palace in the center of Paris. The Assembly soon followed. Both the royal family and the Assembly were really prisoners of the Paris crowds. From now on mobs sat in the galleries of the Assembly and howled or hissed down speakers whom they disliked. Deputies were warned from the gallery how to vote, and those who failed to obey the warnings might be waylaid and beaten as they made their way home after dark. Thus Paris led the Revolution.

The next two years were less eventful. The 1,200 members of the Assembly were busy making the constitution and trying at the same time to govern the excited people of France. They issued parts of the constitution as they voted them, starting with a "Declaration of the Rights of Man." This "declaration" contained the following statements of the rights of every citizen:

Declaration
of The
Rights
of Man
(August
26, 1789)

1. Men are born free and remain equal in rights.
2. The nation is sovereign.
3. All citizens have the right to share in law making and shall be treated equally.
4. Freedom from arrest, imprisonment, or punishment, except for lawbreaking.
5. Freedom of individual opinion, religious and otherwise.
6. Freedom of speech and of the press.
7. Equal division of taxes according to the wealth of the citizens.

Before completing the constitution the Assembly had to deal with problems of government, religion, and finance. It had already swept away all the special rights of the old historic provinces of France (August 4, 1789). To finish this work the provinces were wholly abolished, and France was divided into eighty-three departments.¹ Each department was divided into districts, each district into cantons, and each canton into communes, or townships. There were over forty thousand communes in France.

Division
of France
into De-
partments

The Assembly had already established religious freedom and, to obtain the money to carry on the government, it now seized all the property of the church and agreed to pay its debts and the salaries of the clergy, for whom a "civil constitution" was drawn up. The number of bishops was reduced from 134 to 83 and bishops and priests were to be elected by the people. The salaries of the bishops were cut down while those of the priests were much increased—an act of signal justice. All the clergy had to take an

Civil
Constitu-
tion of the
clergy

¹See maps, p. 582.

oath to obey these rules and support the unfinished constitution of France under penalty of dismissal.

These arrangements removed many abuses but offended the pope and made thousands of Frenchmen disapprove of the Revolution. Only four bishops and about one-third of the parish priests took the oath and in the next five years those who had not submitted were terribly persecuted.

Not content with the church lands, the Assembly took those of the king and the emigrant nobles and ordered them sold, issuing in the meantime 400,000,000 francs (\$80,000,000) in assignats, a form of paper money. These promises to

Assignats
and their
effects



From the original

AN ASSIGNAT OF THE REVOLUTION

pay were to be made good with money received from land sales. But very few assignats were bought back as the land was sold, and millions of new ones were issued. Hence their value dropped until 100 francs in paper were scarcely worth one in silver, and no one could foretell what assignats might be worth two weeks later. Gold and silver were almost driven out of use. At first money was easily obtained

and France seemed prosperous, but in the end the assignats crippled business throughout the country.

At last the constitution was finished (September, 1791). It contained the following main features:

Main provisions of the constitution of 1791

1. Great power was given to a single Legislative Assembly elected for two years.

2. Very little power was left to the king.

3. The government was no longer managed wholly from Versailles or Paris. It was decentralized; that is, much power was given to officers elected by the people in each commune.

4. The right to vote was given to all men who paid annual direct taxes amounting to the value of three days' labor.

End of the first stage of the Revolution

Louis XVI swore to obey this constitution and the other laws made by the Assembly. Absolute monarchy was abolished. All Frenchmen were declared free and equal. None had any special privileges to oppress their fellows. Thinking the Revolution was over, many of the deputies went home. In fact, much of its lasting work was now done.

THE SECOND OR RADICAL REVOLUTION—THE REPUBLIC SET UP

Reasons for the spread of radicalism

During the next nine years, however, many changes took place in France. In less than a year, constitution and king were overthrown and a republic set up. The Revolution had not yet gone far enough to satisfy the common people, who had no votes and were hungry. Their leaders prepared to win the next election. In nearly every town they formed a political club allied to and controlled by their Paris Jacobin¹ Club. Thus they led public opinion.² There were so many

¹The club received the name Jacobin because it met in the refectory of the monastery of the Jacobins (Dominicans) at Paris.

²There were a number of other clubs, but none won such influence as the Jacobin Club. The organization of Jacobin clubs was very much like the organization of our great political parties in the United States. At the head of the party is the national committee which is assisted by a state committee in each state. Then below each of these is a county committee in each county of the state, and sometimes a city committee in each city.

elections that the average citizen soon tired of voting and left affairs to the Jacobins, who made a business of politics.¹ These were a small fraction of all the voters, but were so well organized and so full of enthusiasm that they often won a majority of the votes cast.

How the
king
helped the
radicals

The actions of the king and queen also helped the radicals. Louis had sworn to obey the constitution, but Marie Antoinette hoped to restore the Old Régime. In June, 1791, she induced the king to flee with her to the Austrians and ask for armed help. But the escape was discovered and both were brought back to Paris as prisoners. It was now clear that the king was not acting in good faith. He never won back the trust of his people, and the Jacobins had good reason to urge that the new government was not safe as long as he was on the throne.

Massacre
of Champs
de Mars

Several weeks later a petition for the king's removal from the throne was prepared and a great crowd gathered to sign it. Rioting took place and the national guards shot down a number of people. This massacre deepened the growing hatred between the prosperous upholders of the newly limited monarchy and the poor who demanded a republic.

Thus the settlement of September, 1791, was clearly endangered by (1) the increasing power of the Paris mob, (2) the rise of the Jacobin Club, (3) the treachery of the king and the queen, and (4) the growth of bitter feeling between the well-to-do people and the masses.

New Legis-
lative
Assembly

The new Legislative Assembly met in October, 1791. The party organization built up by the Jacobin clubs had worked well and the members who wanted a republic were numerous and influential.

The most important act of the new Assembly was the declaration of war on Austria (April 20, 1792), thus beginning the great conflict between France and the rest of Europe

¹At Chartres in May, 1790, 1,447 out of 1,551 voters did not attend the preliminary elections. In November, 1790, 71,408 out of 81,400 voters did not vote. See Taine, *The French Revolution*, II, 31.

which lasted for more than twenty years. There were several reasons for war. The Austrian emperor wanted to help his sister, Marie Antoinette. He and the king of Prussia had already threatened war, but they were not eager for it. The French people believed Austria was preparing to help the emigrant nobles who were encamped on the frontiers, and so to restore the king's despotic power and undo all the good the Revolution had accomplished. Neither danger really existed. The nobles were too few and the Austrians did not then intend to fight, but the ill-informed French people took their blustering threats at full value. Louis and his Austrian queen were believed to be in league with the Austrians and the emigrant nobles and to be waiting only for a suitable time to call them in to overthrow the Revolution.

**Reasons
for declara-
tion of
war against
Austria**

These suspicions were correct, for we now know that in March, 1792, the queen sent the proposed plan of campaign to the Austrian government. This was a "piece of supreme treachery." Many of the king's enemies thought war would force the king to show his colors. If they discovered any treasonable act, he could then be deposed. On the other hand many of the king's friends believed war would give him more power. They also hoped to seize the Austrian Netherlands, which French statesmen had long desired.

Prussia soon joined Austria. The French treasury was almost empty, the country in disorder, military discipline destroyed, and many of the army officers untrustworthy. Hence the French armies were disgracefully defeated. Whole regiments fled at the first shot. The cry of "treason" was raised against the king and queen, and plans were made for deposing them.

**Results
of the war**

A great mob broke into the palace (June 20, 1792) but failed to frighten Louis into giving up the crown. At the next outbreak (August 10, 1792) he yielded without a fight, putting himself and his family in the hands of the Assembly

**Deposition
of the
king
(August
10, 1792)**

and leaving his palace to be sacked by the mob.¹ On the same day the Assembly put him in prison and ordered the election of a convention to draw up a new constitution and make France a republic.

Commune
of Paris
takes
control

In the meantime the Assembly chose a committee to govern. Its ablest member was the great leader Danton, who was as eloquent and energetic as Mirabeau and had far greater influence. But the leaders of the Paris mobs were in real control, for they had overthrown the king, driven out the city council of Paris, and set up a government of their own friends, called the Commune. The French people were accustomed to obey orders from Paris, the king had yielded, and so the Commune worked quickly to establish a republic.

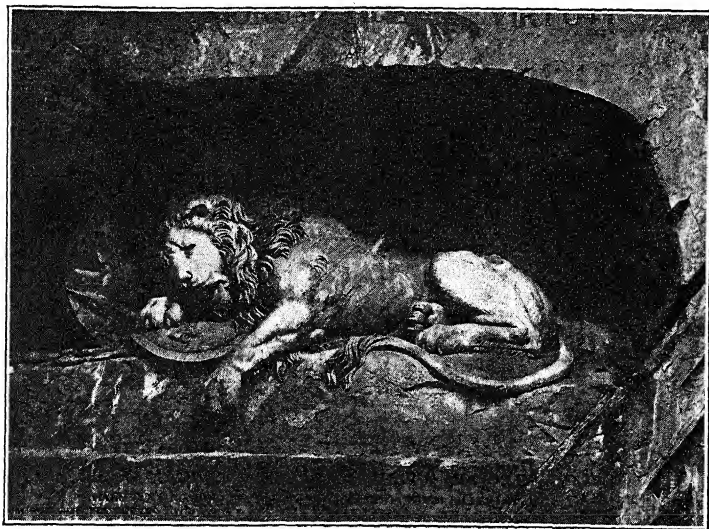
Immediate action was necessary. Lafayette,² the commander of one army, had fled to the Austrians. The Prussians had defeated the French and were on the march toward Paris. From Italy the Sardinian army was breaking in. Most Frenchmen were not in favor of a republic but preferred to set up the king once more. If foreign armies succeeded in doing this, the reforms already made by the Revolution would be doomed.

¹No less person than Napoleon Bonaparte said that the attack on the king's palace would have failed, and the mob would have been beaten off, had the king's Swiss guard been properly commanded. There were nearly a thousand of them and they fought bravely with almost no leadership. Several hundred died fighting loyally to the end for their paymaster, the king, who had deserted them. Their heroism has been commemorated by the figure of a great wounded lion cut in the solid rock at Lucerne, Switzerland. Just before the mob was ready to attack his palace, it was Louis's duty to make a stirring speech to the guards who were to defend his wife and children. He could say nothing. The soldiers laughed in his face. When the queen came back from this disgraceful scene, tears of rage filled her eyes. Later when he gave orders to go to the Assembly for refuge the queen turned on him in fury and exclaimed, "Now I know you for what you are" (Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, pp. 236-237).

²Lafayette was unfortunate in the French Revolution. As a friend of limited monarchy, he was disliked by Louis and the court and regarded by the radicals as a dangerous royalist. He went over to the Austrians only after the Paris radicals ordered his arrest. This would perhaps have led to his execution in the Reign of Terror. As soon as he crossed the Austrian frontier, he was arrested as a dangerous revolutionist and kept in prison for several years. He was not released until after Napoleon had risen to supreme power.

The republican leaders did not hesitate. Thirty thousand volunteers were called to defend Paris. The city gates were closed, so no one could enter or leave (August 30, 1792), and soldiers searched every house for arms and for persons

September
massacres
silence
opposition
in France



THE LION OF LUCERNE

suspected of favoring the king. About three thousand persons were arrested and imprisoned. The regular prisons were too small, so monastery buildings were used instead. On September 2, while alarm bells rang to call volunteers to arms, bands of ruffians began to attack the prisons where the suspected persons were being held. Many were surrendered by the jailers and were at once murdered by the mob. For three days this killing went on. There were at least 1,100 victims, including 250 priests. Similar massacres were carried on elsewhere to terrorize opponents of the republic.

At the same time the foreign invaders were forced back. On September 20, the Prussians were defeated at Valmy and driven out of France. Soon the Sardinians met a similar

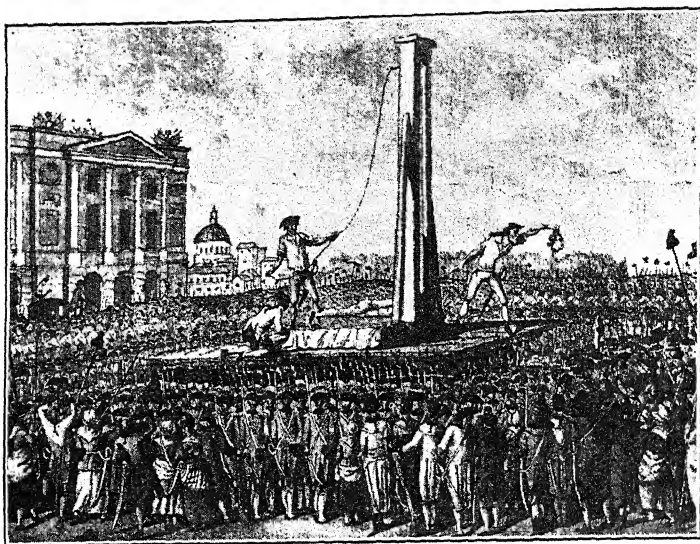
Armies
drive out
invaders

fate, and the Austrian Netherlands were occupied (November, 1792). For the time the Revolution was saved.

THE REPUBLIC AND THE REIGN OF TERROR

France
becomes
a republic

The first act of the National Convention was to declare France a republic (September, 1792). Then the king was tried, declared guilty of conspiring with foreign powers



THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI
From a painting in the Carnavalet Museum

against France, and (January 21, 1793) executed by the guillotine.¹

New dangers now threatened the French Republic—war with England and a great alliance of European powers against France. At first many Englishmen had favored the Revolution. But when the French seized Belgium and threatened Holland, the English, who since 1688 had fought

¹This was a new instrument for beheading, named after Doctor Guillotin, who recommended it. It was thought very humane because it cut off the head at one stroke, thus causing instant death.

several long wars to keep Belgium and Holland out of French control,¹ were not likely to remain quiet. The English were disgusted by the massacres in France and the execution of the king. The French even sent men to stir up rebellions in England, and at last declared war (February, 1793). England's answer was to form a great alliance with Holland, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Naples, Portugal, Tuscany, and the pope, to fight France.

This war with England was a serious mistake. Prussia and Austria had not cared to push the war against France with much energy. They cared more about getting land in Poland for themselves. England now became the paymaster of her allies and kept them at the task of fighting France. What otherwise might have been a short war was made a twenty-year struggle, resulting in the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, years of despotic government, and the final defeat of France.

Why war
against
England
was a
blunder

Troubles came thick and fast. To meet the threatened invasion the French government tried to force 300,000 recruits to enlist in the army. The result was a desperate revolt in the northwest, especially in the department of La Vendée. Then the French armies were defeated and the way opened to foreign invaders. The Convention had been divided into several parties, and the extreme republican leaders now determined to stop all debate in order to act swiftly for the defense of France. They sent an armed mob to the Convention and had their opponents arrested. This violence led Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseille, and other cities to revolt. Nearly one-third of France was in rebellion against the government.

In this crisis the Convention appointed a Committee of Public Safety composed of twelve members, and gave it almost absolute power.² Robespierre was the best-known member, but the ablest worker was Carnot, who took

Purposes
and char-
acter of
the Reign
of Terror

¹See pp. 509-513.

²The Committee was appointed every month but usually the existing members were reelected.

charge of military preparations. He was called the "Organizer of Victory." From September, 1793, to the end of July, 1794, this Committee ruled France with an iron hand.

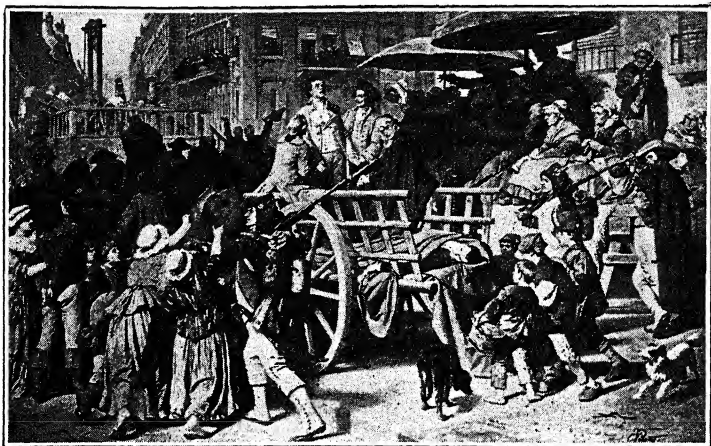


ROBESPIERRE

To enforce obedience, the Committee arrested all persons suspected of trying to overthrow it and had a certain number tried and executed each week. Every day some prisoners were taken before a special court called the Revolutionary Tribunal. Often after a very short hearing, the jury found them guilty, and those condemned one day usually were beheaded by the guillotine the next. Disorder or opposition was thus suppressed throughout the land. The Committee also sent its deputies to watch the general in command of

each army of the Republic. If defeated, he was likely to be guillotined as a traitor.¹

During this Reign of Terror there were thousands of executions, many of the victims innocent, others undoubtedly



Gramstorf Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

GIRONDISTS² ON THE WAY TO THE SCAFFOLD

From a painting by Carl Piloty

traitors. Among them were Danton, the revolutionist, and the queen, Marie Antoinette. In the seven weeks before his downfall, Robespierre had 1,376 persons executed in Paris alone.

**Executions
during
the Reign
of Terror**

Much of this bloodshed was not needed. At last Robespierre was arrested by order of the Convention (July 27,

¹The arrests were made by authority of (1) the Law of the Suspects and (2) the Law of the Maximum. The first provided that any person whose birth, past life, conduct, words, or writings showed his sympathy with tyranny (monarchy) or federalism (the theory of the Girondists) was liable to immediate arrest and imprisonment. The Law of the Maximum forbade any person to sell food, clothes, fuel, etc., for more than a certain fixed price in paper money. This helped the poor, who were the partisans of the Committee, and made tradesmen sell their goods without profit or take the chances of prosecution. To help enforce these laws every adult had to carry an official card to prove his identity and loyalty. People were encouraged to denounce suspected persons and thus prove their own loyalty.

²The Girondists were the moderates in the National Convention. Their opposition to Robespierre was construed as treason to the Republic and many were executed. See pp. 577-578.

1794) and guillotined the next day with twenty-one of his friends. This ended the worst of the Terror. Now few people were executed simply to terrorize, fair trials were secured, and several bloodthirsty ruffians were themselves executed. The Committee of Public Safety and the Jacobin Club were broken up. Once more the Convention took up the work of constitution making.¹

What the
Terrorists
accom-
plished

In spite of our horror, we must be fair to those who were responsible for the Reign of Terror. Most of them believed it necessary in order to preserve the good results of the Revolution, and this they succeeded in doing. They levied and put into active service 1,000,000 soldiers and supplied them with war materials. In July, 1793, France faced utter ruin, but within six months three great revolts had been crushed and the foreign invaders driven from French soil. Then the French armies marched into foreign territory. The Terrorists tried to help the common people, for the rich were taxed while the poor were favored. Poor people were allowed to buy lands taken from the clergy or nobles and to pay for them in small amounts on the "installment" plan. Prices of food and other necessities were fixed by law, and persons refusing to sell at these prices were punished. Poor citizens could get a living by serving in the army or by attending assemblies of the people in their districts. Agriculture suffered severely and business was almost at a standstill; but the well-to-do classes suffered most.

Laws
favoring
the com-
mon people

Fantastic
measures

In order to get rid of every trace of the Old Régime the Convention used the titles "Citizen" and "Citizeness" in

¹The reaction against the Terrorists was so strong that men of known Jacobin sympathies were beaten by young men of the bourgeoisie armed with clubs. Men and women were once more proud to belong to the upper classes and began to wear their hair as had those who were about to be guillotined. "Men cut theirs short and turned it up behind and the women plaited theirs and fastened it with combs high on top of their heads. It is interesting to observe how so many conventionalities of fashion, like these and long trousers, date from this period."—Mathews, *The French Revolution*, p. 280.

Before the Reign of Terror gentlemen commonly wore short trousers with long stockings, and workmen wore long trousers. Now, to appear democratic, gentlemen took to wearing long trousers. The custom has lasted.

place of "Monsieur" and "Madame," and even changed the calendar. They divided the year into twelve months, with new names, each subdivided into three weeks of ten days each. Every tenth day was for rest. The years were numbered from September 21, 1792, when the Republic was set up.

Besides these extreme measures the Terrorists started a number of reforms which are beyond criticism. Ordinary crime was stopped for the time, all men were given an equal chance of promotion in the army, and imprisonment for debt was abolished. The metric system was introduced. The work of making one single system of law, finished under Napoleon, was started. Even in the worst days of the Terror the average citizen went about his business and found life no worse than it had been before 1789. A system of free public education was begun. This was to provide not only primary and high-school training, but also higher education. A normal school and schools of engineering, law, and medicine were planned. Art and literature were not forgotten, a conservatory of arts and crafts being planned. Care was taken to preserve and add to the treasures of the past in the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library, and the National Archives. The Convention did not have time to carry out all these plans, but it was the first government even to propose this much.

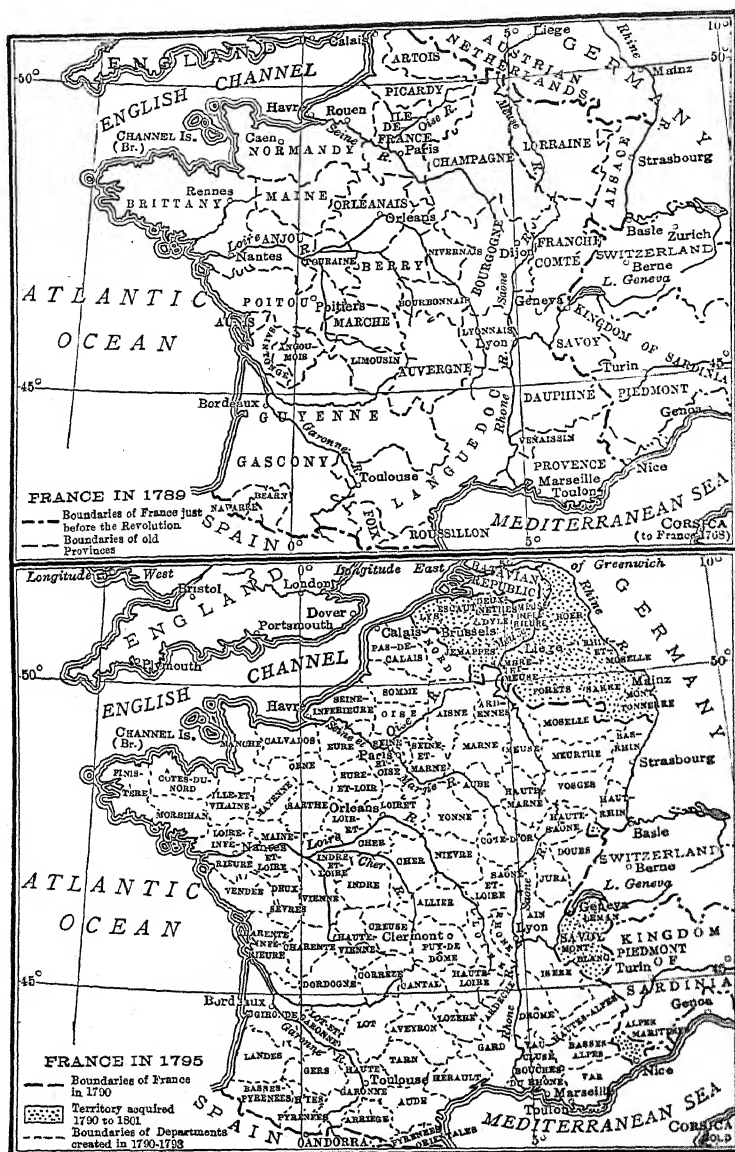
Unques-
tionable
reforms

In 1795 the Convention finished a republican constitution. Two large councils were created to make the laws, but the people were not allowed a free hand in electing their members. Two-thirds had to be chosen by the existing Convention. Five directors chosen by the councils were to govern France. Only property owners could hold office and only taxpayers could vote. The directors controlled the army, but the councils controlled the money supply and could not be dissolved by the directors.

Victory
of the
moderates

Constitu-
tion of
1795

The constitution was accepted by popular vote, but the people of Paris protested against it and plotted to overthrow



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FRANCE BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION

the Convention and destroy the constitution. On October 5, 1795, nearly thirty thousand marched to attack the Convention Hall. Its defense had been intrusted to Napoleon Bonaparte, a young artillery officer who had been dismissed and become a clerk in a government office. Bonaparte collected all the cannon he could find and, loading them with grapeshot, planted them so as to sweep the streets leading to the hall. The crowds were met with such a murderous fire that they fled for their lives. Thus the Convention was saved and the constitution was put in force.

Attempt
to over-
throw the
Convention

How
Bonaparte
dispersed
the mob

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What great mistakes did Louis XVI make in dealing with the Estates-General up to July 1, 1789? Show why each was a mistake and what would have been a better policy. (2) How could the abuses of the Old Régime have been reformed without the change of the Estates-General into the National Assembly? Why? (3) Was the fall of the Bastille as important to the French people as the Declaration of Independence was to the American people? Why? (4) How did the effects of the fall of the Bastille help along the work of reforming abuses? Why? (5) Do you think that the nobles deserve credit for giving up their privileges on August 4, 1789? Why? (6) Was the removal of the king and the Assembly from Versailles to Paris wise? Why? (7) To what extent had the principles of the "Rights of Man" been in force in Europe before 1789? Give proofs. Are they in force in the United States now? (8) In which revolution did mob violence play a greater part, the American Revolution or the French Revolution? Give your evidence. What is the difference between a mob and any other assemblage? (9) Explain the good and bad effects of the following changes made by the National Assembly: (a) division of France into departments, (b) civil constitution of the clergy, (c) the assignats. (10) Contrast the system of government provided by the constitution of 1791 with that of the Old Régime. Was it better or worse than that of England in 1791? Why? (11) Compare the way the French constitution of 1791 was prepared with the manner in which that of the United States was drawn up. Which method was the better one? Why? (12) Why could the

Jacobin clubs win such vast power in France? Compare their system of organization with that of the great political parties of present-day America. (13) What motives led to the declaration of war on Austria? Why was this a great mistake? (14) Make a list of the great mistakes of Louis XVI resulting in his deposition and death. Explain how and why each was a mistake. (15) Could the people of the United States be controlled from Washington or New York as the French people were controlled by the insurrectionary Commune of Paris? Why? (16) Make a list of the causes which led to the establishment of a republic in France. Explain in your own words how each one worked. (17) How were the French radicals to blame for the war with England? Why was this a great blunder? (18) Do you believe the French were right in executing King Louis XVI? Why? Was it good policy to do it? Why? (19) Could the Reign of Terror have been avoided? How? Give your arguments. (20) If less resolute men than the Terrorists had governed France in 1793, what would probably have occurred? Give your reasons. (21) What reasons account for the great success of the Committee of Public Safety? What good things did it do? (22) In what respects was the constitution of 1795 a step forward? In what respects was it a step backward? (23) Which do you think had the more important results, the first or the second Revolution? Give your reasons. (24) Up to 1795 do you think the Revolution as a whole had succeeded? Why?

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THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

NAPOLEON'S SUCCESS IN WAR

Conditions
which
favored
the rise
of a
dictator

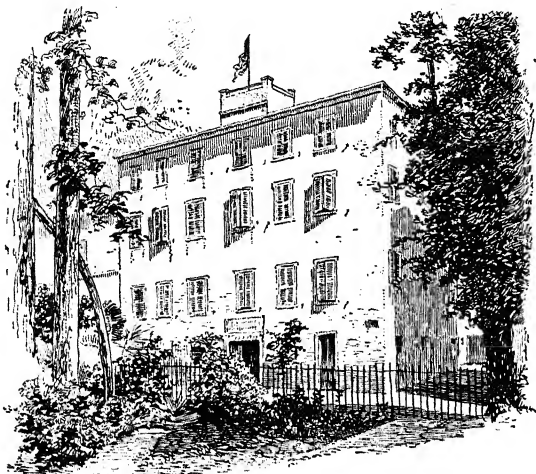
After many violent changes of government and much bloodshed, the French people wished to settle down and quietly enjoy the liberty and equality they had gained. The French armies had driven the invaders from France and had occupied all the Netherlands and the German lands west of the Rhine. They had won the natural boundaries for which Louis XIV had fought in vain.¹ Prussia and Spain had made peace, but Austria and Britain would not let France annex so much land as long as they could fight. A great general who could win a victorious peace and oust the corrupt directors would be loyally obeyed by the French people. This was the opportunity of Napoleon Bonaparte. The story of his life for the next twenty years is almost the history of France and all Europe.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on the island of Corsica of Italian parents. At the age of ten he was sent to a French military school and after graduation became a second

¹See pp 509-514.

lieutenant in the French army. Without court influence, however, he could hope for little promotion, and his discontent was great until at last the Revolution gave him his opportunity. In 1793 the people of Toulon, the great naval

How
Napoleon
made a
name for
himself



From *Napoleon in Little Lives of Great Men*
THE HOUSE AT AJACCIO, CORSICA, WHERE NAPOLEON WAS BORN

station in the South, were in rebellion. Napoleon was an expert in the use of artillery and by his strategic placing of the cannon enabled the French to take the city. Again in 1795 he attracted attention by driving back the mob in Paris, thus saving the Convention.¹

Napoleon's
early
campaigns

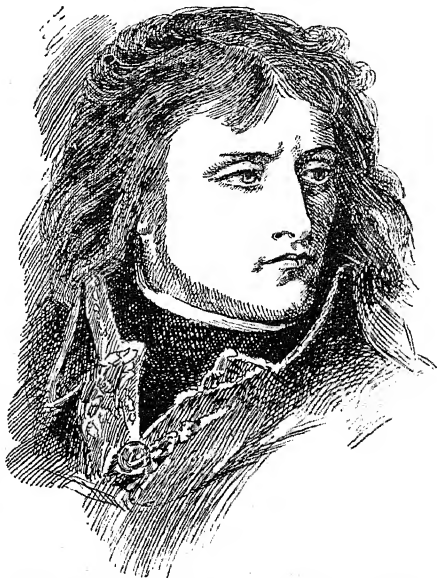
Early in 1796 he was put in command of about forty thousand ragged and hungry but hardened soldiers for the invasion of Italy. For months they had not been paid. Thousands of them were barefoot. Napoleon's address put new life into his men. "Soldiers! You are starving and in rags. I shall put an end to that . . . I am about to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world; fruitful provinces and large cities will soon lie at your mercy;

Napoleon's
first
Italian
campaign

¹See p. 583.

there you will find honor, profit, and wealth." His men followed him eagerly.

Two strong armies were guarding Italy: one Sardinian¹ and the other Austrian. He separated his enemies and after a



NAPOLEON AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-EIGHT

Detail of the painting by Gros

series of battles forced the Sardinians to make a truce with him. Then he turned against the Austrian army and by threatening its line of communications he compelled its retreat out of Lombardy after only one battle. The French army then (May 16) entered Milan, where it rested and was refitted at the expense of the citizens. Soon Napoleon attacked and cut in two a strong Austrian army which threatened him. The 13,000 Austrian soldiers left in Italy were then shut up and besieged in Mantua. Napoleon was now free to deal with Italy as he saw fit.

¹ The king of Sardinia was the ally of Britain and Austria.

Napoleon had already compelled Lombardy to pay him millions of francs. Now he forced princes and cities to deliver to him cattle, grain, large sums of money, and many priceless manuscripts and works of art.¹ Even the pope was compelled to pay 20,000,000 francs (\$4,000,000) in cash and to give up valuable lands. With these spoils Napoleon enriched himself and his army and the directors at Paris. His officers and men now almost worshiped him. The directors dared not dismiss him.

**Napoleon
plunders
Italy**

Austria was not yet subdued, however. She sent four more armies to drive out the French (June, 1796-January, 1797). Bonaparte defeated them all and then pushed northward against the Austrian capital. When he was within 100 miles of Vienna, the Austrians made peace. Austria recognized Napoleon's new republics in northern Italy and agreed that the Rhine should be the eastern frontier of France. In return Napoleon gave Venetia to Austria. The French people were wild with delight and Napoleon was welcomed in Paris almost as a national hero.

**Further
Austrian
defeats**

Napoleon believed the French people wanted a king. He hoped to wear the crown eventually, but thought the people were not yet ready for him. "The pear is not yet ripe," he said. He must win more glory and strike a blow at Great Britain, the old enemy of France. He proposed to take Egypt, which was a rich land and lay on the road to India, the most valuable of the British colonies. Perhaps in his absence the directors might blunder into another great war which would force them to make him ruler in order to save France. The directors gave him a good fleet and 30,000 men for the expedition.

**Napoleon's
unsatisfied
ambition**

He took Egypt, but his victories were made worthless by the loss of his fleet. The French admiral had anchored his ships close to the shore in Aboukir Bay, near one of the mouths of the Nile, when the British fleet under Admiral

**The
Egyptian
expedition**

¹The directors had written, "Take everything out of Italy that can be transported and is of any use to us." —Fournier, *Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p. 99.

Battle
of the
Nile

Nelson came up in pursuit (August 1, 1798). With great daring Nelson sent five of his ships between the French fleet and the shore. The French fought with great bravery but, caught between two fires, they were doomed. Twelve ships were captured or destroyed and only four escaped. Napoleon and his army were cut off from France.

After a disastrous attempt to conquer Syria, Napoleon slipped away secretly with only a few of his best officers and soldiers. With marvelous good luck he escaped the English cruisers and landed in France (October 9, 1799) at just the right time.

HOW NAPOLEON BECAME MASTER OF FRANCE

Conditions
in 1799
that
favored
Napoleon's
dictatorship

"The pear was ripe." The directors had failed at home and abroad. In 1798 French troops had occupied all Italy except Venice, driven the pope from Rome, and plundered Switzerland. In answer, Russia, Austria, Naples, Portugal, and Turkey had joined England in alliance, had driven the French out of all Italy except Genoa, and now threatened France with invasion. At home the directors were tyrannical and corrupt and the treasury empty. The government and the army were in great disorder, and robbers terrorized whole sections of the country. Republican government seemed a failure. Most Frenchmen were ready to welcome any able ruler, and the way was open to a victorious general.

"Coup
d'état" of
the 18th
Brumaire

Sieyès, one of the directors, said, "France needs a head and a sword." He hoped to be the head and employ a general to use the sword. Napoleon allied himself with Sieyès, Talleyrand, and other discontented men, and plotted to overthrow the government at a single blow. Such a change was called a *coup d'état*; literally, "stroke of state."

On November 10, 1799, the national legislature moved from Paris to St. Cloud, a suburb. Napoleon was made commander of the troops to guard the members. Then the three directors in the plot resigned. The remaining two were kept under guard. When the legislative bodies met,

suspicious members asked for explanations which Napoleon failed to give. A number of the members rushed at the general and pushed him toward the door, raising the fierce cry, "Outlaw him! Outlaw him!" But Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was president of the Council and refused to put the motion to outlaw Napoleon. On leaving the council chamber, Napoleon mounted his horse before the troops on guard. His brother also appeared and in a melodramatic speech declared that men hired by the English had attacked their general. He swore that if they helped Napoleon to power, liberty and the Republic would not be overthrown. The drums beat the charge and the troops drove the elected representatives of France out of the doors and windows at the point of the bayonet. Then the plotters turned the government over to Napoleon, who dictated a new constitution.¹ The army had triumphed, and the French people accepted the result. "The instincts developed by a thousand years of monarchy had not been rooted out in the last decade. The habit of obedience to authority was still strong and France rallied around her ablest leader."²

In a few weeks the new constitution was drawn up and published. All men were given the right to vote, but they were divided into lists of men. From these Napoleon or his friends appointed all government officers. There were four new lawmaking bodies: one to propose laws, another to discuss them, a third to vote on them without debate, and a Senate to decide whether the proposed laws were good or bad.

Constitution of 1799, which legalized the "coup d'état"

The plotters were running great risks. Had the cry "Outlaw him!" been sent in the city of Paris, Napoleon and the plotters would have been sent to the guillotine. His nervousness before the soldiers that he realized the risk. Sieyès had his carriage with him ready for immediate flight if the plot failed. It did fail. For a moment it seemed likely to fail with the soldiers. Bonaparte made his dramatic speech. He contrasted the way Napoleon took advantage of the French to make himself dictator with Washington's refusal to be dictator or king of the United States.

At the head of the state was the first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, with vast power. He appointed all high officers of government, controlled foreign affairs, decided on war and peace, and commanded the army and navy. A great majority of the French people voted to adopt this constitution.¹ Napoleon had become dictator of France.

**Battle of
Marengo
and its
results
(June 14,
1800)**

Napoleon once in power, his first undertaking was to defeat Austria. The French people expected such a victorious peace as he had won before. If he failed, he might be overthrown. His plan was to attack the Austrians in southeastern Germany and in Italy. Napoleon in person crossed the Alps secretly and (June 14, 1800) arranged his army so as to surround his enemy. The plan was masterly but almost failed. The Austrians attacked first and surprised the French, but help came and snatched victory from defeat. Austria then gave up most of northern Italy, and Napoleon returned to Paris in triumph.

Soon defeated in southeastern Germany also, Austria made peace (1801). The European alliance against France was broken. Even Great Britain yielded (1802) and gave back to France and her allies, Holland and Spain, most of the colonies she had taken from them. France was at peace.

HOW NAPOLEON REBUILT FRANCE

The Revolution had swept away the Old Régime and Napoleon now set to work to rebuild government, law, religion, society, and even education in France.

**System
of local
government**

Local government was a great problem. The leaders of the Revolution had put this almost wholly in the hands of the people.² The result was anarchy, which the Terrorists had stopped only for a time. Napoleon was now appointed a prefect, "a little first consul," with full power to govern each of the departments into which France was divided.³ Under

¹ There were over 3,000,000 votes in its favor and only about 1,500 against it. This does not mean that most Frenchmen thought this constitution ideal. They merely preferred Napoleon's rule to anarchy.

² See p. 571.

³ See p. 569.

him were sub-prefects each in charge of a smaller district. This was divided into communes, each governed by a mayor. All these officers owed their places to Napoleon's favor, not to the votes of the people. The government of the whole country was controlled from Paris. It was more centralized than under Louis XIV.¹ Since Napoleon's time the French people have been given a larger share in local government, but the main outlines of the modern French system are his. France today is a centralized republic rather than a federal republic like the United States.

As the years passed, Napoleon became more and more despotic. Only those who obeyed him kept office. In 1802 he was made first consul for life and in 1804, emperor. After that there were no real checks to his absolute power.

Despotism
of
Napoleon's
government

Napoleon now set an able committee to work to give France one single system of laws. After thorough discussion of the problem, in which Napoleon himself took part, the committee drew up the *Civil Code*, often referred to as the *Code Napoléon*. It made permanent in France many good results of the Revolution and also had great influence on the laws of most civilized nations.

"Code
Napoléon"

Another important work was the settling of religion in France. The Catholic clergy had suffered terrible persecution during the Revolution, but had won back the love of the French people. Napoleon could not feel for religion himself, but believed it good for the people. He wanted the wonderful organization of the Roman church to help him keep France and Europe united. Therefore in spite of opposition in the army, he made an agreement with the pope. The main provisions of the Concordat were:

Settlement
of
religion

1. The government recognized that most of the French people were Roman Catholics and gave that religion to be practiced freely under certain conditions.

Concordat
of 1801

2. All bishops in France were to be elected by the head of the state and then appointed by the pope.

¹See pp. 504-506.

3. The government was to pay the salaries of all the clergy.

4. The pope agreed not to ask payment of tithes in the future and not to lay any claim to church lands seized during the Revolution.

This Concordat remained in force until 1905 and church questions growing out of it are still very important.

Napoleon also paid the salaries of the Protestant and Jewish clergy on condition that they place themselves under his control. All the clergy were expected to work for him and especially to preach in favor of the conscription or forced enlistment of young men in his armies. They usually did so.¹ He spoke of them as his "sacred gendarmerie" or priestly police. In a few years, however, Napoleon began to quarrel with the pope. He ended by having the pope carried off to France and held as a prisoner. Napoleon's insults to the head of the church did much to make Napoleon unpopular in later years.

Napoleon's
school
system

The leaders of the Revolution had planned to provide compulsory free schools for all.² They realized that the people must be educated in order to govern themselves well. Napoleon's chief object was to train citizens who would obey him, earn good wages, and not think too much for themselves. He set up a school system with the University of France at its head, but did little for primary schools or for

¹The services rendered to Napoleon by the clergy may be realized after reading a few extracts from the *Catechism of 1807*, which was to be taught to all the children.

Question: What are the duties of Christians toward the princes who govern them?

Answer: Christians owe to the princes who govern them and we owe especially to Napoleon I, our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, loyalty, military service, and the ordinary taxes to maintain the empire and his throne.—To honor and serve our Emperor is therefore to honor and serve God himself.

Question: What ought one to think of those who fail in their duties toward our Emperor?

Answer: According to the Apostle St. Paul, they resist the order established by God himself and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation."—*Catéchisme de 1807*, pp. 55 ff. Quoted in Seippel, *Les deux Frances et les origines historiques*, pp. 150-151.

²See p. 581.

the education of girls. Women, he thought, ought to be kept inferior to men.

The Revolution had abolished all titles and special privileges. Everyone was called "Citizen." Napoleon saw that the people loved titles and badges, and so he founded the Legion of Honor (1802), an honorary society with a military organization. Most of its members were soldiers and received pensions according to their rank in the Legion. The organization still exists in a somewhat different form. Later Napoleon set up an imperial nobility, giving titles and vast fortunes to reward his generals and to encourage the lower officers to work hard for him.

**Legion
of Honor**

Not the least of Napoleon's services to France was to restore order to the land. Before he came to power, robbery was so common that no man's life or property was safe. Taxes were unpaid and the government had little money and no credit. Within one year all these conditions were changed. Napoleon paid much attention to developing the resources of France by deepening harbors, digging canals, and building good roads. He tried to encourage agriculture and industry. The cities, especially Paris, were made beautiful by great public works, such as new streets, palaces, and triumphal arches. He looked carefully to the bread supply in Paris and in times of crisis forced bakers to sell it at a very low price, for he was convinced that only a hungry mob is truly dangerous.

**Promotion
of eco-
nomic
prosperity**

During the interval of peace beginning in 1802 Napoleon also laid plans for a vast colonial empire. In 1800 he had obtained from Spain a treaty giving him the great territory of Louisiana extending far north and west into the interior of North America. This and the French colonies in the West Indies he planned to build up so as to offset the losses of France in the eighteenth century.¹ Toward the Orient, too, Napoleon still looked with longing eyes. These colonial plans, however, were blocked by the outbreak of war with

**Plans for
a colonial
empire**

¹See pp. 534-541.

Great Britain in May, 1803, which lasted until the fall of the Napoleonic Empire.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why did France continue the war after 1795? (2) What conditions made possible the rise of Bonaparte to supreme power in France? (3) To what was the notable success of Napoleon's first Italian campaign due? (4) Were any of Napoleon's exactions in Italy justifiable? Why? (5) How do you account for the fact that France during the Revolution won the Rhine frontier which Louis XIV had never been able to seize? (6) Why did Napoleon go to Egypt? Was this expedition wise or unwise for him? Why? (7) What reasons account for the great victories won by the British at sea during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars? Why was this control of the sea of vital importance? Compare the British position then with that of Great Britain and her allies in the World War (1914-1918). (8) Why was the "pear ripe"? (9) Was Napoleon's coup d'état justifiable? Why? Would such a plot have been as likely to succeed in 1792 or 1793? Why? (10) Was the constitution of 1799 more like that of a republic or a monarchy? Why? (11) Why was Napoleon forced to fight almost at once after becoming first consul? (12) Make an outline map of the lands annexed to France in 1789-1804 and those put under French control but not yet annexed. (13) In what respects was it good for France and in what respects bad, that Napoleon found it necessary to take up the work of rebuilding a new institution to take the place of the Old Régime? Explain each in your own words. (14) Why did Napoleon prefer centralized to decentralized government? Explain the difference in your own words. Could France have survived a decentralized government at this time? Why? (15) Compare the conduct of Washington at the close of the War of American Independence with that of Napoleon in 1799. Did Napoleon do right? Why? (16) What advantage did Napoleon get from the Concordat of 1801? What did France gain from it? (17) What good points and what bad points do you see in Napoleon's educational system? Explain each and show why it is good or bad. (18) Was Napoleon's plan to build a great colonial empire wise? Where did he plan to build it? Of what importance was this to the United States? Why?

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THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

THE GREAT MILITARY VICTORIES THAT MADE NAPOLEON MASTER OF EUROPE

Causes
of the
renewal
of war

Napoleon's work of rebuilding France was interrupted by war with Great Britain and her allies, which lasted until his downfall (1815). This renewal of war (1803) was due mainly to the British belief that Napoleon would seize all the smaller states of Europe with their colonies and let no British goods be sold in them. British goods were already shut out of France. The British feared Napoleon was using the period of peace to prepare their ruin, and so they preferred open war in which their navy could seize colonies that would otherwise become French.¹

Beginning
of the war

For a time it seemed that Great Britain must be crushed. Without Ireland her population was under 11,000,000, while France had 40,000,000. For the invasion of England Napoleon prepared a great army and a fleet of transports. Control of the Channel for a period of at least five days was necessary for the success of the expedition. His ally, Spain, had a large battle fleet, and France had two good fleets and some scattered fighting ships. All these, if combined, might defeat the British fleet or keep it so busy that Napoleon could land a great army on English soil. The landing accomplished, he was sure to win. The British plan of defense was to blockade the French and Spanish ports and fight to keep the enemy fleets from joining.

¹Before war began, Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States for 60,000,000 francs. Thus the rising Republic won that vast territory west of the Mississippi. Napoleon knew he was likely to lose it in the war with Great Britain.

After racing to the West Indies in the vain hope of eluding the pursuing British, the French admiral brought his fleet into the port of Cadiz, Spain. The exasperated Napoleon ordered the fleet to be sent to port. The British fleet waiting outside Cadiz consisted of twenty-seven large

**Battle of
Trafalgar
(October
2, 1805)**



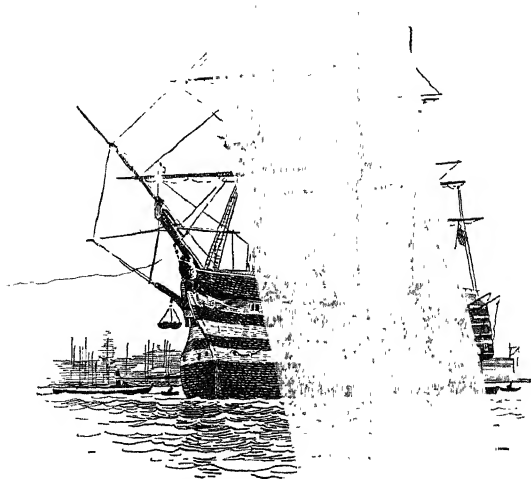
NAPOLEON'S IMPERIAL EAGLE
OF AUSTRIA



NAPOLEON'S SIGNATURE
1807

ships, and most of them were slow because they had been long at sea and were old. Their opponents numbered thirty-three great ships, new and clean. But the British fleet was better led than the French. It was commanded by Admiral Nelson. As the French and Spaniards sailed away in a long line off Cape Trafalgar, Nelson ordered his ships to attack in two columns. The first column of sixteen British ships was to cut off the last twelve enemy ships and wreck them, while Nelson with eleven ships kept the remaining ships away. If this plan were carried out successfully, all the British ships would be able to destroy the rest of the enemy fleet. The leading British ship in each column would have to stand up to the fire from a number of French ships until the rest of the column arrived. As they sailed to attack, Nelson shouted to the fleet, "England expects every man to do his duty." He was in the ship "Victory." To direct the ships, the captains were obliged to be out on deck and to be seen. There, in the midst of the fight,

Admiral Nelson won the victory a few hours later. But the victory he had won. Of the thirty-three enemy ships, one was destroyed, and fifteen were taken, and



THE "VICTORY," NELSON'S FLAGSHIP, OFF CAPE TRAFALGAR, 1805

many others badly battered. Had Nelson not done so, one would have escaped. No British ship was lost. Britain kept control of the sea, British goods could be sent to the colonies without hindrance, and the danger of invasion was averted. France found her trade cut off. Napoleon never again planned to invade England. His only chance to defeat Britain was to conquer all Europe and shut out British trade, and in this he ultimately failed.

**Campaign
of
Austerlitz**

At first Napoleon won great victories. In 1805 his high-handed acts had led Russia, Austria, and Sweden to join Britain against him. The British paid the allies great sums of money to raise armies for the campaign on

land, while they themselves waged war chiefly on the sea. In this great war to limit the monster power of Napoleon, Prussia ought to have taken part at once. But Napoleon induced the Prussian king to remain neutral,¹ and then (August, 1805, long before Trafalgar) he secretly marched his great veteran army across France and southwestern Germany at top speed. At Ulm he forced the first Austrian army to surrender almost without a blow. Then he pushed on to Vienna and utterly defeated a combined Austrian and Russian army at the decisive battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805). Austria was forced to make peace.

This victory helped Napoleon to build up a vast Continental empire which rivaled Charlemagne's. He induced sixteen princes of southern and western Germany to form a Confederation of the Rhine (1806), placing their foreign policy wholly in his hands, and providing 63,000 German soldiers to fight in his armies. In return, he allowed these sixteen princes to swallow up all intervening lands. Thus Napoleon used the disunion of Germany to his own profit.²

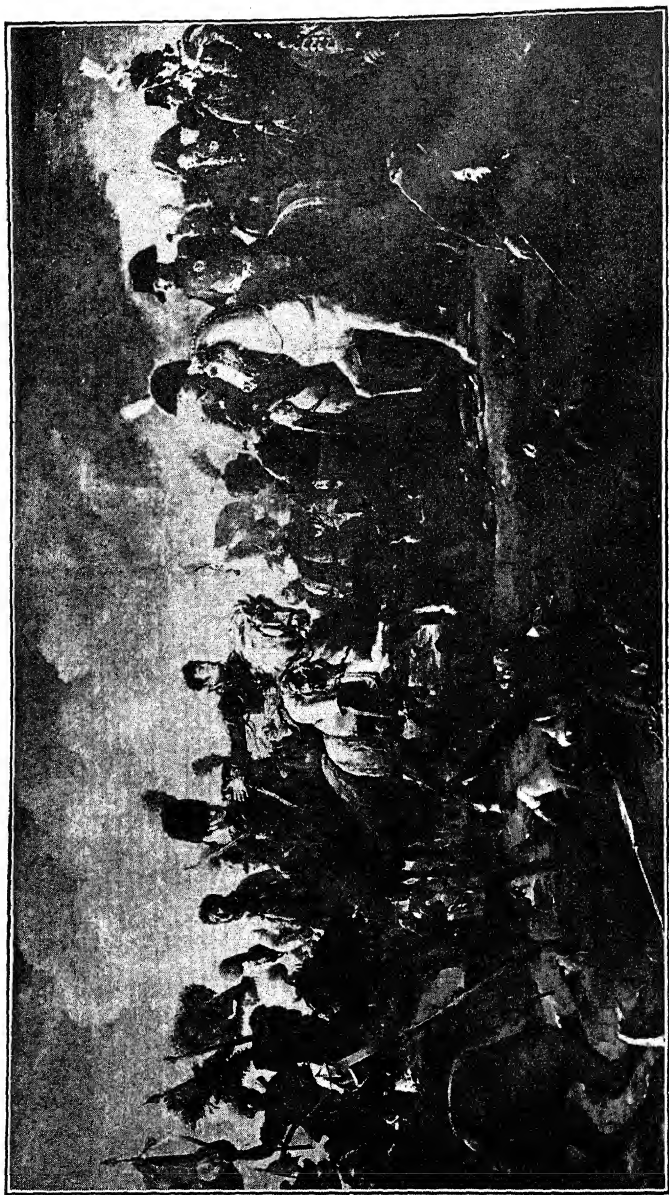
At last the king of Prussia declared war on Napoleon. Through his aid a victory might have been won the year before, but now all alone his armies were forced to withstand the sudden attack of Napoleon. England and Russia could not help at once and the Prussians were overwhelmed in two battles, Jena and Auerstädt. The first was a disaster for the Prussians; the second, utter disgrace. The French pursued them quickly, and fortress after fortress surrendered without resistance. The appearance of a few hundred cavalry often was enough to cause the surrender of 10,000 Prussians provided with strong forts and vast stores. Only

Formation
of the
Confederation
of the
Rhine
(1806)

Utter
defeat of
Prussia at
Jena and
Auerstädt
(1806)

¹Had Britain remained neutral at the outbreak of the World War (1914), as Germany tried to induce her to do, the result would probably have been a similar overwhelming victory for Germany.

²The German princes were very jealous of one another and looked to Napoleon for gifts of land. He had already helped the strong ones, especially Bavaria, to absorb several little states. The formation of the Confederation of the Rhine gave the deathblow to the Holy Roman Empire which had survived from the Middle Ages. The emperor now gave up his title as its head and called himself Francis I, emperor of Austria.



NAPOLEON AT THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ
From a painting by F. Gérard in the museum at Versailles

northeastern Prussia remained unoccupied by the French. Russia still clung to the alliance, but after two bloody battles the tsar, Alexander, made peace.

At Tilsit a division of Europe was arranged between the tsar of the East and the emperor of the West. The tsar was satisfied with vague promises of Turkish and Swedish lands, while Napoleon was given a free hand in Central and Western Europe. Prussian territory was cut down to half its former size and occupied by French armies until a great war indemnity could be paid to Napoleon. A year later the strength of the Prussian army was fixed at 42,000 men. Prussia was fully humbled.

**Treaty of
Tilsit
(1807)**

HOW NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE WAS WEAKENED

The Treaty of Tilsit seemed to make Napoleon master of Europe. Sweden yielded to him. Only Great Britain refused to submit and Napoleon had already started commercial warfare against her. His plan was to keep out of the continent of Europe all British manufactured goods and all goods brought from the British colonies. Then, he believed, most British factories would be forced to shut down, the workingmen could no longer buy food, and the whole English people would insist on peace at any price. Napoleon could then hope to rule the world.

**How
Napoleon
expected
to defeat
England**

After the defeat of Prussia, Napoleon ordered all British citizens and British goods to be seized and all European ports barred to ships coming from Britain or her colonies. The British answered by blockading the whole Continent to force Napoleon's subjects and allies to import British goods or none at all. Neutral ships were forbidden to trade with ports that did not admit British ships.

**Continental
blockade
and its
effects**

This Continental blockade or "Continental System" of Napoleon might have succeeded if all had gone as he had planned. At times during the next few years British industries suffered severely, but some help always came. New machinery for making cloth and other articles had

**Why
Napoleon's
plan
did not
succeed**

Superiority
of British
goods

been invented in England. These changes enabled England to make better goods at lower prices than could be had elsewhere and at times even Napoleon himself was obliged to buy them. In the winter of 1806-1807 his agent was ordered to get 50,000 overcoats for the French army at once, and he had to buy them in England. British goods were so greatly desired that considerable quantities were smuggled through to the Continent.

Napoleon
forced to
make fur-
ther annex-
ations

To carry out his plan, Napoleon found it necessary to close every port which admitted British goods. The best way to do this was to annex the coast countries to France.¹ But this aroused their people against him. Most disastrous was the seizure of Spain and Portugal (1808). The Portuguese royal family escaped to Brazil and that of Spain was induced by threats and deceit to give up the crown. The king of Spain and his son were held prisoners and the throne was handed over to Napoleon's brother Joseph. The result was a great revolt of the Spanish people which Napoleon could never fully suppress. This gave the British an opportunity to land armies in the Spanish peninsula and opened the great markets of Central and South America to British goods, thus saving British merchants from bankruptcy.

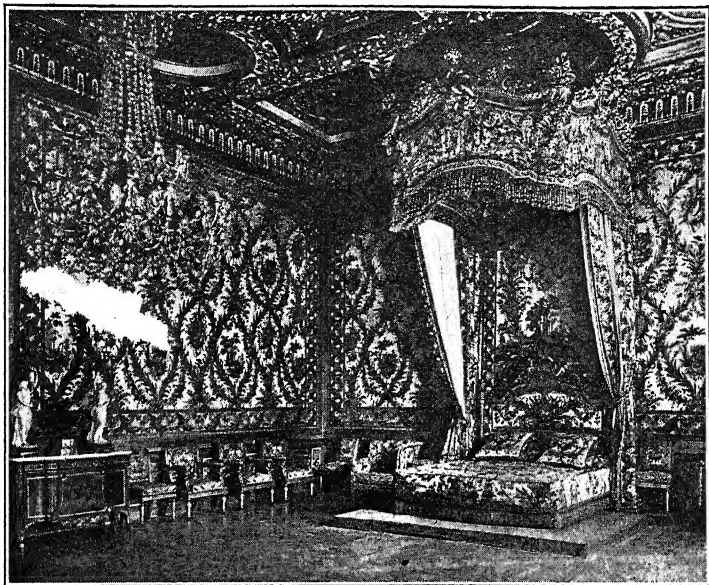
Enforce-
ment of
the block-
ade makes
Napoleon
unpopular

British control of trade by sea was so complete that very little sugar, coffee, tobacco, or dyestuffs could be taken into Europe without England's consent. Prices rose enormously, and the common people of all Europe hated Napoleon. The Emperor himself allowed these articles to be brought in by means of special licenses. Such goods were sold at enormous profits, while smuggled goods often were burned by the police.² This injustice aroused hatred. Prussia and Russia had usually shipped timber, grain, and bulky articles to

¹In 1811 the whole coast line of Europe from Denmark all the way around to Greece was in Napoleon's control, at least in name.

²Napoleon set French scientists at work to find substitutes for British colonial products. It was then that French chemists found that beets could be used to make sugar and so started the beet-sugar industry which has since become so important.

England and imported colonial and manufactured products. The enforcement of the Continental System stopped this trade and almost ruined business in Russia, and so, at the



A BEDCHAMBER AT FONTAINEBLEAU

close of the year 1810, the tsar allowed trade with England. This helped England to hold out against Napoleon and was an important cause of Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812. Thus, while the Continental System succeeded for a time, it finally helped to ruin Napoleon.

The Continental System and the blockade set up by the British injured American business greatly. Our merchants were making huge profits by selling goods to the nations of Europe and especially by carrying goods for the French, whose ships had almost been driven from the seas by the victorious British navy. The British now tried to force our ships to go to a British port and pay taxes on their cargoes before proceeding to the Continent, and Napoleon threatened

**How the
Napoleonic
Wars
affected
America**

to seize ships and cargoes if they did. The result was that many American ships were captured by one or the other. The British in the midst of the dreadful struggle needed men and did not hesitate to stop our merchant ships, take off not only British deserters, but American citizens as well, and force them to enlist in their navy. Our grievances against France were almost as great, but many Americans were already friendly to France and had been hostile to Britain since the time of the American Revolution. Hence the high-handed policies of the British at last led to war with Great Britain in 1812. The war injured Britain, but less than we might think, because the resources of the United States were then very small and Napoleon was weakening fast.

Rise of
popular
opposition
throughout
Europe

Before the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon had fought only kings, not peoples. His soldiers had been stirred by the wonderful patriotism which the French Revolution had aroused in France. Now his enemies were whole nations, not merely kings and governments. Napoleon could not understand why the Spanish people rallied again and again after their armies had been utterly defeated. He tried to win the Spaniards by reforms, but they would have none of them. The British sent an able commander, Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known as the Duke of Wellington, with a well-trained British army to help the Spaniards. Napoleon kept over 250,000 soldiers in Spain, but could not subdue the country. Thousands of his troops were lost there every year, and these losses weakened him in later wars.

Austria
again
makes
war on
Napoleon

Encouraged by the Spanish revolt, Austria again made war (1809). Backed by the people, the Austrian armies fought better than before. Napoleon came near to defeat, but succeeded once more in forcing Austria to make peace.

Of all the great states conquered by Napoleon, Prussia had been treated most severely. Its people demanded revenge. But in many ways Prussia was still medieval and until internal reform had been brought about, Prussia could do nothing but submit. The peasants were still serfs;

EUROPE IN 1810

landholding was not free. There was little self-government, the people did not trust their rulers, and the army was poor.

After the Treaty of Tilsit the king of Prussia put in a new set of officers led by Baron von Stein, and these men, with able help, set out to modernize Prussia. The serfs were freed and restrictions on landholding and trade swept away, so that any capable man could now rise, whether noble or not. The people were given a larger share in the government and at the same time the army was reformed. Napoleon had limited the Prussian army to 42,000 men. Now most of these men were trained for a year. Then they were placed in a secret reserve to be ready for a call to arms, while new groups of recruits were called up for training. This was the beginning of the system of required military service for all men which was soon adopted by almost all European countries.

**Awakening
of Prussia**

At the same time there was a great revival of German national patriotism, led by many of the great writers, teachers, and preachers.¹ Many new schools were founded, and everywhere the people were taught to prepare for the day when the national enemy, Napoleon, should be weakened. Patriotic societies were everywhere active, and Prussia, outwardly calm, was inwardly on fire with patriotism and hatred of the oppressor. But until he made some great blunder, the Prussian leaders dared not declare a war that might result in absolute ruin for Prussia.

**Growth of
German
national
patriotism**

Spain and Prussia were not the only centers of discontent. The whole Continent was becoming restless. Even in France discontent was growing. Parents were utterly weary of sending their sons to die, not for France, but for Napoleon. In 1811, 40,000 French recruits fled to avoid the hated service in the army.

**Growth of
discontent
in France**

¹Napoleon had already greatly helped the growth of German national feeling by abolishing a hundred or more separate tiny states ruled by bishops, abbots, and petty nobles and by forming the Confederation of the Rhine. He had done these things to strengthen himself little thinking he was preparing the way for a union of all the German states into one empire.

Still Napoleon seemed as strong as ever. After the last Austrian defeat, the Austrian emperor had been induced to give his daughter to Napoleon in marriage. Napoleon had long wanted a son to succeed him and, wishing to contract an alliance with an old royal family, he divorced his wife, Josephine. The birth of a son (1811) seemed to promise that his empire would endure. All Europe was at his feet. But his enemies were only waiting for him to blunder, and in 1812 he gave them their chance—he invaded Russia.

Causes of
Russian
campaign
(1812)

British goods were getting into Russia,¹ and Napoleon decided to compel the tsar to enforce the blockade strictly, for only in that way could England be defeated. Napoleon prepared 600,000 men for the great attack, and all his allies and vassals, including Prussia and Austria, were requested to send their armies to help.

Invasion
of Russia

As early in the summer as possible (1812), Napoleon invaded Russia with this great army. The Russians retreated, laying waste the country as they went. Napoleon pushed on rapidly over the vast distances into the interior. Food could not be brought up so quickly and the army was compelled to live by plunder. On and on they marched, Napoleon hoping to force the retreating Russians to fight. But he did not overtake them until September, when they halted a little west of the capital, Moscow. Napoleon won the battle, but it cost nearly one-fourth of the men he had with him. He took the city, but to his surprise no offer of peace came from the tsar. Worse still, nearly all the people had left, and a great fire broke out which destroyed most of the houses. The French could not get enough food for the winter and, after waiting a month, Napoleon was forced to retreat. A Russian army which he dared not fight blocked the way southward, and so he had to return over his old route, already plundered and burned.

The history of this retreat is a tale of almost unexampled suffering. The soldiers were clad for summer, and the

¹See pp. 604-605.

terrible cold combined with the pangs of hunger made it hardly necessary for the Russians to attack. It should be noted, however, that Napoleon started the retreat with

Retreat
from
Moscow



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

A REAR GUARD ACTION IN RUSSIA

From the painting by Yvon

only 115,000 men¹ and that the winter came unusually late for Russia. The ruin of his army was due, not to the winter, but to Napoleon's blunders and the unexpected firmness of the Russians. Napoleon left the army as soon as he could and returned to Paris to enlist fresh soldiers. Out of the host of 600,000 which invaded Russia in July, only 20,000 miserable wretches returned in December. A bulletin issued at Paris said, "The Emperor's health has never been better."

The events of 1812 were regarded in Prussia as the work of God. The Prussians in Napoleon's service turned against

¹His losses had been very heavy, and great numbers of his troops had been left behind to guard his flanks and the long line of communications.

**Results
of the
Russian
campaign**

him, and their king allied himself with the tsar against Napoleon. Now was seen the value of the reforms in Prussia. The secret reserve soldiers were called out and the nation in arms began the war against Napoleon. The



THE RETREAT FROM RUSSIA

From the painting at Versailles by Yvon

**National
uprising of
Prussia
and all
Germany**

people had been impoverished by Napoleon, but they gave all they had to fit out their soldiers. Nobles gave their silver dishes, workmen their wages, women their jewels and even their wedding rings. Long afterward it was thought an honor to wear an iron wedding ring instead of the gold one given to help drive Napoleon out of Germany.

NAPOLEON'S DOWNFALL AND ITS EFFECTS ON FRANCE

**Utter
defeat of
Napoleon
in 1813**

On his return from Russia Napoleon at once began to prepare a new army. He could have made peace, had he given up his control of Germany. His officers were loyal and so, by forcing hosts of boy recruits to enlist, he was able to muster over 500,000 soldiers. But they were not so good as those he had lost. His enemies, too, were better led than ever before. Napoleon won the first battles of 1813 in

Germany, but at such heavy cost that he made a truce (June 4) in order to get help from France and from Austria. His efforts were in vain. The British were winning in Spain and were paying vast sums to the allies to keep them fighting until Napoleon should be defeated. Austria joined the alliance with Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, aided by the people of Spain and Portugal.

Then at last the allies defeated Napoleon in the terrible Battle of the Nations at Leipzig (October 14-18, 1813). He was forced to retreat so fast that he could not bring back his garrisons from eastern Germany and Poland, and they had to surrender. His German vassals deserted, and he was lucky to escape to France with the wreck of his army. Of the 500,000 troops who had crossed the Rhine at his orders that year (1813), scarcely 90,000 returned.

Napoleon's power now broke down fast. Even General Murat, whom he had made king of Naples, turned against him. From Italy, from Spain, and from Holland the maddened people drove the hated French. France alone remained, a France whose money and blood had been wasted. Would she give up her remaining sons for sacrifice? There could be no doubt that now the nation demanded peace. In November, 1813, the allies offered to leave France her "natural boundaries," the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, provided Italy and Holland were made independent. The Emperor was too proud to accept.

**Break-up
of the
Napoleonic
empire**

**France
alone
remains**

The allies advanced into France sooner than Napoleon expected. With dwindling forces he won victories but could not stop the march toward Paris. Again the allies offered him peace on terms favorable to France, but he refused. The allies now saw that he was playing for time; that even if he made peace, he would break it as soon as he dared. Then they pushed on to Paris and forced its surrender.

**Napoleon
refuses
peace
with the
natural
boundaries**

Napoleon had kept hoping that the French people would rise to drive out the invaders as they had done before.¹

¹See pp. 575-576 and 580.

Abdication
of
Napoleon
(1814)

But his fall meant peace, and peace the French people were determined to have. Even his ablest generals demanded that he give up, and at last he signed the agreement to leave France (April 12, 1814). He was to be emperor of Elba, a



After the painting by Vernet

NAPOLEON'S FAREWELL TO THE IMPERIAL GUARD

little island off the west coast of Italy, and keep 1,000 soldiers. There Napoleon watched events in France with intense interest.

Temporary
restoration
of the
Bourbons
to the
French
throne

The tsar and Talleyrand, the great French diplomat, arranged that France should now be ruled by a Bourbon king, Louis XVIII. His power was to be limited by a constitutional charter. This charter set up a parliament of two houses, one of them elected by the people, to control the king's ministers and the government's expenses. The charter also provided for freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion. This was more liberal than any of Napoleon's constitutions.

One of the king's first duties was to sign the final treaty of peace. This gave France more land than she had had in

1789 and required no war indemnity. Considering the crushing defeats of the French armies and their cost to the allies, these terms do not seem severe.¹ The lands which Napoleon had once occupied were to be divided up by a great international conference of the European powers which met at Vienna.

First
Treaty
of Paris
(1814)

This settlement was rudely disturbed, for while Louis XVIII was willing to accept the results of the Revolution and be king of a modernized France, the nobles about him were determined to restore the Old Régime as it had been before 1789. Their demands aroused discontent. The owners of the lands which had once been the property of the nobles and clergy, feared they would lose these lands, though the charter declared they were not to be restored. The army was badly treated. Nobles who had fought against France in the long wars were treated better than the soldiers of Napoleon. Many prisoners of war, when they returned, found their pay reduced and their officers slighted. In these ways the new government aroused discontent and won only the old nobles and the clergy to its side.

Why this
settlement
was not
permanent

Reports of discontent in France reached Napoleon at Elba during the winter of 1814-1815. He learned also that the allies at Vienna were quarreling so violently over the spoils of his empire as to be at the point of war. He decided to stake everything on the chance that he might win back his crown and March 1, 1815, he landed in southern France with his guard of 1,000. As his little army toiled northward, the peasants aided him. Success, however, pended upon the attitude of the French army. Louis XVIII sent his soldiers to capture or shoot Napoleon. Seeing these soldiers advance against him, Napoleon stepped boldly out before his men. This would be the test. Opening his gray overcoat, he shouted, "Which of you will fire on his

Return of
Napoleon
from Elba

¹Napoleon had extorted great sums from every conquered country as war indemnity. Even the Rhine might have been made the frontier of France, had Napoleon made peace before the allies invaded France in 1814.

Emperor?" Instead of obeying the order to shoot him, the soldiers raised the cheer "Long live the Emperor!" and rushed to join their old leader. Again and again this occurred. Regiment after regiment deserted to Napoleon and the officers followed their men. Only a part of the people showed enthusiasm, but the army made the rest of the march to Paris a triumph. Louis XVIII fled in haste and Napoleon mounted the throne at Paris, March 20, 1815. But he was destined to rule for only a hundred days.

Napoleon's
return
makes war
inevitable

The Emperor had learned some lessons, and now promised that Frenchmen should be free and the people have much power. He declared that he did not want war; but he could not convince the people or the governments of Europe. His past gave the lie to that and it was generally believed that, unless completely crushed now, Napoleon would soon try to recover his great empire. All Europe was thoroughly tired of war, but the only way to avoid a long struggle was to act quickly. The diplomats at Vienna declared Napoleon an enemy to the peace of the world, an outlaw to be hunted down. On March 25, 1815, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain agreed each to furnish 150,000 soldiers for the war against him and promised not to make peace until his power was fully destroyed. Three great armies were to invade France.

Napoleon decided to attack before any of these armies could cross the frontier. A mixed army of British, Germans from Hanover, Dutch, and Belgians was quartered in Belgium under the Duke of Wellington. A Prussian army under Blücher¹ was approaching to combine with that of Wellington. The Austrian and Russian armies had not yet appeared. Napoleon marched rapidly northward in order to drive the British and Prussians apart and destroy them separately.

¹It is said that during the years of Prussia's humiliation after the Treaty of Tilsit, the aged Blücher used daily to practice with the sword and at every lunge forward cry, "Napoleon! Napoleon!" This officer who had so long thirsted for Napoleon's blood now commanded the Prussians and infused his undaunted spirit into his officers and men.



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

From the portrait by Hippolyte Delaroche

June 16 a drawn battle was fought with the British. The same day Napoleon defeated the Prussians, forcing them to retreat. But instead of retreating eastward as Napoleon expected, Blücher's Prussians toiled northward through the mud to join Wellington, who had withdrawn to a little ridge near the village of Waterloo. Napoleon had sent off about a third of his troops to pursue the Prussians. With the remaining 73,000 he planned to shatter Wellington's army of 69,000 by a fierce cannonade followed by cavalry charges.¹

Wellington's army was posted partly on the crest of a little ridge and partly just behind it, so that when necessary he could shift his troops without the French seeing the maneuver. In front the ground sloped gradually down to a little valley and then up to the ridge on which Napoleon placed his army.

**Battle of
Waterloo**

Napoleon waited until noon to begin the attack. This gave the Prussians more time to come up. After attacks on some fortified buildings ahead of the British line, Napoleon covered the top of the hill with a withering cannon fire, and then ordered his cavalry forward to crush the survivors. But the British infantry, which had been lying flat on the ground, now rose, formed a series of squares (like a checker board), and stood firm with bayonets fixed. The gunners fired their cannon until the last moment, then rushed to the cover of the squares. The French horsemen could not ride down the solid rows of bristling bayonets. Then Wellington's cavalry drove the French back. Again and again this was repeated. The British infantry suffered cruelly but held their ground.

Meanwhile more and more Prussians were coming up on Napoleon's right, and he was compelled to send larger forces to hold them back. If they broke through, his retreat would be cut off. At last, about eight o'clock, he ordered his veteran guard of 4,000 to charge the British. It was his last

¹Only 24,000 of Wellington's soldiers were British. The rest were far less reliable. Napoleon's soldiers were devoted veterans.

hope. The guards pressed forward in solid masses with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" On and on under a terrible fire they mounted the slope. When they were but fifty yards off, Wellington gave the British guards the order, "Stand up and make ready." Before the British fire the veterans of France wavered, and when the British rushed forward in a countercharge the French fled. Napoleon himself was in imminent danger of capture. The Prussians meanwhile had smashed through and the French army became a panic-stricken mob. The wearied British could not take up the pursuit, but the fresher Prussian cavalry rode hot after the wreck of Napoleon's army. Seven times the French tried to camp, but each time were forced to continue their flight. Napoleon himself fled to Paris, followed by only 10,000 soldiers out of all who had fought at Waterloo.

On June 22 Napoleon gave up his crown. To escape being taken and killed by the Prussians, he planned to escape to America. Finding this impossible, he went on board a British warship, which carried him a prisoner to England. He was then exiled to the lonely island of St. Helena off the coast of Africa, where he was guarded carefully until his death in 1821. He spent his last years telling how much good he had done for France, in order to make the people forget the evils of his reign. He succeeded so well that thirty-three years later his nephew was able to reestablish the Bonaparte empire in France.

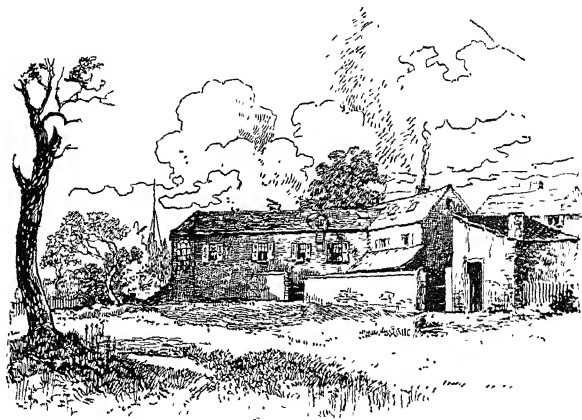
**Fate of
Napoleon**

After Waterloo, the allied armies marched on to Paris and again restored the Bourbon Louis XVIII to his unsteady throne. Then a second Treaty of Paris was signed (November 20, 1815), whereby France lost nearly all the land gained during the revolutionary wars and had to pay \$140,000,000 war indemnity. One hundred fifty thousand foreign soldiers were to occupy her chief frontier forts at her expense for five years. The numerous works of art taken by the French during the wars were to be restored to their former owners. Thus the French paid dearly for their acceptance of Napoleon

**Final
treaty of
peace**

on his return. Several of their leading men, among them the famous Marshal Ney, were condemned to death for going over to him on his return from Elba.

But the Old Régime could not now be restored. France had a parliamentary government and her citizens were all



From an etching by Chienon

NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA

**What
France
gained from
the Revolution and
Napoleon**

equal before the law. Personal liberty was secured to all. Feudalism could not be restored, and lands once the property of the church and of emigrant nobles remained in the hands of their new owners. The *Code Napoléon* remained in force as well as the system of local government Napoleon had set up. The French people had gained in political experience and intelligence. They had taken a long step forward on the road to modern democracy, but at fearful cost.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Who was most to blame for the renewal of war between England and France in 1803? Why? (2) Was Napoleon likely to succeed in his plan for the invasion and conquest of England? Why? What led him to give up his plans? (3) Compare and contrast the wars of the Napoleonic Empire with the World War

of 1914-1918 as to combatants and their location, advantages and disadvantages, general plans of warfare, and outcome. (4) Criticize the policies of Prussia, 1795-1806. Explain your reasons. (5) Mark on a map the different states that Napoleon governed directly and those under his indirect control at the height of his power. (6) Explain in your own words how Napoleon might expect his Continental blockade to subdue England? (7) Why did it fail? How and why did the Continental blockade hurt Napoleon? (8) Why was Napoleon defeated in Russia in 1812? How did this help bring about his downfall? (9) Why did Prussia fight so much better in 1813 than in 1806? How did these changes affect the later history of Prussia and Germany? (10) Why did the French people fail to rise with enthusiasm and drive out the invaders in 1814 as they had in 1793? (11) Why was Napoleon so easily able to become emperor again in March, 1815? (12) Was it unfair for the Congress of Vienna to outlaw Napoleon after his return from Elba? Why? (13) Do you think Napoleon would have ruled France long, had he won the battle of Waterloo? Why? (14) Were the British too harsh in keeping Napoleon at St. Helena? Why? Were they wise in treating him severely? Why? (15) Contrast the terms of peace of 1815 with those of 1814. Were the later ones too severe? Why? (16) Were the people of France better or worse off after the fall of Napoleon than they were before 1789? Give your evidence to prove your opinion. (17) Would France have been better off had Napoleon never ruled? Make a list of arguments and evidence pro and con.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

CONDITIONS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

About 1730 there began in England a series of changes in methods of farming and manufacturing that revolutionized nearly every industry and wholly changed the lives of most of the people of Europe. The word "revolution" usually suggests the overthrow of an established government or religion and such were most of the movements commonly called revolutions. But this one was quite different. It brought about the overthrow of established methods of industry and so is known as the Industrial Revolution. To understand it, it is necessary to look first at earlier conditions.

What the
Industrial
Revolution
was

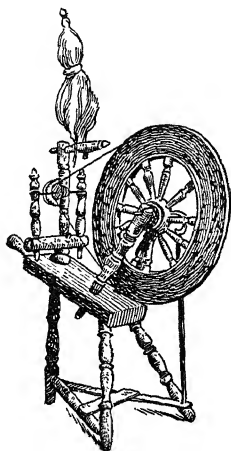
In 1700 most industrial work was done in much the same way as it had been by the ancient Greeks and Romans. The farmer still tilled his fields, the weaver still made his cloth, the carpenter still built his house as it had been done in the past two thousand years.¹ Plows were still made of wood, and grain was threshed with flails. It is true some advance had been made in the Renaissance period, when spectacles were adopted, gunpowder was introduced, the printing press invented, and a new way of smelting and casting iron discovered.² These were important discoveries, but they led to no others in the following centuries. None of the machines that now do so much of our work was in

Conditions
before the
Revolution
began

¹See pp. 255-257. Some changes had been made since the Middle Ages. See pp. 477-479, 507-509.

²See pp. 413-415.

use in 1700. Cloth was made in the homes of the workmen and was taken to town about once a week to be traded for a supply of wool or cotton. The raw wool or cotton was



A SPINNING WHEEL



DISTAFF AND SPINDLE

carded—that is, cleaned and straightened—by members of the family. Then the fibers were dyed, and the women and children spun or twisted them into thread by means of spinning wheels. These threads the man of the house, perhaps with the help of an older son, wove into cloth. When not busy weaving, he usually worked on a little piece of land near by. This provided part of the food for his family. Most people traveled little in those days, for the roads were rough and in rainy weather often became a series of mudholes. Goods were usually carried on horseback, and heavy articles were seldom taken far except in boats.

Changes in agricultural methods were beginning, but progress was very slow. Until after 1700 most farmers let each field lie idle at least every third year.¹ Gradually

¹See p. 257.

they learned that without wearing out the soil, turnips, beets, and other root crops could be planted during the idle year to furnish fresh food for stock during the winter. Thus more cattle could be kept through the winter, and these helped to supply fertilizer for the soil. Great landlords spent much money in fertilizing and draining their lands, and rich men hired experts, who introduced more scientific methods of farming and raised better farm animals. With these new methods, the soil of England could feed a larger population than it had before. But the knowledge of better ways of farming was of little help to the poor, for they had no money for costly improvements and adopted the new methods very slowly. The new agriculture required great inclosed fields; hence the landlords fenced in large numbers of open fields. Small holders often sold out or gave up their rented lands to those who would pay higher rents. They then either stayed on the land as hired laborers or moved to the growing towns. The land of England fell more and more into the hands of rich men, and by 1830 the small landowners had almost all disappeared.

The Revolution in agriculture and its effects

During the eighteenth century the roads in both France and England were greatly improved. A Scotchman named McAdam¹ was one of many engineers who introduced new methods of road making. His roads made it much easier and cheaper to travel and transport goods.

Improvements in transportation in the eighteenth century

THE GREAT INVENTIONS THAT STARTED THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Still more important than the improvements in agriculture and transportation were the remarkable changes in methods of manufacturing. These changes began with new inventions in spinning and weaving. Two persons were needed to run the hand looms or weaving machines of the time, but in 1738 an invention appeared that made it possible for one person alone to operate the loom. The weaving

New inventions in spinning and weaving

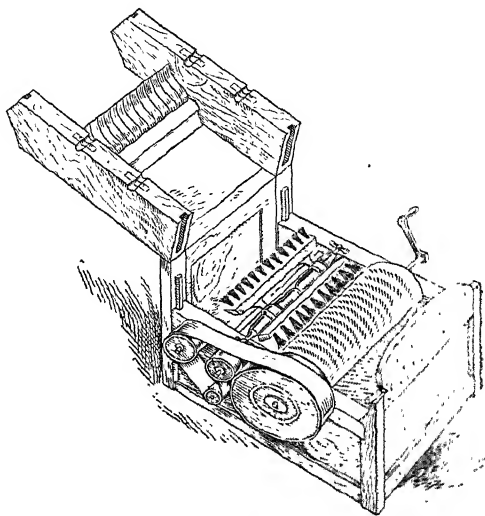
¹Even in America his name is used in the term "macadamized" roads.

Flying
shuttle

Spinning
jenny

was delayed, however, because only one thread at a time could be produced on the old spinning wheels. In 1767 James Hargreaves invented a machine to spin eight threads at once. This machine was called a jenny and could be run by a child.¹ A little later another spinning machine of a different sort was invented by Richard Arkwright, the first person to use water power to run his machines. Neither this water frame, as it was called, nor the jenny did wholly satisfactory spinning, but a combination of the two, called the "mule," was invented (1779), with which one person could spin 150 threads at a time.

Thread could now be prepared faster than it could be woven. The next step was the invention of a loom that



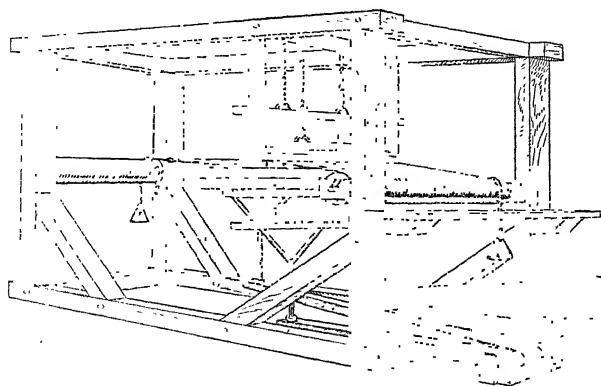
From Brooks, *The Story of Cotton*
ELI WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

Power
loom

could be run by water or steam power (1789). A single weaver could manage four or five of these power looms, each running much faster than one of the old hand looms.

¹Gradually it was improved until, before Hargreaves died, as many as eighty threads were spun at one time.

Soon further improvements were made in the spinning mule and the power loom,¹ and, as a result, the workers who still made cloth by hand could no longer make a living and



AN EARLY LOOM OPERATED BY HAND AND FOOT POWER

therefore bitterly opposed the new inventions. At the same time cloth became vastly cheaper and more common than ever before.

In order to make the new machines still more practical, further inventions were needed. Iron and steel, the best materials out of which to make the machines, were either expensive or poor in quality. The power supply from windmills and water wheels was found unreliable. The need for power was soon met by the invention of the steam engine. The ancient Greeks and Romans had known that steam would expand but they had not made use of their knowledge. Workable steam engines were first made in the eighteenth century for pumping water out of mines, but they were very slow and weak.

Invention
of the
steam
engine

¹These were by no means all the inventions that revolutionized cloth making. When Eli Whitney, an American, invented the cotton gin, a great impulse was given to the production of raw cotton. Before this a good laborer could clear the seeds from only about five or six pounds a day. Now with the machine he could clear a thousand pounds a day. Other inventions provided better methods of preparing the cloth for spinning, and of bleaching and coloring the cotton cloth.

**Watt's
steam
engine**

James Watt began improvements (1763) in the steam engine which made it less wasteful of power, increased the speed of the wheel, and regulated its motion. Later (about



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

WATT DISCOVERS THE POWER OF STEAM

Detail of a painting by David Neal

1785) a steam engine was used for the first time to run spinning machines, and by 1800 engines were in common use for many purposes. In 1814 the first steam printing press was used by the *London Times*. Formerly newspapers and books printed by hand were costly. The new

steam press turned them out so cheaply that the poor could buy them and so have a far better chance to obtain an education and win freedom.

The manufacture of machinery was greatly promoted by the discovery of a new way to smelt iron; that is, to separate the metal from the ore. Charcoal, which had long been used in the process, was becoming very expensive as the forests were cut down. The use in the smelting process of coke made from ordinary coal and new ways of hammering the iron into shape now meant better and cheaper iron, and the manufacture and use of more machines.

New
ways of
smelting

The more extensive use of coal and iron led to the digging of canals and to the invention of the locomotive and the building of railroads. France and Prussia had important canals in the seventeenth century, but England did not have any until after 1750. In the next fifty years, however, a great number of canals were made there, and these greatly reduced the cost of carrying bulky and heavy goods such as coal and iron. More important was the building of steam railways. Long before, tracks had been laid on which to haul coal wagons by horse power. In 1813, Hedley's locomotive "Puffing Billy" was used with some success for this work, but not until 1814 did George Stephenson, a poor miner's son, invent a locomotive that could be depended upon to pull heavy loads. At first locomotives were used only for hauling coal short distances from the mines. The first regular railroad for passengers as well as freight (1825) was only twelve miles long. The passenger cars looked like stagecoaches fastened together and both engines and cars were very small and queer looking compared with those of today. Within the next five years, however, Stephenson had built a locomotive which made a record speed of thirty-five miles an hour, and in 1838 trains were run all the way from London to Liverpool.

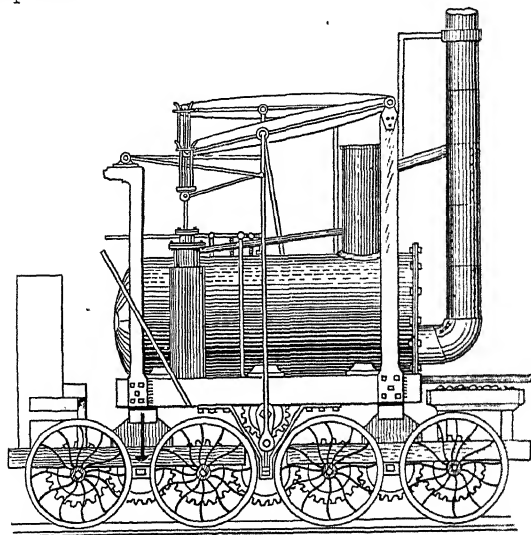
Improve-
ments in
transportation

Canals
and
railroads

Soon the cities of England and Scotland were connected by railroads, and another revolutionary change in modern

**Influence
of the
railroads**

life had been carried out. In America the example of England was soon followed. Progress on the continent of Europe was slower, but by 1850 trains were running on



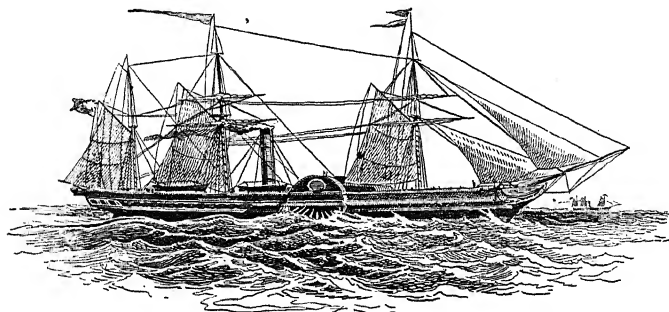
From a print published in 1825

LEDLEY'S "PUFFING BILLY," MADE IN 1813

many of the railroads which are the main lines of today. Railroads have contributed greatly to progress by carrying modern goods and higher standards of living into regions where medieval customs still existed. They have also made possible cheap and quick mail service and have thus done much to increase the intelligence of the people. They have been helped in this service by the use of the steam engine in navigation. Robert Fulton's "Clermont," the first commercially successful steamboat, made its initial trip on the Hudson River from New York to Albany in 1807. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the American steamer "Savannah" (1819). Sails were used, however, for part of the voyage and the trip took twenty-nine days. Not until 1833 did a steamer cross without using sails at all.

EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution began in England and affected the people there first. The United States, with Whitney's cotton gin, was close behind England. After the fall of



A COMBINED SIDE-WHEELER AND SAILING VESSEL

Napoleon the movement spread to the continent of Europe. Everywhere it had the most far-reaching effects on the lives of the people. Wonderful changes are yet being made, for the Industrial Revolution is still in progress.

The first great effects of the Revolution in England were a vast increase in the amount of goods produced and a great reduction in the price of these goods. Thus England had a tremendous advantage over all other nations in selling goods. Added to her control of the sea and her vast commerce, it made England the world's greatest manufacturing nation and the richest on the globe. More than any other factor it enabled Britain to win the victory over Napoleon. By the time other nations took up manufacturing on a large scale, British supremacy was well established.

**Increased
production**

**Foundation
of English
commercial
and
financial
supremacy**

A second great result of the Industrial Revolution was the rise of the factory system. Before this time the workmen were largely their own masters. But now, since the workingmen had neither money nor foresight enough to buy the new machines, richer men built large buildings, put in

**The
factory
system**

the machinery, and hired the laborers to work in these factories. This led to the rapid growth of cities where the workers lived crowded together.

**The rich
become
richer**

These changes helped men of special ability to grow rich, and many well-to-do men quickly became millionaires. The gap between the employer and the laborer grew wider and wider, and the poor became poorer as the factory owners grew richer.

**Workmen
become
more
dependent
on their
employers**

The laboring class became more and more dependent on the men who had enough money to start factories. After moving to the towns they had no way to earn their living except by working in the factories. One man or boy tending a machine could in many instances turn out as many goods as a dozen men working by hand. Hence workers were numerous and work scarce. The employers could set very long hours and pay very low wages, knowing that fear of starvation would force the laborers to work. Factory owners thus made enormous profits.

**Growth
of enmity
between
capital
and labor
Changes
in social
life**

Such conditions made the laborers hate those who furnished the money to build the factories. The laborers sought to better their condition by forming unions and striking for higher wages and shorter hours.

**Women
and
children
in
factories**

Another result of the Industrial Revolution was a marked change in the lives of women and children. Well-to-do women now did far less work than of old because many things which formerly they had made at home could now be made better and more cheaply in factories. The upper classes lived in far greater luxury than before, and the laborers lived in greater poverty. Family life was broken up. Women and children who before had worked hard at home, now worked all day in the factories. This was because the new machines, except in the iron industries, could be tended by women and children, who worked for much lower wages than men. For that reason factory owners wanted them. Scarcity of work for men forced the women and children into the factories to escape starvation. Women

had formerly done the spinning at home, and men the weaving. Even after the work of spinning had been transferred to factories, for a time weaving was still done by the men at home. Hence the women went to factories to work before men did.

These poor people could not afford to pay the rent for houses near the factories, even if there had been enough houses for them to rent. They lived in rude huts or in dark cellars, a whole family often crowded into one small room. The women and children, even those as young as six years of age, went to work in the factory at six o'clock in the morning. All day long they stayed in very hot, damp, or dusty rooms watching the machines, and did not leave the factory until about eight or nine o'clock at night. Little children were beaten if they fell asleep at their work. Boys of six or seven years received from 60 to 75 cents a week for the six days of fourteen to sixteen hours each. The hard work stopped the growth of boys and girls and badly injured their health. Frequently they became deformed owing to hard work or as the result of accidents. There could be no joy in life for them. They had no chance to go to school and they never knew what a good home was like. Gradually special laws were made to remove these abuses, but it was a long time before the life of the factory laborers was made much easier. As late as 1830 over half of the laborers in the English cloth-making industries were under eighteen years of age. Most of the adults were women.

Evils of
child
labor

In the end, however, new and larger markets were found, so that much larger quantities of machine-made goods could be sold and the factories needed more workers. Hence the men who had lost their means of livelihood when machines came into use gradually obtained other work. Parliament passed severe laws to protect the women and children, so that the former evils of factory labor are now almost unknown.

Ultimate
broadening
influences

Indirectly the Industrial Revolution has helped the common people to make progress. The workingman of

today is very different from the one of 1700. He is more intelligent and broad-minded, he knows his fellow workingmen better, and the later development of the Industrial Revolution has brought him and his family much pleasure as well as education. Such inventions as the electric car, the phonograph, the photographic camera, the automobile, and the radio have done wonders to make the common people happier and more comfortable.

Expansion
of
commerce

Another result of the Revolution was a great expansion of commerce. There had formerly been little exchange of goods between countries or even in the same country outside the immediate locality where the goods were made. The machine-made goods were made to sell in any part of the world. Each locality and country was able to specialize in what it could do best. One country produced grain and another engaged in manufacturing and mining, and so the nations of the world became far more dependent on one another than before. The World War made this very clear.

The Industrial Revolution also did much to bring about political changes. The new capitalist class demanded a share in the government, which before this had been mainly under the control of the nobles. The laborers believed their burdens would not be much lightened until they had the right to vote, and so could have laws made to favor their interests. These two classes combined wealth and numbers. In England they won a reform of Parliament, better municipal government, and the abolition of protective tariffs. In France they carried out the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, and they helped revolutions elsewhere. In Germany they worked for a customs union of the separate German states and for more liberal government. In the United States a new national pride and patriotism was aroused; the decades following 1820 were marked by great agricultural development in the South, the coming of many immigrants and the rise of manufacturing in the North, and the building of roads, canals, and railways to open up the great West.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why do you think it was that such improvements in agriculture and industry had not been made before the eighteenth century? Why were most of them made first in England? (2) In what respects did the Industrial Revolution better conditions of life in Europe? Why? (3) Show how the making of one invention led to others and illustrate by examples. (4) How have railroads and steamships changed modern life in peace and war? (5) How and why did the Industrial Revolution affect the outcome of the Napoleonic Wars? (6) In what respects did the common people gain by the Industrial Revolution and the resulting factory system? Why? (7) In what respects did they lose? Why? (8) How and why had the Industrial Revolution helped the growth of democracy in government? (9) Which have done most to advance the world's civilization: statesmen and generals like Pitt, Cromwell, and Wellington, or such inventors as Stephenson, Watt, and Cartwright? Why?

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EUROPE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF METTERNICH

WORK OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The
Congress
of Vienna
(1814-1815)

Distribution of the lands that had been taken from Napoleon was the chief purpose of the great congress of kings and diplomats that met at Vienna in September, 1814. Though the tsar of Russia, the most powerful ruler in Europe, was there, as well as a multitude of kings and princes, the

most notable figures in the gathering were Metternich, the Austrian chief minister, and Talleyrand, the veteran French diplomat. All the states of Europe, except Turkey, were



PRINCE METTERNICH

represented. Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, however, planned to settle everything behind closed doors, ignoring France and the minor powers.

A timely dispute among the four great powers over what should be done with Saxony gave Talleyrand his opportunity to win a place for France within the charmed circle. Russia and Prussia had proposed that Prussia annex all Saxony, and that Russia take over most of the former kingdom of Poland. Austria and Great Britain objected and as the four great powers were divided two against two, the dispute became exceedingly bitter.

How
France
won
recognition

Talleyrand took the side of Austria and Britain, and a compromise was finally arranged by which Prussia received half of Saxony, a small part of Poland, and two large provinces on the Rhine close to France, and Russia obtained most of Poland. Talleyrand had made himself so useful that the four great powers could not get along without him, and France became the fifth of the great powers that made all the important decisions. A real congress of all the European states never met. The lesser states had to take whatever the "big five" handed out to them.

Principles
governing
the deci-
sions of
the powers

Distribu-
tion of
territory

In apportioning lands and crowns the powers were guided mainly by three motives: (1) fear of another outbreak like the French Revolution, (2) fear of the military power of France, and (3) a desire to annex lands next to their own kingdoms so as to be rewarded for their efforts in the Napoleonic Wars. They returned Portugal, Spain, Holland, and most of the little Italian states to their old rulers. But the two ancient republics of Genoa and Venice and most of the little German states that had been swallowed up by their stronger neighbors were not reestablished.¹ To hold France in check, the neighboring states were strengthened. Genoa was given to the kingdom of Sardinia, and Belgium and Holland were united under the king of Holland. Both Austria and Prussia were especially anxious to connect their scattered lands or exchange some of them for territory nearer home. Austria was given the rich provinces of Lombardy and Venetia in northern Italy in place of Belgium, which she had formerly held,² but Prussian territories were left scattered from the extreme east to the extreme west of Germany. Russia, through her part in the wars and her possession of the greater part of Poland, became more important as a western power than ever before. Great Britain kept many of the colonies won during the wars, especially those of Cape Colony and Ceylon, and therefore remained the greatest colonial power of the world.

¹See p. 607, Note 1.

²See pp. 513 and 576.

EUROPE IN 1815

The Congress of Vienna made some reforms, chief of which was the abolition of the African slave trade, but it did very little to make the people of Europe happier. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had taught most peoples of Europe to desire liberty and national unity.¹ The different nations were now realizing more clearly that each had its own language and customs, distinct from the others. Each wished to have its own kind of government managed by its own people, and to be free from foreign control. Moreover, the common people were demanding for themselves a greater share in the government. Demands for national unity and political liberty grew steadily stronger and have vastly influenced later history.

Opposition to nationalism and democracy

Growth of desire for national unity and political liberty

These demands were neglected at Vienna largely owing to the influence of Count Metternich, chief minister of Austria. He believed that absolute monarchy was the ideal government and feared that liberty would lead to anarchy. Moreover, the Austrian Empire was composed of many different peoples united only by the rule of the Austrian emperor. Many of the emperor's subjects spoke German and some, Italian. If the national enthusiasm grew too strong, all the small German states might unite under one government, and his German-speaking subjects might want to join too. Likewise, a united Italy would probably be formed and attract the Italians under Austrian rule. If this happened the whole Austrian Empire might fall to pieces.

Led by Metternich, Congress of Vienna takes stand against democracy and nationalism

Hence the diplomats left the various states of Germany loosely united and almost independent. Italy was divided into ten different states, over most of which Austria had the controlling influence. The Belgians wanted independence, but were put under the rule of the king of Holland. The Poles wanted unity and independence, but their country

Germany and Italy left divided

¹Napoleon had appealed to the patriotism of the Italians and of the Poles in order to win their help, and it was the national pride and patriotism of the Germans that had done so much to raise Prussia to a first-class power (1814-1815).

Other
national
desires
refused

was divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Norway was handed over to the king of Sweden against the wishes of its people.

Influence
of this
decision
on later
history

Thus the Vienna diplomats neglected national feeling and refused the demands for popular government, and these blunders led to many conflicts which soon upset their arrangements. The greatest movements of the past century have been the struggles for national unity and for democracy in government, in industry, in religion, and in all phases of life.

METTERNICH'S SYSTEM AND THE CAUSES OF REVOLT

The
Quadruple
Alliance

The rulers of Europe determined to maintain the settlements made at Vienna, and so England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia formed the Quadruple Alliance (1815).¹ Under Metternich's leadership this was a great success. At his bidding Russian, Austrian, and Prussian soldiers were used so often to suppress revolts against absolute monarchs that the years from 1815 to 1830 are sometimes called the Metternich period.

Metter-
nich's
system in
Austria

Metternich's first effort was to keep the subjects of the Austrian emperor in ignorance and serfdom by secluding Austria from the rest of the world. To do this he was obliged to keep down revolutionary ideas in Germany and Italy. In 1817 a crowd of discontented university students met at the Wartburg castle where Luther had once been hidden.² There they listened to speeches, sang songs, and built a great bonfire to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's beginning of the Protestant Revolt.³

In Germany

¹The tsar also proposed to the sovereigns of Europe a brotherly alliance in which they should agree to live according to the teachings of the Christian religion. Most of them consented, though they laughed secretly at the scheme, which came to be known as the Holy Alliance. It was commonly confused with the Quadruple Alliance and was hated by the liberals throughout Europe.

²See pp. 425-426.

³See pp. 421-423.

Metternich was angry; he feared such meetings would spread discontent and so induced the different German rulers to make a series of laws called the Carlsbad Decrees (1819). Under these laws, a special officer was stationed at each university to watch the professors and to dismiss and punish any who taught that the people ought to govern themselves. Most student clubs were forbidden. No newspaper, magazine, or pamphlet was to be printed without the approval of an officer whose duty it was to cut out anything likely to arouse popular discontent. Detectives were hired to seek out and break up all secret revolutionary societies anywhere in Germany. Men of liberal views were spied upon and often arrested without good reason. One student was imprisoned for drawing in his notebook a picture of the devil eating a king. Thus freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of teaching were forbidden in Germany. For over twenty years Metternich's system reigned supreme there.

In Southern as well as in Central Europe things were largely set back to where they had been before 1789. During the imprisonment of the Spanish king by Napoleon (1808-1814) the people of Spain had fought bravely and with English help had finally driven out the French. Their leaders had drawn up a liberal constitution in 1812, but when King Ferdinand VII was restored (1814), he destroyed this constitution, set up all the old abuses, and imprisoned or shot as traitors the men who had fought so loyally against the French.¹

Restoration of the Old Régime in Spain

¹The governments did not merely suppress liberalism, but tried to teach its opposite. The children in the schools were taught catechisms which told them to obey their rulers. One of these, called *Duties of Subjects toward Their Sovereigns*, published by the Austrian government (Milan, 1834), contained the following:

"Question: How should subjects behave toward their sovereign?

"Answer: Subjects should behave like faithful slaves toward their master.

"Question: Why should subjects behave like slaves?

"Answer: Because the sovereign is their master and has power both over their possessions and over their lives." —White, *Seven Great Statesmen*, p. 331.

Reaction in Italy . The petty Italian princes did away with most of the reforms instituted during the Napoleonic period. The king of Sardinia had French plants in the Turin botanical garden dug up, and in Rome gaslights on the streets were put out because they had been installed by the French. The police worked so hard to arrest liberals that they had little time left to deal with crime. Robbery became so common that property was never safe.

Reaction in Great Britain Notwithstanding her victories, her colonies, her shipping and industries, her trade and vast wealth, Great Britain was badly in need of reform.

Defects of the parliamentary system of government The government was bad, for the all-powerful upper classes neglected the interests and welfare of the common people. The House of Lords was composed almost wholly of rich landlords. It is true that the House of Commons, through the cabinet system, made and unmade the king's ministers and thus controlled the government. But the rich, not the common people, controlled the House of Commons. Most of its members represented towns, which were called parliamentary boroughs. Usually each borough sent two representatives to the House. When Parliament had won supremacy,¹ the north of England had been very thinly settled and so the south elected most members. But the Industrial Revolution had changed this.² A vast population had come to live in the coal and iron regions of the north and northwest. Great cities like Manchester and Birmingham grew up, but were given no direct representation. No change had been made in the electoral system, and so 3,000,000 people in ten southern counties sent nearly as many representatives as 8,000,000 people in thirty northern counties of England.

Shift of population from south to north

Nomination boroughs

Some southern boroughs no longer had any inhabitants at all. Such was the green mound which marked the site of Old Sarum. All the people had long ago moved from the

¹See pp. 483-489, 493-494.

²See pp. 621-632.

place to a new city a few miles away. But the owner of the mound still sent two members to the House of Commons. The site of another old town, Dunwich, had sunk beneath the sea. Yet a descendant of the former landowner sent a representative to Parliament.

Besides such boroughs, there were many others in which the voters were few, and willing to obey the order of some rich man and vote for his candidate. In 1793, 245 members were sent to the House of Commons by 128 lords.

**Rotten
boroughs**

The voters of other towns banded together and sold their votes to the highest bidder. Thus seats in Parliament were bought and sold in large numbers. As much as \$50,000 was often paid for two seats in a single Parliament which might not last a year. Rich men were quite willing to buy their way into Parliament, because it helped them to secure other good offices and gave them high social position.

**Vote
buying**

The nobles and their friends had also the high-salaried places in the Church of England. Everyone, whether a member of the church or not, had to pay taxes to help support the church. Its members had almost a monopoly of political offices and its clergy did very little to help the common people. Many seemed to care nothing about the bodies or souls of the miserable laborers living almost like beasts in the factory towns.¹

**Favored
position
of the
Church of
England**

The end of the war in 1815 made all these conditions worse. British merchants sold less than they had expected in Continental Europe. The government cut down its buying by half, while it discharged large numbers of men from service. Some factories had to shut down and others dismissed part of their workers. With less work and more men to do it, unemployment increased and wages decreased. At the same time the harvests were poor and wheat became extremely dear. This was due partly to a very high tariff which the landlords in Parliament had made for their

**Why
these
conditions
became
worse in
1815-1820**

¹See pp. 629-632 for the effects of the Industrial Revolution.

own benefit. The landlords not only taxed the food of the poor for their own profit and refused to help them, but would not allow the workingmen to form unions to help themselves. If they tried to do so, they were sent to prison.

Results—
riots and
repression

It is not strange that the common people were bitterly discontented. They demanded the right to vote and listened to fiery orators who incited them to riot. Machinery was smashed, buildings were burned, and other property was damaged. Parliament then forbade public meetings except by special permission and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. This meant that the government could imprison anyone without giving a reason.¹ Thus the upper classes met the people's discontent simply by armed force. England from 1815 to 1820 was not vastly better off than Austria under the rule of Metternich.² The aristocracy seemed as determined to keep its power and privileges as were the nobles and clergy of France in 1789.³

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What main principles guided the Congress of Vienna in reconstructing Europe after the Napoleonic Wars? Were these right? Were they expedient? Why? (2) Would it have been better or worse for Europe if Russia and Prussia had obtained the lands they wanted in 1814-1815? Why? (3) What people were left in 1815 without national unity? Why was each so left? What is national unity? (4) What good reasons can be urged for the Metternich System? What were its great objects? Why was it doomed to failure? What special conditions in the Austrian Empire help explain it? (5) How did the rich and the nobles control the House of Commons in 1815? (6) Make a list of the reasons why conditions were especially hard for the common people of Great Britain directly after the Napoleonic Wars, and explain each in your own words. (7) Were the policies of the government toward the riots of 1815-1820 wise or unwise? Why?

¹This has never been done in England since 1817. For the Habeas Corpus Act see p. 495, note 1.

²See pp. 638-639.

³See pp. 558, 561-568.

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REVOLTS AGAINST THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

REVOLTS FROM 1815 TO 1830

Under Napoleon the people of both Spain and Italy had learned what good government was, and so after 1815 there was much discontent and revolutionary societies flourished. Most famous were the Carbonari,¹ who stirred up revolts among the soldiers in Spain and Naples (1820) and forced the kings to promise to obey the Constitution of 1812.

Metternich believed that these revolts, if they were not stamped out, would spread anarchy everywhere. Under his leadership Austria, Russia, Prussia, and, later, France agreed to maintain existing governments. An Austrian army was sent into Naples and crushed the revolt there with fearful cruelty. The king of France (1822) sent an army to put down the revolt in Spain. The revolting leaders were imprisoned and punished severely. Great Britain was the only great power which protested strongly against this tyranny.

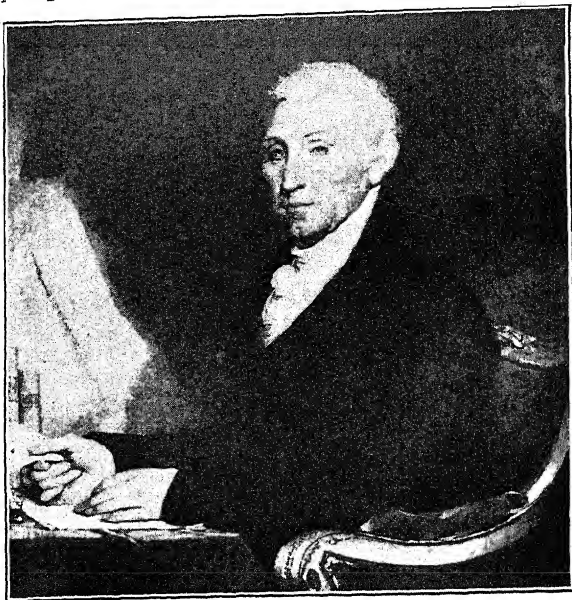
During and after the Napoleonic Wars most of the Spanish colonists in America had revolted against the tyrannical

Revolts
of 1820
in Spain
and
Naples

Inter-
national
Congresses
of Troppau
(1820)
and
Laibach
(1821)

¹It was originally founded for agitation against tyrannical rulers. Its successors, the Camorra, the Mafia, etc., are simply criminal organizations.

government of Spain. They had learned how the English colonists had won independence, and they were trying to set up republics modeled after the United States.



JAMES MONROE

From the painting by Gilbert Stuart

Metternich receives his first check from England and the United States

Having stamped out revolts in Europe, Metternich and his fellow despots planned next to reconquer the Spanish colonies. The British government then made it clear that no power but Spain would be allowed to try this.¹ At the same time President Monroe of the United States sent to Congress his message setting forth the now famous Monroe Doctrine (1823), stating that the United States would not consent to European powers securing more land on the American continents or extending "their political

¹As the British fleet controlled the sea, this was decisive. Great Britain's course was probably due to two motives: (1) dislike of Metternich's absolutism, and (2) fear that, if South America were restored to Spain, British trade there would decrease.

systems" to them. The United States had already recognized the independence of the South American republics. Hence Metternich gave up his plan to extend his system to America. This was his first check, but others were soon to follow.

The next break was the Greek revolt against the Turks (1821-1829), in which Western Europe strongly favored the Greeks. Russia, England, and France took their part, but Russia fought the Turks most successfully and forced them to grant the Greeks independence (1829). Greek revolution

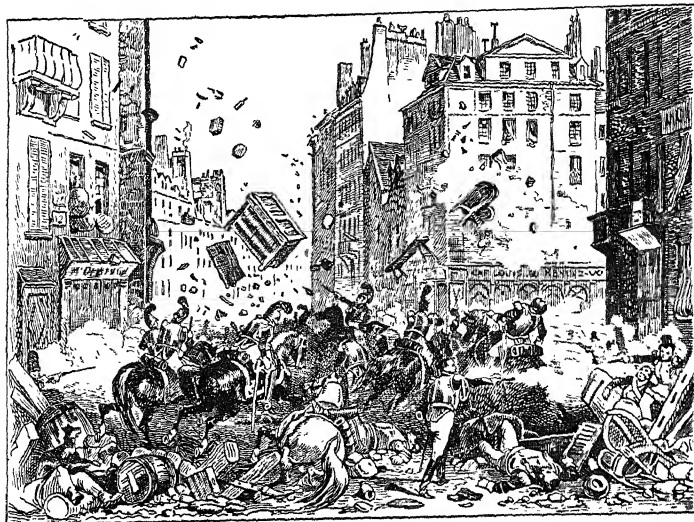
THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

When Louis XVIII was once more made king of France in 1815, he reissued the Constitutional Charter. But many of the clergy and nobles were determined to regain the property and privileges taken from them during the Great Revolution,¹ and under Charles X, successor of Louis XVIII, they seemed likely to succeed. The clergy were given great power, and the nobles received a large sum to repay them for their lost lands. This aroused much discontent. The French parliament opposed the king. At last (July, 1830) Charles X issued four special ordinances (1) ending freedom of the press, (2) taking from many people the right to vote, (3) reserving to himself the right to propose laws to the parliament, and (4) dissolving the parliament. These ordinances would enable him to obtain absolute power. Causes of the revolt in France

Paris was wild with rage. The workingmen stopped work and armed themselves. Rude forts of paving stones, furniture, wagons, and rubbish, called barricades, were built across many of the narrow and crooked streets of the city, and, fighting behind these, the armed crowds drove back the king's soldiers, who had been ordered to clear the streets. Too late Charles X now recalled his ordinances. Then, seeing that Paris was determined to be rid of him, he gave up his crown and fled. The workingmen who had July Revolution (1830)

¹See pp. 550-551.

done the fighting wanted a republic; but the merchants and bankers did not and the French parliament offered the crown to Louis Philippe, head of the Orleans family and



RIOTING IN PARIS STREETS

From a lithograph

descendant of King Louis XIII.¹ The Constitutional Charter was changed to lessen the king's power, but it did not give control of the government to the common people.

The successful revolt in Paris led to outbreaks in other countries. The people of Holland and Belgium differed in language, religion, and business interests. The king of Holland often favored the Protestant Dutch and was hated by the Catholic Belgians. The July Revolution in France was scarcely ended when a revolt broke out in Brussels. The Dutch soldiers were soon driven out and Belgian independence declared. England and France strongly favored the Belgians, and, as the Central and Eastern European states were occupied by revolutionary

Revolt
of
Belgium

¹See p. 464.

movements there, Belgian independence was recognized. It was agreed also that Belgium should be neutral in any European war.

Elsewhere, however, Metternich's system was kept up. The tsar of Russia had given the Poles under his rule a separate constitution and many advantages (1815), but when it was reported that the tsar would send his Polish troops to suppress the Belgian revolt, the Poles rebelled (1830). Expected help from France did not come, and the revolt was crushed cruelly. Russian Poland lost its constitution and became a Russian province. In Italy and Germany several uprisings took place (1830), but they were easily suppressed by Austrian or Prussian troops. Therefore in Central and Eastern Europe, Metternich remained supreme until the year of revolutions (1848).

Failure
of the
revolts in
Central
and
Southern
Europe

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

When Louis Philippe became king of the French (1830), he was believed to be a true liberal. This was a great mistake, for he was determined not to let the common people have any larger share in the government than they already had. France was still governed by the rich. Only about 200,000 out of 30,000,000 people could vote. Most liberals wanted the vote given to more and more men, while a few even favored the establishment of a republic. Louis Philippe checked all such opposition by force and, instead of trying to remove the causes of discontent, persecuted the republicans and arrested many people without good reason.

Causes
of the
revolt in
France

In Guizot the king found a minister after his own heart, and together they continued up to 1848 the policy of "no change." The people clearly wished reform, but through the election to parliament of many government officers whom he could control, and by indirect buying of votes, Guizot kept a safe royalist majority in parliament. Reform was voted down year after year.

Guizot's
methods
of gov-
ernment

648 REVOLTS AGAINST THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

Misery
of the
poor

The new factory system was causing great suffering among the poorer townspeople. Outrageously long hours of labor were maintained. The lives of women and children were heartlessly sacrificed by employers who were fast growing rich. Only the rich had the vote, and the employers were therefore able to control the government. Laws to protect and help the poor were greatly needed, but few were made. The laborers were even forbidden to form unions to better their condition.

Spread
of
socialistic
agitation

At this time the theories now called socialism were beginning to spread among the working classes. The hardships of the poor greatly helped the progress of the new ideas. In France the ablest teacher of these theories was Louis Blanc. He told the people that the best remedy for their ills was to set up a democratic republic which should take possession of the factories. The government, controlled by the laborers, would then give work to all, with good wages and moderate hours. These doctrines became very popular in the cities of France, especially in Paris, and did much to prepare the way for revolution.

Reform
banquets
and the
outbreak
of revolt

The growing discontent was further strengthened by a general feeling that Louis Philippe's foreign policy was weak and cowardly. Nevertheless the king and Guizot refused to give the people power. In 1847 the opposition leaders arranged a series of "reform banquets" at which speeches were made and petitions signed. The attendance was large and showed strong popular interest. Louis Philippe thereupon forbade a great meeting which was to be held in Paris, February 22, 1848. Nevertheless an excited crowd gathered. That night some barricades were built and the National Guards refused to tear them down. The king grew frightened and next day promised reform, but he was too late. The republicans and socialists were already determined to depose him. While parading the streets the crowds fought the soldiers. On February 24 the king gave up the crown and fled from Paris.

Supported by the mob, the few republicans in the French parliament then declared the Orleans family deposed and set up a committee to carry on a provisional or temporary government. Some socialists were added to this

Establishment
of the
Republic



GUIZOT



LOUIS PHILIPPE

governing body, and soon France was declared a republic. A National Convention was elected by universal suffrage and drew up a new constitution. Again the people of Paris had suddenly changed the government of France.¹ A monarchy that defied public opinion had fallen at the first attack.

The news of the French Revolution of February, 1848, led to outbreaks, for discontent was strong in the countries where Metternich's system prevailed. Wherever the Industrial Revolution was under way the artisans were miserable and ready for rioting. Everywhere people were beginning to believe that they ought to control the government.

Growth of
popular
discontent
in Central
Europe

Meanwhile the various governments had refused to grant the people more power. In Prussia a new king (1840) would not allow the whole people to elect a real parliament

Causes of
discontent
in Prussia

¹See pp. 573-574, 645.

or give actual power to any elected governing body. Since 1815 Prussia and most of the German states had made great intellectual progress. Germany produced many learned men, and the people as a whole were well educated. During this period Prussia made a number of treaties with other states of northern Germany, providing for free trade among themselves and uniform duties on foreign goods. This alliance, called the Zollverein or Customs Union, greatly helped the growth of trade and industry, and made the people want to unite all Germany under one government. Many Germans felt that they should also have a more liberal government, but the rulers of Prussia and Austria stood in the way of this.

Causes of
revolt in
the
Austrian
Empire

In spite of all its efforts, the Austrian government had not been able to keep out liberal ideas entirely. The Industrial Revolution had drawn to the cities thousands of laborers working for starvation wages, and therefore easily stirred to rebel. Most of the peasants were still serfs.

Growth
of
national
sentiment
among
the
subject
peoples

In the many provinces of Austria where the people did not speak German, a stronger national feeling had grown up since 1815. Hungary had once been a separate kingdom,¹ and the Magyars, as the Hungarians were called, were eager to be free from Austrian control. Some wanted complete independence, but most would have been satisfied with self-government. Bohemia, too, had once been an independent kingdom,² and its people now wanted to govern themselves and have Czech, or Bohemian,³ as their official language. Northeast of the Adriatic were the Croatsians who also wanted their own local government. Beyond the

¹The Hungarians were descended in part from invaders from the steppes of Asia who ravaged Central and Western Europe at the time of Charlemagne and later. See pp. 239-241, 275.

²See pp. 381, 393.

³The Bohemians were descended from Slavs who had moved eastward at the close of the great Germanic migrations that overthrew the Roman Empire (see pp. 223-225). Many of these people had been forced back eastward by the Germans during the Middle Ages and their places toward the northeast had been taken by German colonists (see pp. 275-276). Farther south great numbers of Slavs stayed where they had settled down to live after the time of Otto I of Germany.

CENTRAL EUROPE, 1815-1866

Alps were the Italian subjects of Austria, who desired independence. The Bohemians and Croatsians were Slavs, related to the people of Russia. Besides these, parts of many other Slavic groups were subject to Austria, such as the Poles, the Slovaks, and the Slovenes, as well as the Romanic group, the Romanians. Each had its own language, and wanted self-government. If all these peoples were successful in their demands for self-government, the Austrian Empire would inevitably break up into a number of small, weak states. The Hungarians made up the strongest of the groups, for their leaders had long been working for reform and independence.¹ Outbreaks were therefore almost certain to take place when news came of the successful Revolution in Paris.

In the Italian peninsula the chief cause of discontent was the rule of Austria. The earlier revolts had been suppressed easily, partly because Italians from one state would not help those of another. Now a number of brilliant writers set to work to build up national patriotism. The greatest of these writers was Giuseppe Mazzini, who devoted his whole life to freeing Italy. Driven from home, he lived nearly forty years of his life in England, whence he carried on a far-reaching correspondence and never ceased to work for united Italy. When others felt it was hopeless, Mazzini kept putting new faith into the hearts of young Italians, planning revolt after revolt. His followers suffered imprisonment, torture, and death for the cause, but the work never stopped. Mazzini believed that the new Italy must be a republic. Other less radical writers also helped to build up faith in a united Italy and a belief that the Italians could drive out Austrian rule and win independence. But without Mazzini's fiery enthusiasm and willingness to sacrifice, the way could hardly have been prepared for a successful union.

Causes
of revolt
in Italy

Growth
of Italian
national
patriotism

Work of
Mazzini

¹These racial and national divisions of Austria were one cause of the World War (1914-1918) and finally led to the break-up of the Austrian Empire. By the defeat of the Central Powers, most of these divisions won independence or union with their own national groups. See map facing p. 717.

Liberal
reforms of
the pope
and other
Italian
rulers

The liberals were greatly encouraged when the new and liberal Pope Pius IX began to reform the government of the papal states (1846). The king of Sardinia and the grand duke of Tuscany followed his example. There were anti-Austrian riots in Milan. In Naples a revolt forced the



GIUSEPPE MAZZINI



LOUIS KOSSUTH

king to grant a constitution. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, willingly gave his people a constitution (1848) and made himself the leader of liberal Italians. All Italy was on the brink of revolution when the news came that Louis Philippe had been overthrown.

Successful
beginning
of the
revolution

When the news of the successful Revolution in France reached Hungary, the ancient Diet was in session. The radical leader, Kossuth, seized this opportunity to make a bitter speech against the Austrian government which was published throughout the empire and stirred the people to fierce anger. In Vienna mobs made barricades in the streets and broke into the government buildings. The soldiers could not stop this violence, and Metternich was forced to resign and fled from the country. His fall produced a great sensation everywhere.

Led by Kossuth, the Hungarian Diet passed laws (March 15) giving Hungary a liberal and almost separate

government and providing for religious and political freedom, liberty of the press, trial by jury, and the abolition of feudal burdens. The Vienna government had to consent. The Bohemians also demanded self-government and the equality of the Czech and German languages. The emperor agreed to their demands. The German-speaking Austrians also demanded self-government and the emperor dared not refuse, for he did not have enough troops near Vienna to suppress the revolution and hold the radicals in check elsewhere. The best Austrian troops were stationed in Italy.

**Victory
of the
revolu-
tionists in
Hungary**

The news of Metternich's downfall sent a thrill of joy throughout all Italy. Charles Albert of Sardinia led his army into Lombardy, where the people had driven out the Austrian troops. Venice, too, revolted against Austria and set up a republic. The other Italian states sent troops to help Charles Albert, and the Austrians had to retreat to their fortresses. The Italians seemed likely to win their independence. If they could destroy the Austrian armies, they would free the peoples of the whole Austrian Empire as well.

**Austrian
defeats in
Italy**

In Germany, too, March was a month of revolts. Outbreaks in Berlin led the king of Prussia to promise that he would grant a liberal constitution and help to unify Germany. The Austrian emperor was powerless for the moment to check the liberals. A large number of them met and arranged for a German National Parliament to be elected by the whole German people in order to draw up a constitution for a united Germany. This first German National Assembly met at Frankfurt (May 18, 1848).

**Success
of the
German
liberals**

**The first
German
National
Assembly**

FAILURE OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

By the end of March, the revolution seemed victorious in Austria, Germany, and Italy. But everything depended on Austria, and the emperor soon began to win back his power. He promised reforms to many of his subjects and so managed to keep all but the Italians quiet, while the victorious liberals began to quarrel among themselves over

**Recovery
of the
reaction-
aries**

such questions as the kind of government they would set up. The emperor had on his side also the strong habit of obedience among the peasants and especially a strong and loyal army, free from any revolutionary ideas.

**Austrian
victories
in Bohemia
and Italy**

An insurrection broke out in Prague (modern Praha), the capital of Bohemia. The Austrian general declared martial law, bombarded the city into submission, and crushed the revolt. In Italy the Austrian general cleverly waited until the Italians began to quarrel with one another. The strengthened Austrian army now advanced, defeated the Italians at Custozza (July 25, 1848), and drove them from Lombardy.

**Emperor
abolishes
serfdom**

The revolutionists had forced the emperor to call an Austrian Reichsrath, or parliament, elected by all his male subjects. The peasant members were eager to have serfdom abolished, and, as the emperor consented, the peasant deputies went home loyal and grateful to him. In this respect the emperor was far wiser than Louis XVI had been at the opening of the French Revolution.¹

**Racial
rivalries

Southern
Slavs
rebel
against
Magyars**

Besides the army and the peasantry the government soon had the support of all the southern Slavs. The Hungarians had separated from Austria, but refused to give the Slavs within Hungary any separate government or allow any other official language than Magyar. The emperor and his ministers encouraged the Croats and Serbs to attack the Magyars (September, 1848).

**Defeat
of the
Hungarians**

Victorious in Bohemia and Italy, the Austrian leaders determined to conquer Hungary. They induced the old emperor to retire, and put in his place his young nephew, Francis Joseph I. They said that the new ruler was not obliged to keep the old emperor's promises to the Hungarians, and Francis Joseph declared the March Laws null and void.² The Magyars called him a usurper and declared themselves fully independent of Austria. But they were attacked on

¹See pp. 561-565.

²See pp. 652-653.

all sides by Austrians, Croatians, Serbs, and Romanians, as well as by a large Russian army which the tsar sent to help the Austrians. The Hungarians were completely crushed (August, 1849) and lost all their liberties.

Just before this, King Charles Albert of Sardinia again attacked the Austrians but was badly defeated. In despair he gave up his crown to his son Victor Emmanuel II, who had to promise a large sum of money to Austria to obtain peace. Easy terms were offered if he would take away the constitution, but this he refused to do. The Tuscan Republic was soon overthrown and the old grand duke restored. The republic that Mazzini had set up at Rome was destroyed by a French army sent to restore the pope to power (1849). Venice was retaken by the Austrians, and throughout most of Italy absolutism was restored. Liberals were hunted down and punished cruelly.¹

Austrian
victories
in Italy

Overthrow
of the
republics

In Germany, too, the early victories of the liberals were changed to defeats. The national parliament at Frankfurt wasted in talk the months during which the Austrian emperor was weakened by the revolts. At last its members drew up a constitution uniting all the separate German states and the German-speaking provinces of Austria into one empire, to be headed by the king of Prussia. But all this was not decided until the end of March, 1849, and victorious Austria could now block the plan. The king of Prussia feared a war with Austria and disliked to accept

Failure
of the
Frankfurt
Parliament
to unite
Germany

¹In northern Italy it was considered almost a capital crime to fail in outward respect to Austrian soldiers. In Milan, August 18, 1849, a glove-maker who had decorated her shop windows on the Austrian emperor's birthday was hissed and howled at by a crowd. Soldiers came and drove it away. Five days later nearly twenty persons were severely punished by flogging for "scandalous political demonstrations, insults to the imperial flag, injury and insult to the soldiery, and offenses against the forces employed in preserving order, and for revolutionary cries," according to the official statement. Flogging meant from thirty to fifty blows on the bare back. Sixty were usually enough to kill a strong man. Yet "Ernesta Galli, a woman twenty years old, was sentenced to forty blows, and Maria Conti, eighteen years old, to thirty blows" for having laughed during the affair. A few days later the military commandant sent the city government of Milan a bill for thirty-nine florins, the cost of rods broken or worn out and of ice used to prevent gangrene in consequence of the floggings. (Cesaresco, *Liberation of Italy*, pp. 177-179, and Stillman, *Union of Italy*, p. 266.)

the crown as a gift of parliament, and so refused to be emperor. This spoiled the work of the Frankfurt Parliament, and the old German Confederation of 1815 was restored. The hopes of the German liberals seemed vain, and many Germans began to think that German unity could be won only after Austria was defeated and forced to stop interfering in German affairs. In fact, Germany was destined to be united only under military leadership. Kings and armies, not parliaments, were to lead Germany.

Last fight
of the
German
republicans

In their bitterness, many liberal Germans tried to set up a republic. But Prussian troops were at once sent to subdue them and military courts punished the rebels without mercy.

German
migrations
to
America

The Metternich System was set up once more. There seemed now to be no further hope for freedom in Germany. Great numbers of Germans sought and found liberty in America, and once more, as in colonial times, those who fled from oppression found refuge in the New World.

Permanent
results
of the
revolutions
of 1848 in
Central
Europe

The lasting results of the revolutions of 1848 in Central Europe were very few. In Austria the relics of the manorial system were abolished. Two states won and kept constitutions. One of them, Sardinia, set up a truly liberal government on the British model, in which the king's ministers held office at the will of the people's elected representatives in Parliament. This was later to be the constitution of United Italy. The other state, Prussia, won a constitution (1850), establishing a Parliament which, however, could not control the king's ministers. The members were elected by a system which gave power to the rich and left the poor little influence. But it was better than no constitution at all and was in force until 1918.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What right had the allies to suppress revolts in Italy and Spain in 1820 and the following years? What objections were there to this procedure? Compare and contrast the motives of

the allies with those of the United States in Mexico in 1846-1848, and the threatened intervention of the United States there at more recent dates. (2) Why did Great Britain oppose the reconquest of Spanish America? Why did the United States take an interest in this? (3) To what extent was the Revolution of 1830 in France an outgrowth of the great French Revolution? Was Metternich right, then, in suppressing revolutions by force? Why? (4) Compare the French Revolution of 1830 with the English Revolution of 1688. (5) Was the French Revolution of 1848 more necessary to reform abuses than that of 1830? Why? What influence did the Industrial Revolution have on it? (6) How far do you agree with the views of Louis Blanc? Why? (7) Explain the causes of revolt in the Austrian Empire. Contrast the objects of the leaders with those of Germany. (8) Mark on a map the different racial groups in the Austrian Empire of 1848. What influence did these racial divisions have on the progress and success of the Revolution of 1848? (9) Tell in your own words what Mazzini did to free Italy. Were his methods wholly wise and expedient? (10) Compare and contrast the way the Austrian government dealt with the revolutionists of 1848 with the way Louis XVI dealt with the great French Revolution from 1789 to 1791. Show how these differences help account for the failure of the Revolution of 1848. (11) Why did Russia send an army to help the Austrian emperor against the Hungarians in 1849? (12) Why did the Italians fail to win national unity in 1848? (13) Compare the blunders of the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848 with those of the French National Assembly of 1789-1791. To what causes were they due in both instances? Why was it unfortunate for Germany that the liberals of 1848 failed to unite Germany? (14) What permanent good results did the revolutions of 1848 have?

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THE OUTCOME OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE. THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND EMPIRE

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

Difficulties
of the new
Republic

The Paris Revolution of February, 1848, was so sudden that a Republic was set up almost before the people of all France had a chance to learn what had happened. So many of them did not favor it, however, that its life was likely to be short. From the first there were two factions: one of moderates, and the other of radicals under Louis Blanc's influence. Blanc hoped to form societies of workmen to manage the various industries in which they worked—to buy the materials, make the goods, and sell them. He would have the government lend the money needed to do this. Gradually these societies would take the place of

Blanc
tries to
work out
economic
reforms

privately owned factories. Blanc formed a few societies of this kind. The government gave them work but no capital, and they could not win much success.

The Paris workingmen were kept quiet by promises of employment in national workshops. But the minister of public works hated Blanc and the socialists and so merely formed the idle men into gangs to dig ditches and build forts, paying each man two francs, about forty cents, a day. Before the close of May 100,000 men were employed in this way for part-time work. This method was very different from Blanc's plan, and when not working, the men listened readily to trouble makers. Meanwhile the new government made some great reforms. All Frenchmen were given the vote in all elections. Freedom of public meeting and the press was granted. All men had the right to form associations and to join the National Guard. As a result many radical newspapers were printed, and many workingmen of Paris were armed as National Guardsmen.

**Reform
work of th
provisional
governmer**

Meanwhile the people had elected representatives to a Convention which was to govern the country and make a constitution. The moderate republicans won an overwhelming victory, since the people living in the country did not understand the plight of the city factory workers. The socialists were wild with anger because the Assembly refused some of their demands, and (May 15) a mob drove out the Assembly by force. Soldiers broke up the mob and the Assembly abolished the so-called national workshops. The workingmen armed themselves and threatened to overthrow the government. General Cavaignac was made dictator and after four days of bloody street fighting he crushed the revolt (June, 1848) and took a fearful revenge. It was long before the poor of Paris forgot the cruelty of those whom they had helped put in power.

**The June
insurrec-
tion**

The new Republic failed to win the confidence of the middle classes also. Business was bad and merchants and manufacturers lost money. The government's expenses

were so heavy that the taxes had to be increased by one half. This angered the peasants, who were already worried because they had been told that the socialists intended to take away their land. If a republican government cost more, they preferred monarchy. Thus a large part of the French people began to long for the overthrow of the Republic.

The new
constitu-
tion

The new republican constitution drawn up by the Assembly provided for a single legislative body which was to be elected for three years by universal manhood suffrage, and a powerful president also elected by the people, but for a term limited to four years.

Why
Louis
Napoleon
was
elected
president

The election of the president was exciting. One of the candidates was Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the emperor Napoleon. He was sure he would some time rule France as the heir of his uncle, and openly claimed the crown. Twice he had tried to overthrow Louis Philippe and had failed. He had been imprisoned, but had escaped and taken refuge in England. Meanwhile the body of Napoleon I had been brought back from St. Helena and entombed with great honor in Paris. The French people were fast forgetting the evils he had brought on France and remembered only the good. Louis Napoleon encouraged this change in public sentiment by writing a book in which he said that his uncle had worked only for the welfare and rights of the people. The Revolution of February, 1848, was his opportunity. He came to Paris at once, proclaiming his love for the French people. He was elected to the National Assembly and became a candidate for the presidency. The other two important candidates were not widely favored. Louis Napoleon had no enemies, bore an honored name, and made liberal promises to all; he received nearly 5,500,000 of the 7,500,000 votes cast.

Louis Napoleon worked hard to make himself emperor of France. First he tried to convince the French people that they would not be safe except under his rule. Most



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

NAPOLEON III

From the portrait at Versailles by Jean Flandrin

How
the
Republic
was
overthrown

of the peasants and the merchants already disliked the Republic. Their representatives in the new legislative Assembly wanted to set up a king. The republican leaders were arrested (1849), their newspapers were seized, public meetings were forbidden, and the right to vote was taken from about 3,000,000 workingmen.

The constitution forbade the reelection of the president, however, and the Assembly refused Louis Napoleon permission to remain in office when his four-year term should end in 1852. He, however, then took full advantage of his power as commander of the army. On the night of December 2, 1851, he had the police arrest those who might lead any opposition to his plans, and next morning his soldiers dissolved the Assembly. Then he ordered a new assembly to be elected by universal suffrage and proposed a new constitution, making him president for ten years with almost absolute power.¹ Soldiers shot down several hundred people on the streets. Martial law was declared in many districts of France, and nearly 100,000 persons were arrested. Then the new constitution was referred to the people, 7,500,000 of whom voted "Yes" and only 640,000 "No." A year later the senate at his order named him Napoleon III, emperor of the French. Again the people voted in favor of this change. The Republic had been overthrown by trickery and force, but evidently a majority of the French people were satisfied.

THE SECOND NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

France
under
Napoleon
III

At first Napoleon III governed with almost no check to his absolute power. Only one lawmaking body was elected by the people, and this one the government was able to control. Every newspaper editor had to deposit a large sum of money which he lost if he offended the emperor. Few public meetings were allowed. The schools were carefully watched to keep anything dangerous to the emperor from being taught.

¹In obvious imitation of the first Napoleon's constitution. See p. 521.

Napoleon III tried to make all the people prosperous. He aided the rapid building of railroads and combined them into a small number of companies under government regulation. Rates were made very low. Steamboat lines were started and canals constructed. Many peasants were still using medieval methods of farming and, in order to aid them in buying machinery and making improvements, Napoleon helped to establish banks which loaned money at low rates of interest. In 1864 French workingmen were first given the legal right to strike and thus force their employers to yield to their demands. Hospitals and charities were treated liberally by the government. Vast public works, such as buildings and street improvements, were undertaken. Paris especially was greatly beautified by a network of new boulevards and by many new buildings, which made it the finest European city of that time.¹ A great international exposition was held in Paris (1855) and the attention of the world was attracted to French prosperity.

His efforts
to make
France
prosperous

Though Napoleon III was no soldier, he tried to make the French people think he was. He used to ride about in a showy uniform. Some said that he even wore a corset in order to look better on parade. His army looked imposing and the soldiers were brave, but good officers were very scarce. Most of his generals knew as little as he did about making war.

To satisfy his own and the nation's vanity, however, and to carry out some of his theories, he engaged in several wars. First he joined England in helping Turkey against Russia in the Crimean War (1854-1856). France gained little from this war,² but when the diplomats made peace at Paris,

Wars of
Napoleon
III

¹Incidentally it may be noted that these boulevards cut through and opened up sections of Paris which formerly had been tangled networks of narrow and crooked streets where it was easy for laborers to throw up barricades and defy even the army. Now, in case of revolt, cannon could be posted at the corners and sweep the streets with fire. Napoleon had not forgotten how his predecessors, Charles X and Louis Philippe, had been overthrown.

²See p. 769.

France seemed to have won back her powerful influence in European affairs. The French people were flattered. Napoleon's next adventure was the War of 1859, in which, in alliance with Sardinia, his armies defeated the Austrians and helped unite Italy.

How
Napoleon
became
liberal

The establishment of the kingdom of Italy resulted in the pope's losing most of his lands and so cost Napoleon the support of the Catholic clergy of France. Later blunders gradually undermined the Emperor's popularity and he was soon forced to give the people a greater share in the government. By 1870 the French parliament had won much power, and less than a year later the empire had fallen.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why was Louis Blanc's scheme of national workshops a failure? (2) What conditions and causes secured the election of Louis Napoleon as president of the French Republic in 1848? (3) How was he able to make himself emperor? To what extent were the French people themselves responsible for it? Give your evidence. (4) Make a list of the advantages and disadvantages of Napoleon's government to the people of France. Which do you think most important? Why? (5) Was Napoleon's foreign policy up to 1860 wise or unwise? Why?

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THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

HOW CAVOUR PREPARED FOR ITALIAN UNITY

After 1848 Sardinia was the only free state in Italy. The king had refused to take away the constitution at Austrian bidding,¹ and so Italian liberals looked to him as the leader of the future United Italy. Victor Emmanuel's solid honesty and patriotism were aided by his brilliant chief minister, Count Camillo di Cavour, a successful man of business and a liberal statesman and diplomat of the very first rank. During the critical years from 1850 to 1861, Cavour guided the little kingdom most of the time.

Italy
after
1848

Rise of
Cavour

The kingdom of Sardinia was a third-rate power in Europe when Cavour took charge of its policies. Most of its people were poor and ignorant. The government was deeply in debt and its expenses were greater than its income. Cavour began at once to build up the country's resources by spending money freely on improvements of every sort. He encouraged agriculture, built railroads, encouraged commerce, and tried in every way to make his country up to date and prosperous. The army was enlarged and improved and a modern navy begun. Within a few years marked improvement was evident. Cavour's policies were bitterly opposed, but he won the necessary votes for them in the Sardinian parliament.

How
Cavour
built
up the
resources
of the
kingdom
of Sardinia

Cavour believed that only with a strong ally could he drive Austria out of Italy, and so he joined France and England in the Crimean War.² The Sardinian soldiers fought well. Cavour aroused the interest of Napoleon III,

Sardinia
takes part
in the
Crimean
War

¹See p. 655.

²See pp. 663-664, 769.

won a place for his little country among the great powers, and gained powerful friends for United Italy in France and England.

**Alliance of
Napoleon
and
Cavour**

Napoleon III wanted to win glory and land in Italy as his great uncle had done. With Italian help his army could probably defeat Austria. Moreover, he had once belonged to an Italian revolutionary society and really wanted to help the Italians. These motives led him to meet Cavour secretly at a health resort in eastern France (1858), where he promised to help the king of Sardinia if his country were attacked by Austria. If they drove Austria from northern Italy, Napoleon was to receive Savoy and Nice, both of which were on the French side of the Alps.

Cavour ran great risks. What if Napoleon should not help when Austria attacked? If he did come to help, might he not decide to stay in Italy? Might not the war Cavour wanted so badly be prevented by the rest of Europe? The Austrians could easily have ruined his plans by refusing to attack, for he dared not start the fight, and his country could not afford the cost of a long wait after the troops were ready.

STEPS IN THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

**The first
step—
Austro-
Sardinian
War (1859)**

With great skill Cavour stung Austria into demanding that the king of Sardinia send home his reserve soldiers within three days or fight. All Europe blamed Austria for attacking a small state and favored Sardinia. It was a masterpiece of diplomacy. The French came to the help of Cavour and the Austrians were defeated in the two great battles of Magenta and Solferino. Lombardy was taken from them and they seemed about to lose Venetia also.

But Napoleon feared defeat and fall from power. Perhaps he began to see that he was an incompetent leader and had no great general in his service. Prussia was massing troops close to his frontier. He felt that control was slipping from his hands, for Cavour had arranged for revolts in



north-central Italy, and the people were demanding union with Sardinia. Napoleon had not wished to unite Italy and, if he went on, that might be the result of the war. Hence he suddenly made a truce with Austria without consulting Cavour (July 11, 1859). It was agreed that Lombardy should be given to Sardinia, but that Venetia should be retained by Austria. The pope was to be head of an Italian federation.

Cavour felt Napoleon's desertion very keenly. As long as Austria held Venetia, he felt that she could dictate to a divided Italy as she had done to a divided Germany. The kingdom of Sardinia would not be strong enough to forbid it. But the Franco-Austrian agreement was not carried out. During the war the people of several states of north-central Italy had driven out their rulers. Napoleon refused to let Sardinia annex them unless he received Savoy and Nice, which he had not earned. Cavour was forced to yield,¹ however, and the decision was left to a vote of the people in the lands to be annexed. The states of Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and the Romagna voted to join Sardinia (March, 1860). Savoy and Nice voted to join France. The unification of Italy was well started, though Austria held Venetia, and the Papal States and Naples were outside the union.

Further annexations in northern Italy

The Kingdom of Naples was the most poorly governed state in Italy. When another revolt broke out there (1860), Cavour warned King Francis II of Naples that unless he gave his people a constitution and allied himself with Sardinia he was likely to lose his crown. Francis refused, and so when Garibaldi decided to go to the help of the rebels in Sicily, Cavour did nothing to prevent it.

Second step—the addition of Naples and Sicily

Giuseppe Garibaldi, the most famous soldier of Italy, alone was worth thousands of men. A pupil of Mazzini, he

Career of Garibaldi

¹Directly after the treaty was signed, Cavour is reported to have said to the French ambassador, "Now we are accomplices." Probably he meant that Napoleon would find it hard to complain if Sardinia annexed still more Italian territory.

took part in an unsuccessful revolt in Savoy (1834) and was condemned to death. After a lucky escape, he spent many years in South American wars. In 1848 he took a leading part in the wars against Austria. After defeat by over-



THE MEETING OF GARIBALDI AND VICTOR EMMANUEL NEAR NAPLES
From the painting by C. Ademollo

whelming numbers, he was hunted from one shelter to another. At last he escaped to America. For a time he lived near New York City, but later returned to Italy where he settled down on a little farm. In the war of 1859 he gained added fame in fighting Austria.

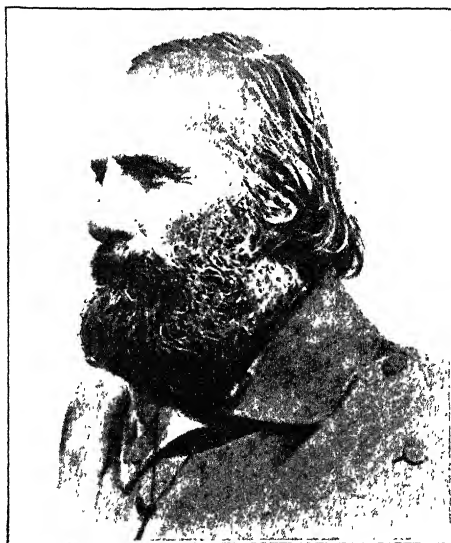
Expedition
of Garibaldi
and the
thousand
"Red
Shirts"
(1860)

The report that he would lead an expedition to Sicily drew over a thousand volunteers. The conquest of Sicily by Garibaldi and his thousand "Red Shirts"¹ seemed impossible. King Francis had 24,000 troops in Sicily and 100,000 more on the mainland, but their hearts were not in the fight. In three months Garibaldi was dictator of Sicily. Then he crossed to the mainland and within three weeks he won most of the Kingdom of Naples.

¹They were so called because of their picturesque costume.

Garibaldi now wished to push on, take Rome itself, and unite all Italy. But Napoleon had a French garrison in Rome to protect the pope. Cavour feared Garibaldi would ruin everything by attacking the French and so force

Why
Cavour
intervened



GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI

Napoleon to join Austria in an attack on the new Italy. Garibaldi might even refuse to join the kingdom of Sardinia. Hence Cavour decided that Victor Emmanuel must take control of the South. To do this he had to invade the Papal States. The pope could depend only upon an army of foreign volunteers, since very few of the pope's subjects were willing to fight for him. The Sardinian troops defeated the pope's army, took all his lands except Rome and a strip along the Mediterranean, and then crossed into Naples.

Meanwhile the Sardinian parliament decided (October 11) to annex the central and southern provinces of the Italian peninsula, if their people voted to join United Italy. Great majorities in Sicily, Naples, and the Papal States (except

Annexation
of Naples

Rome) voted "Yes." Garibaldi yielded to the people's will and handed over his conquests to Victor Emmanuel. Princely rewards were offered him, but he went back to his farm with only a little money and some seed beans.

Cavour's work was nearly done. In less than two years the little kingdom of Sardinia with 5,000,000 people had become the kingdom of Italy with a population of 22,000,000. Overwork killed Cavour before he had finished the union, but his name will never be forgotten by patriotic Italians.¹

Third Step

The province of Venetia was given to Italy for Italian help to Prussia in her victorious war with Austria (1866).²

Fourth step

Rome remained outside Italy. Cavour felt that it must be the capital of the new Italy as it had been of the ancient empire of the Romans. He hoped that the pope would give up his right to rule there if his independence were guaranteed. But the pope could not forgive those who had already taken a large part of his state. During the Franco-German War (1870) the Italians took Rome by force.³ Its people voted for annexation to Italy and it became the capital.

Fifth step

The last step in unifying Italy was taken in 1915 when Italy entered the World War to win the lands along the Alpine frontier and at the north end of the Adriatic Sea, peopled largely by Italians but held until 1918 by Austria.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

- (1) Was Victor Emmanuel's refusal to take away the constitution in 1849 worth what it cost? Why?
- (2) Was Cavour's policy in the Crimean War wise or unwise? Why?
- (3) What risks did Cavour run in planning war against Austria in alliance with France? Why?
- (4) What reasons led Napoleon III to help Cavour? (5) Why did Garibaldi's expedition against Sicily succeed?
- (6) Why did Cavour decide to invade the Papal States in 1860?
- (7) Why did the Italians want Rome as the capital of United Italy?

¹It is important to note that he never yielded to the temptation to become dictator. All his work was done through the parliament. Thus Italy was founded on traditions of popular government.

²See p. 677.

³See pp. 686-687.

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BISMARCK AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

CONDITIONS IN GERMANY AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

In Germany as well as in Italy the failure of the Revolution of 1848 put the kings of the separate states back in control.¹ Austrian influence was almost supreme. Prussia

¹See pp. 653-656.

How
German
liberals
were
persecuted
after 1848

had a constitution and a parliament, but it could do little to check the power of the king. The police persecuted all who favored democracy. Liberal doctors, lawyers, and teachers found it very difficult to make a living because no one dared to employ them. Letters were commonly opened and spied on in the post office. Arrest and imprisonment without cause were common, and the people were generally terrorized. Newspapers printed only what the authorities permitted.¹

The "Junkers" or landed nobles were the leading enemies of democracy. The peasants on their vast estates were hardly more than serfs. The Junkers had most of the higher offices in the army, controlled the upper House of the parliament, and they reigned almost supreme.

Rise of
liberal
influences

In the meantime new liberal forces were growing. Before 1850 most Germans were farmers and there was little manufacturing. Consequently there were few large cities.² After 1850 German industries began to increase very rapidly. Hundreds of new mines and factories were started, and people flocked to the towns. Their leaders, the manufacturers and merchants, wanted a more liberal government not under Junker control, and a national union of all the German states which would help their trade. The writings of learned men, especially the historians, helped to stir up the people's enthusiasm for German unity.

Growth
of a new
middle
class in
Germany

Example
of Italy

The example of Italian success also prepared the way for German unity. Many people believed Prussia could do for Germany what Sardinia had done for Italy. But the wisest leaders saw that Austria would not give up her control of Germany unless defeated in war. Therefore the Prussian army must be strengthened and the foreign

¹It was during these years that a large number of German liberals came to the United States. German emigration to the United States had begun as early as 1830, but now the Germans came in rapidly increasing numbers.

²The Zollverein or Customs Union (see p. 650), however, had helped the growth of trade. Also the people of Germany were better educated than those of France or England.

relations of the country put in charge of a master diplomat equal to Cavour.

PRUSSIAN MILITARY PREPARATIONS

In January, 1861, King William I came to the throne. He was steady and persistent and had good common sense. Most of his sixty years he had spent as an army officer. He was sure that the army was too weak. During the past forty years the population of Prussia had grown 50 per cent, but the army had not been increased.¹

William I
and his
criticism
of the
Prussian
army

Early in 1860 it was proposed to take in 63,000 recruits each year, instead of 40,000, and keep them three years in the active army² and four years in the reserve. This would double the war strength of the Prussian army.

Proposed
reforms

The constitution required the money for these changes to be voted by the Prussian parliament. The lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, was strong in opposition, but it voted the needed money for about one year. The king formed the forty-nine new regiments as if the plan had been fully adopted, but when the next election gave the liberal opposition a large majority of votes, they refused to grant the money again, and a bitter dispute followed. The king would not give up his plans for the army. He decided rather to give up the throne to his son, but was induced to wait and let a new chief minister, Otto von Bismarck, carry on the government. Bismarck was appointed only because no one else would serve, and his task was hard.

The
people's
represent-
atives
object to
these
changes

¹The mobilization of the Prussian army in 1859 had helped induce Napoleon to make peace with Austria for fear of Prussian attack. The Austrian emperor had also been led to realize the importance of Prussia. But the mobilization had shown several defects in the Prussian army. In the wars against Napoleon I, Prussia had adopted the rule that all young men must serve three years in the active army, then two years in the reserve, after that about thirteen years in the Landwehr, or second reserve, and finally in the Landsturm, or third reserve, until the age of fifty. The chance of actual service grew less as the citizen grew older. This plan produced a large army if all men were called out, but the men from twenty-five to thirty-eight years old grouped in the same regiments did not make good soldiers for active service.

²Before 1860 it had become customary to release many recruits after only two years of active service.

Struggle
between
crown and
parliament
in Prussia

A struggle like that between Charles I and the English parliament had begun. Bismarck might well wonder whether the king would stand firm and, if he did, whether it might not result in the fate of Strafford for himself.¹ Every year from 1862 to 1866 the Chamber of Deputies refused to vote the money to pay for the additions to the army, but the Upper House voted everything. Bismarck paid out the money for the increased army, although the constitution forbade it unless voted by both houses of the Prussian parliament. The newspapers were muzzled, the police allowed no one to express discontent, and the opposition of the Deputies and the voters counted for nothing. Meanwhile Bismarck and his friends governed the country ably and prepared the army for the war with Austria.

Bismarck's
plans for
uniting
Germany

Bismarck expected to drive Austria out of the German federation and give Prussia control of a new union.² He had no sympathy with the parliamentary methods that had failed to unite Germany in 1848. In a famous speech he said, "Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided—that was the great blunder of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron." This blood-and-iron policy was applied in three wars: with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870.

War for
Schleswig-
Holstein
and its
effects

For the war with Denmark, Bismarck got Austria to become his ally in seizing the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (1864). The two great powers easily won the war, but they soon quarreled over the spoils. Austria wished the duchies to enter the German Federation as a separate state, but Bismarck was determined to annex them to Prussia and to bring about war with Austria.

THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR AND ITS RESULTS

Austria
isolated

To win this war Bismarck needed to keep Austria from having any allies. He secured the neutrality of France and

¹See p. 488.

²Bismarck was too strong a Prussian to be willing to see Prussia absorbed in the new Germany as Sardinia had been absorbed in the new Italy.

Russia and promised Italy the province of Venetia in return for Italy's active support.¹

Bismarck's object was not merely to annex both Schleswig and Holstein,² but to unite Germany under Prussian leadership. Hence he proposed (April 9, 1866) to reform the Federation by setting up a national German parliament to be elected by direct universal suffrage. The surprised liberals thought it a trick.

How
Bismarck
made
Austria
seem the
aggressor

For over two months the question of war or peace still hung in the balance. Bismarck's plan was to make the world believe that Austria was responsible for the war. Even after Austria made open preparations for it, Prussia did not seem to be preparing. Then Bismarck could point to the Austrian preparations for attack and say that Prussia had to arm in self-defense.³

Prelimi-
naries of
the war

The Seven Weeks' War began June 16, and the fighting was nearly over on July 3. The treaty of peace was signed July 26. In the war, Prussia had to deal with three sets of enemies: (1) several large states of northern Germany led by Hanover, (2) the south German states led by Bavaria, and (3) Austria.

Prussia
vs.
Austria

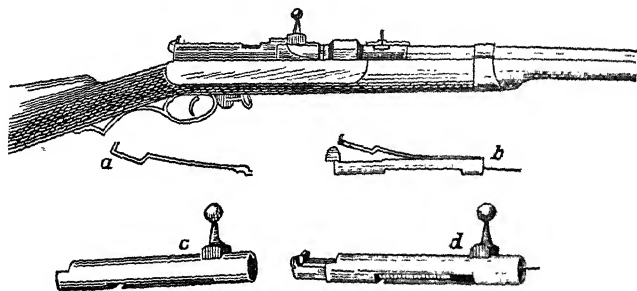
Within two weeks from the day the war began, all northern Germany was in the hands of Prussia, and the great attack on Austria could be made. Austria could not depend on the discontented Magyars and had to divide her forces to meet the attack of Italy. Three Prussian armies then invaded Bohemia by different routes. On July 3, 1866, the decisive battle was fought near Königgrätz (or Sadowa). The opposing forces were about equal in numbers. The

¹Austria could easily have avoided war. To satisfy Italy she had only to give up Venetia. Then Prussia would probably not have dared to fight alone. On the other hand, yielding to Prussia the control of Germany might have enabled Austria to hold Venetia against Italy. Concession to both Prussia and Italy would surely have prevented the war.

²By the Treaty of Gastein (August 14, 1865), Schleswig was given to Prussia and Holstein to Austria. This had postponed the war between Austria and Prussia.

³Prussia could safely allow Austria to call out her reserve soldiers nearly three weeks ahead of Prussia. Even then Prussia would be ready first.

Austrians had more cannon, but the Prussians had the needle gun. With this they could fire four or five shots a minute. The Austrians still carried muzzle-loaders which could not be fired faster than one shot a minute and could



THE NEEDLE GUN AND ITS BREECH MECHANISM

The various parts are shown singly and in combination, as (a) the striker, (b) the striker and needle point, and (c) (d) the combination of these with the knob. A paper-covered cartridge was used. When the soldier pulled the trigger, the striker drove the needle into the cartridge and so fired the gun. Then he had only to pull back the knob, thus opening the breech, and insert another cartridge.

not well be loaded when the soldier was lying down. The Prussians, too, were far better led, for their commander, von Moltke, was the first leader fully to use the new railroads in war. The result was the utter defeat of the Austrians. Vienna was open to Prussian attack.

Terms
of peace

The king and the generals wanted to occupy Vienna and force Austria to accept severe terms of peace. But Bismarck insisted on a very early peace on easy terms. Italy had already been defeated by Austria, and France might enter the war. Napoleon III had expected a long struggle in which he would later join the side that offered him the largest reward. The union of Germany under one strong government would lessen the influence of France, which had increased in the past because Germany was divided.¹ Bismarck felt that France would probably fight to prevent this union, and so wished to treat Austria so favorably that she would not later join France. Bismarck had his way.

Why
lenient
to Austria

¹See pp. 466-467, 472-473, 509-512, and 601.

Austria gave up Venetia to Italy,¹ but lost no other land and paid almost no war indemnity. She consented to the break-up of the existing German Federation, withdrew from German affairs, and allowed Prussia to form a North



VON MOLTKE



BISMARCK

German Confederation including all Germany north of the river Main. The south German states were to be left free to ally themselves with whomsoever they pleased.

In the meantime Prussia had annexed important lands in northern Germany. Austria had been favored in the peace terms, but not the lesser allies of Austria. Not only Schleswig and Holstein, but the kingdom of Hanover and all the north German states, except Saxony, that had sided with Austria in the war, lost their independence and became part of Prussia. The wishes of the people were not considered. Might seemed to make right. Prussia's area increased almost one-fourth and her population grew from 19,500,000 to about 24,000,000. Most important of all, her eastern and western provinces were now connected.²

Other
results
of the war

Annexa-
tions to
Prussia

¹The Austro-Italian frontier was drawn to the advantage of Austria, which was left in control of nearly all the strongest positions in the Alpine heights. In case Italy ever went to war with Austria, the Austrians would find it easy to prevent the Italians from crossing the mountain barriers.

²See p. 636 and maps between pp. 650-651 and facing p. 689.

She controlled almost all the coast line of Germany, and her strength was so great that no combination of German states, without Austria, could rival her.

Effects of
Bismarck's
success
on the
German
government

While all Prussia rang with applause, Bismarck asked and obtained from the parliament a pardon for having violated the constitution. He believed that the government could be well managed only by a minister responsible, not to parliament, but to the king. The Chamber of Deputies had bitterly opposed all his plans and had done its best to get rid of him, but in spite of this he had won the most startling success. From that time the German people lost much of their trust in parliamentary government.

The constitution of the new North German Confederation was the work of Bismarck. With a few changes it became that of the German Empire, 1871-1918. Its most important features were the following: (1) It seemed to give power to the common people, but it did not actually give them control. (2) The king of Prussia really controlled the Confederation. (3) All the states adopted the Prussian army system, and all the forces were put under the orders of the king of Prussia, who thus commanded an army of 800,000 men. With the addition of the south German forces, which were promised in case of war, the king would have over 1,000,000 soldiers. Prussia had grown up because she was a military state, and now all Germany was to be modeled on Prussian lines. The army was likely to control the civil government.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE

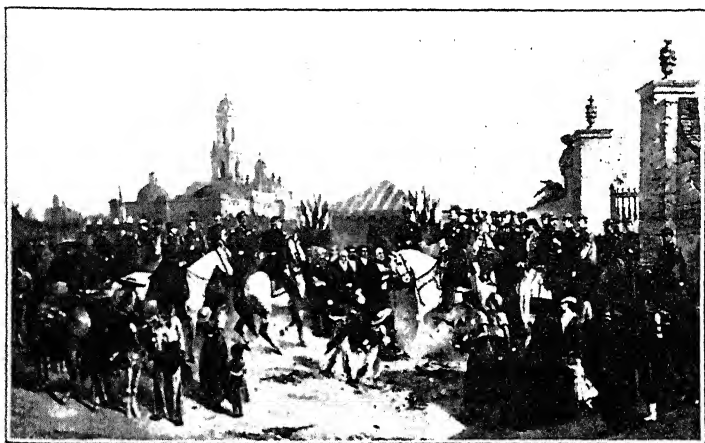
Motives of
Bismarck

Bismarck could have forced the south German states to join the union at the close of the war in 1866, but he thought it unwise until national patriotism grew stronger. Bismarck planned to arouse this patriotism by a great national war. He felt sure that France would consent to the union only if given more land or after defeat in war, and he hoped to bring about a war for a cause that would put France in

the wrong before the world and unite all Germany in a flame of national patriotism. Eagerly he awaited the opportunity.

Ever since 1860 the influence of Napoleon III had been weakening. He had been used by Cavour as a tool to help unite Italy, and then to please the Catholic party in France he had sent a French garrison to hold Rome for the pope. This angered the Italians without winning back the French Catholic party. England was offended by his annexation of Savoy and Nice. Napoleon now tried to win the French

Causes and
events
that
weakened
Napoleon
III



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

THE ENTRY OF THE FRENCH ARMY INTO THE MEXICAN CAPITAL

From the painting by A. Beaugé, Versailles Museum

liberals by giving the National Assembly more power, but this only made the republicans work harder to drive him out. Nevertheless, had he kept out of reckless foreign adventures, the Napoleonic Empire might well have outlived him. In 1861 he tried to found a great French empire in Mexico. Frenchmen had been injured in the civil war there, and he used this as an excuse to send an army to conquer the country. The French soldiers fought their way to the

The
Mexican
adventure

Mexican capital and set up Maximilian, an Austrian prince, as emperor. The ill-fated prince came to Mexico (1864) but could not win the people.

Of course Napoleon's Mexican empire was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and when the American Civil War was over, the United States demanded that the French leave at once. As the demand was backed by a great veteran army and a great navy, Napoleon obeyed. Only a few months after the last French soldiers left (1867), Maximilian was seized and shot by his Mexican enemies, and his empire fell to pieces. Napoleon had wasted vast sums of money, weakened his army to no purpose, and made himself a laughing stock. In 1866, when he should have fought on the Austrian side, his best soldiers were in Mexico and he did nothing but talk. His demands for territory from Prussia in return for his neutrality were just strong enough to irritate the Germans without gaining anything.

Blunders
of
Napoleon's
diplomacy

The French felt that the Prussian victory over Austria and the union of the German states upset the balance of power in Europe and entitled France to more territory to keep the balance even. Bismarck led Napoleon to think he could unite Luxembourg with France (1867) and then stopped him by direct threat of war.¹ The newspapers of both France and Germany demanded war, but the dispute was patched up.²

Napoleon now started to reform the French army on the Prussian model, but did not complete the work. A new breech-loading rifle was adopted, but the lack of large reserves of trained soldiers made the French army hopelessly smaller than that of northern Germany. Napoleon himself

¹Before this, Napoleon's envoy had suggested to Bismarck that France be given land along the west bank of the Rhine, only to meet with refusal. Then he proposed that France occupy Belgium. This time Bismarck obtained from the French ambassador a written draft of the proposed treaty. This he later used to convince Europe of Napoleon's land-grabbing plans and to deprive him of sympathy.

²Luxembourg was then made a neutral state by international agreement. Its fortresses were destroyed and it kept up no army. In August, 1914, this agreement was broken by Germany. Luxembourg was occupied by the German armies from then until the German defeat in 1918.

was seriously ill and often in violent pain. He did not want war, but he dared not be called a coward. The French people as a whole did not want war, and did not seem to believe that there was danger of it.

The war grew out of a proposal that a German prince be made king of Spain, where a revolution had taken place (1868) and a new king was wanted. Bismarck wished to have Spain friendly to Prussia when war came and hoped somehow to make France start the war. Leopold, prince of Hohenzollern and a relative of the king of Prussia, had already been offered the crown several times, but had refused it. Bismarck secretly obtained another offer from Spain and induced the prince to accept. The French learned what had been done, and Napoleon demanded that the king of Prussia cause Prince Leopold to withdraw. The king would not do this, but Prince Leopold himself refused the offer (July 12, 1870). The French apparently had won a victory over Bismarck and the danger of war seemed to be over. Bismarck had probably expected France to fight. Instead the Hohenzollerns had yielded.

The
Hohen-
zollern
candidacy
for the
Spanish
throne

But the French pushed their advantage too far by demanding further that the king of Prussia promise never to allow the Hohenzollern candidacy to be renewed. This was "rubbing it in," and the king courteously but firmly told the French ambassador that he could not promise to do this. Bismarck then took the telegraphic report of the interview and cut from it enough to make it appear that the interview had been abruptly ended with a snub to the French ambassador. This shortened report was published and roused anger in both countries. Paris was carried away by excitement and the government declared war (July 19, 1870). Thus Bismarck, with the help of the hot-headed French foreign minister, had drawn France into an attack on Germany. The people of neither country as a whole wanted the war—it was made by the governments, though the people responded by outbursts of patriotism.

Diplomatic
isolation
of France

Napoleon had hoped for the help of the south German states, but they joined Prussia, and all Germany was united in the war. He expected help from Austria and Italy, but none came. To keep England quiet, Bismarck published the French proposal of 1866 for the annexation of Belgium.¹ This put France decidedly in the wrong. England then demanded and received the agreement of both Prussia and France not to invade Belgium.

Unprepar-
edness of
France

The French plan was to invade southern Germany. But the reserve soldiers could not get their uniforms and arms and reach their places promptly enough. Supplies did not arrive where they were needed and generals could not find their armies. The railroads were not equal to their tasks. Most government officers whose duty it was to prepare for war were weak, if not worse, and nothing was ready.

German
prepared-
ness

In marked contrast was the readiness of the German armies. Everything had been prepared in advance. The needed orders had only to be dated and issued. Mobilization was ordered July 16, and in eighteen days about 500,000 soldiers were at their posts near the frontier, with all their equipment and supplies, ready to invade France, while there remained in reserve over 500,000 trained men. To meet them the French had only about 330,000 effective troops, and these not ready. To make matters worse, the French had almost no trained reserves.

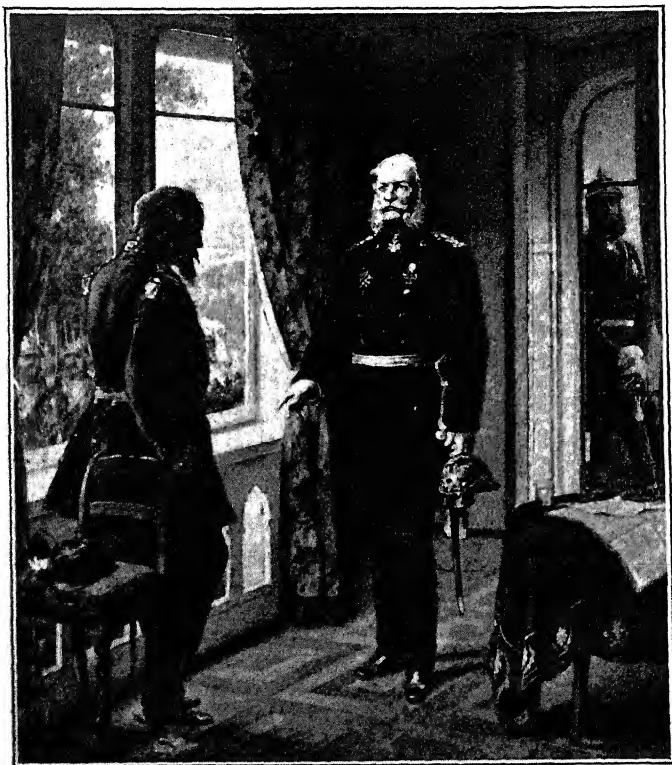
THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR (1870-1871)

Defeat
of the
French
armies

The German plan was to deliver a series of crushing blows at once, to separate and surround the French armies, and to march against Paris. Within a week after the fighting started (August 2), the French armies intended for the invasion of Germany were defeated and driven back in full retreat. The French fought bravely and the German victories were won at heavy cost, but the Germans pushed on and, after bloody battles, surrounded the largest French

¹See p. 680, note 1.

army in Metz. Napoleon III then tried to relieve Metz, but was defeated at Sedan, and next day surrendered his army to the Germans (September 2, 1870). The French



SURRENDER OF NAPOLEON III TO KING WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA

From the painting by A. Werner

had lost nearly 120,000 men in two days. In just one month Napoleon's armies were practically wiped out.

The news of Sedan caused the overthrow of Napoleon's government at Paris. The republicans at once formed a provisional government. They were willing to make peace, but would not give up any land. The Germans had

Collapse
of the
Imperial
Govern-
ment



A CHARGE OF PRUSSIAN CAVALRY IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR
From the painting by E. de Neuville

determined to annex Alsace and so pushed on to besiege Paris. The new French government, led by Gambetta, determined to hold Paris as long as possible, prepare new armies in the south to break the siege, and then drive the Germans from France. Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon and raised new armies of volunteers. In spite of little training and the lack of arms and supplies, they gave the Germans much trouble, and, had the French regular army broken out of Metz and united with the new armies, they might have succeeded. But the general in command of Metz waited until there was no chance of escape and then, far sooner than necessary, surrendered to the Germans his 170,000 men with vast quantities of arms and war material (October 27, 1870). It was not only a tremendous loss to France, but the large armies besieging Metz were set free to crush Gambetta's new armies before they were ready to fight. In spite of heroic efforts, the French were defeated.

Meanwhile Paris held out bravely under terrible suffering. Food became scarce; "the people ate anything they could get, dogs, cats, or rats. The market price for rats was two francs (\$.40) apiece." Fuel gave out, too, and there was cruel suffering from winter cold. At last Paris was forced by bombardment and famine to surrender (January 28, 1871).

Siege of
Paris

A truce was granted to give an opportunity for elections in France. A National Assembly was elected and met at Bordeaux (February 12, 1871). It chose Thiers "chief of the executive power" and authorized him to make peace. By the Treaty of Frankfurt (May 10, 1871), France was obliged to give up all Alsace (except Belfort), and part of Lorraine including the fortress of Metz, and to pay an indemnity of five billion francs (\$1,000,000,000). A German army of occupation was to remain in France until the money was paid.

Terms
of peace

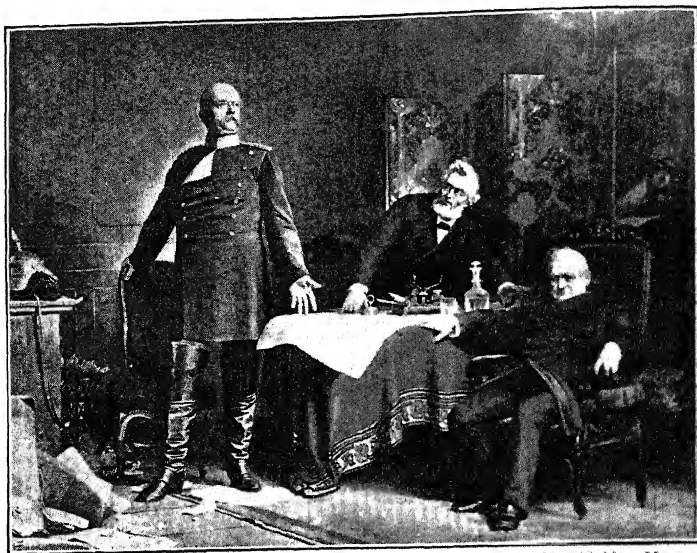
RESULTS OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

This quick and crushing defeat and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine made the people of France very bitter. Almost

686 BISMARCK AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

French
desire for
revenge

at once they began working hard to restore the country's resources and to build up new fortresses and a new army. The desire to take revenge and to win back the lost provinces



Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

BISMARCK PRESENTS TERMS OF PEACE TO THIERS AND GAMBETTA

From the painting by Carl Wagner

never fully died away. The hatred left by the war of 1870-1871 helped to bring about the World War in 1914.

Completion
of Italian
unity

Though Italy did not take part in the war, she gained by it. When the French garrison was withdrawn from Rome after Sedan, the army of Victor Emmanuel defeated the papal troops and took the city.¹ This united Italy and took from the pope his last remaining temporal power. He protested, but found no ally. The Italian government offered to leave him full independence and his own separate government in the Vatican palace and gardens, St. Peter's Cathedral, and certain other places in Rome, and to give him a large

¹See p. 670.

sum of money each year. The pope refused these terms, and his successors have not officially recognized the new kingdom of Italy and have generally refused to leave the Vatican and adjoining buildings to set foot on Italian soil.

The south German armies had joined the Prussians at the opening of the war. After the first victories Bismarck arranged for these states to enter the Federation. The two largest, Bavaria and Württemberg, were given more independence than the other states. In behalf of the German princes, the king of Bavaria then urged King William of Prussia to take the title of emperor. In the great Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles, King William was proclaimed German Emperor (January 18, 1871).

Completion
of German
unity

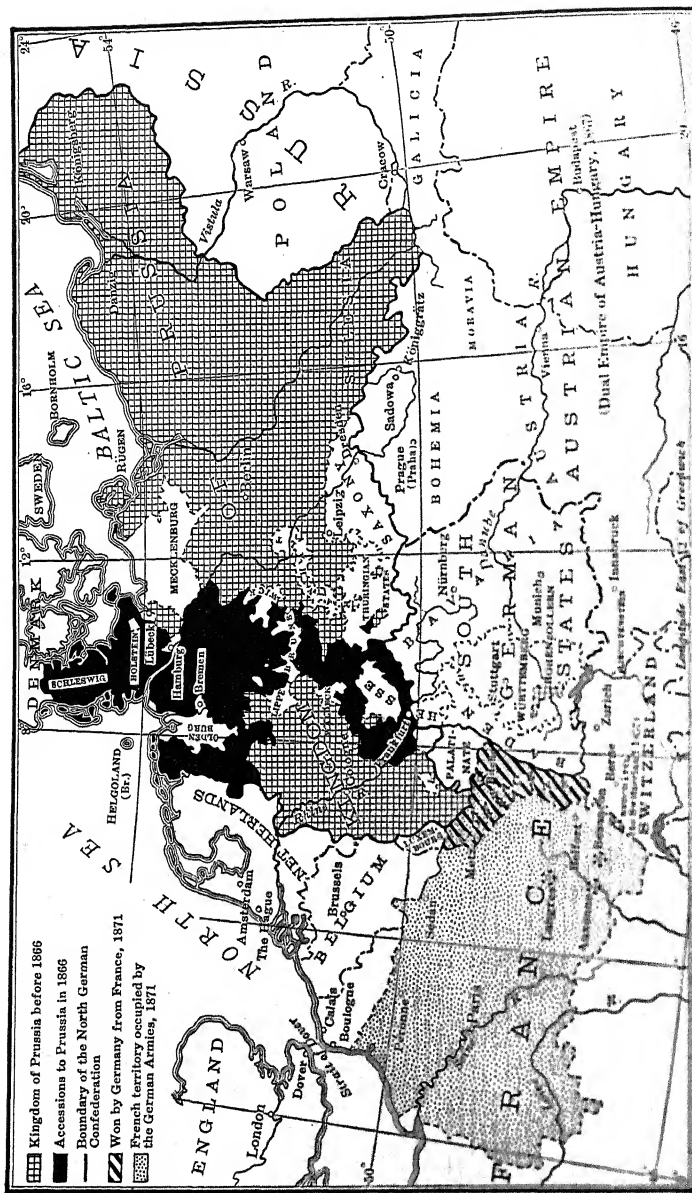
The German states at last were united. But the methods by which this union had been brought about were not all good. Some of them sowed the seeds of future trouble. It was said throughout Western Europe that it was the Prussian schoolmasters who had won the victories of 1866. But the victories of 1866 and 1870 were due also to the Prussian system of universal military service and to the skill with which Bismarck used deceit in his country's interest. His aims were high and he was not the originator of "crooked" diplomacy, but his success helped to lower the tone of international morality.

Ultimate
effects of
German
unity

It is hard for many people today not to admire the remarkable combination of force and fraud by which the work of uniting was done. It is little wonder that many Germans came to believe that the ordinary rules of private morality and justice do not apply to nations and governments, and that a strong state is quite justified in taking what it needs from a weak state by force or fraud.

The victory of the Prussian universal-service army enlisted for short terms over the French professional army enlisted for long terms, was so decisive that all the great European states except England adopted the Prussian system. At heavy cost France rebuilt her military power

Great
armies
built up



THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY. 1866-1871

in the hope of retaking Alsace and Lorraine. Germany in her turn gradually increased her army. Other powers followed their example until the vast armies of 1914-1918 resulted. To prevent a war of revenge by France, Bismarck made an alliance with Austria-Hungary which Italy also joined. This Triple Alliance was met by a later alliance between France and Russia. It was owing to these and other international alliances that most of the great powers of Europe were drawn into the World War in 1914.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why did so many Germans leave home and settle in the United States soon after 1848? (2) Were the liberals right or wrong in opposing the plans for strengthening the Prussian army? Why? (3) Compare the Prussian constitutional struggle, 1862-1866, with the struggle between Charles I and the English Parliament. Why did the Prussian struggle have a different outcome? (4) How did Bismarck win the friendship or neutrality of each great power so as to leave Austria alone in 1866? (5) How did Bismarck make Austria seem the aggressor in 1866? Compare with the events at the beginning of the World War in 1914. (6) Why was Prussia able to win the war of 1866? (7) Why did Bismarck treat Austria so leniently after the decided Prussian victory? Was it wise? Why? (8) Contrast Prussian treatment of Hanover with Sardinian treatment of Naples and Tuscany when annexed. Why such differences? (9) When Bismarck received an "act of indemnity" or pardon for his unconstitutional acts, did that right the wrong he had committed? Why? How was his success harmful to the cause of democracy in Germany? (10) In what respects do you think the influence of Prussia on Germany good? In what respects bad? Why? (11) In what ways could France have avoided war with Prussia in 1870? Why were none of those ways adopted? (12) Make a list of the reasons for the utter defeat of France in the War of 1870. (13) Why was France in 1871 treated so much more severely than Austria had been in 1866? Do you think the terms unduly severe? Why? (14) How did Italy gain by the War of 1870? (15) What good influences did the unification of Germany have on Europe? Why? What bad influences did it have? Why?

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THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871-1914

GERMANY UNDER BISMARCK

The constitution of the new German Empire was like that of the North German Confederation and it was largely the work of Bismarck. It was changed but little until the close of the World War. The empire included twenty-five states and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine. The central government had three parts: (1) the emperor, or president; (2) the Bundesrat, or Federal Council; and (3) the Reichstag, or Parliament.

**Government of
United
Germany**

The king of Prussia was always to be emperor. He commanded the army and navy and appointed and dismissed the chancellor, who controlled all the higher officers of government in both Prussia and the empire.

**Emperor
and his
chancellor**

The Bundesrat was composed of delegates from the separate state governments, acting under orders from them, but there were so many small states wholly surrounded and influenced by Prussia that their votes added to her seventeen gave Prussia control.

**The
powerful
Bundesrat**

The Reichstag had 397 members, elected by the people. It had much less power than the Bundesrat; for almost all

The weak Reichstag elected by the people new laws were first proposed in the Bundesrat. The consent of the Reichstag was needed for new taxes, but not for old ones. The representatives of the German people could debate in the Reichstag but had little power to act. The emperor and his ministers usually had their own way. The imperial government looked democratic but really was almost despotic.

Government of Prussia In the government of the kingdom of Prussia, also, the common people had very little power. Its constitution (1850)¹ provided for a Parliament, but the nobles controlled the Upper House and voting for the Lower House was so arranged that the rich had control.

United Germany under Bismarck's rule (1871-1890) For nineteen years after the empire was formed, Bismarck really governed it. Perhaps his hardest problem was the rise of socialism. The views of the German socialist, Karl Marx, were being very widely adopted by German laborers. Marx urged the laborers to unite, put the people in full control of the government, and then overturn the existing economic system. He would do away with all private employers and have the state carry on all industries for the benefit of the common people. This was somewhat like the plan of Louis Blanc.²

Growth of the Social Democratic party Ferdinand Lassalle founded a political party to spread his ideas, which were much like those of Marx (1863). This party was combined (1875) with another begun by Marx's followers. At every Reichstag election the socialists won more votes, their total increasing from about 125,000 in 1871 to nearly 500,000 in 1877.

Bismarck's persecution of the socialists The rapid growth of this Social Democratic party so alarmed the ruling classes that Bismarck determined to crush it by persecution and by improving the conditions of the laboring classes. In 1878 a law was made forbidding socialist books, papers, pamphlets, and meetings of any kind. The police were given unusual powers to arrest persons suspected of breaking this law. They could even

¹See p. 656.²See pp. 648, 658-659.

hurry a socialist away to prison or exile without giving him a fair trial. This law was in force until 1890, but did not accomplish what was expected. The socialist vote was cut down at first, but soon it began to increase faster than ever, though many socialists were arrested, fined, and imprisoned. Persecution could not destroy the movement.

But persecution was not Bismarck's only weapon. He planned to make the working people so prosperous and happy that the socialists could not win them—to kill socialism by kindness, though not kindness to the socialists themselves. This would also lead the people to look to the government for future benefits and make them more obedient. He proposed and put into effect (1883–1889) a system of compulsory insurance against sickness, accident, and inability to work because of old age.

**Bismarck's
plan to kill
socialism
by kindness**

Soon after Germany was united Bismarck began to change his views on colonial expansion. At first he cared little for foreign colonies. Had he wished, he could have forced France to give up several of hers instead of Alsace-Lorraine. He believed, also, in free trade rather than in a protective tariff. Immediately after 1871, money in Germany seemed plentiful, wages rose rapidly, and many new factories were built. Then "hard times" came. The newly made goods could not all be sold at a profit, and many factories were forced to shut down. Laborers were thrown out of work or had their wages lowered and the socialists won many converts. The German farmers asked that the government tax the cheap American and Russian grain coming into Germany. The manufacturers demanded like protection from cheap foreign goods.

**Bismarck's
economic
policies**

Bismarck decided to set up a protective tariff that would enable the German farmers and manufacturers to find a ready market for their products at home (1879). This tariff on foreign products brought large sums into the imperial treasury and so strengthened German agriculture that it was better able to feed the German people during

**Protective
tariff**

the blockade of the World War. But it also enabled the landowners to charge far higher prices for their grain and meat, and so make enormous profits at the cost of the poor people of the towns, who had to pay or starve.

German
coloniza-
tion

While asking for a protective tariff, German merchants also demanded government support in finding new foreign markets for their goods. The other great nations of Europe had colonies in uncivilized lands with which they could carry on profitable trade and where their citizens could go to live. Great Britain had the best colonies and France came second. German traders had already begun to found trading posts in Africa and the Pacific islands. At last (1884) Bismarck brought several districts on the west coast of Africa under German control. A few years later a strong foothold was obtained on the east coast, and several islands in the Pacific Ocean were acquired. In these lands, especially the German part of New Guinea, plantations were laid out and tropical products grown. German exports increased, but it is now doubtful whether these colonies were worth their cost. None of them was in a temperate climate, and so few German citizens cared to go there to live.

GERMANY UNDER WILLIAM II

Accession
of
William II
(1888)

Early in 1888 the aged Emperor William I died and was succeeded by his son Frederick III, who lived only a little over three months longer. Then Frederick's son, William II, came to the throne. "The new ruler was twenty-nine years of age, a young man of very active mind, of fertile imagination, versatile, ambitious, self-confident, a man of unusual promise." He believed firmly that his power was given him by God, to whom alone he was responsible.¹ He would not be ruled by the great minister who had made his grandfather emperor, and Bismarck would not take orders from the new emperor. Hence Bismarck was ordered to resign office and William II took full control.

His
character

¹See p. 504.

The emperor was determined to control the German government and to let the people have no share in it. But, like his ancestors, the Great Elector and Frederick the Great,¹ he insisted that the government take the best of care of the people. They were to be treated just as good German parents treated their children. They were taught to obey, were sent to school, were trained to avoid dangers, and were punished severely when they broke any of the many rules laid down for them. The German people were carefully watched from the cradle to the grave. American travelers in Germany often marvel at the signs *Verboten* ("Forbidden") which are posted everywhere. But most Germans believed that their government worked for the best interests of all classes of the people.

Efficiency
of the
German
government

The farmer was taught how best to till the soil. He could get high prices for his produce because of the protective tariff. The business man was helped to find new markets for his goods in which he could make large profits. The government-owned railroads served the public well. The laborers were protected by the great insurance system started by Bismarck. The government schools trained them so they could earn fair wages. If out of work, the government helped the laborer to find employment. Special industrial courts gave him quick and cheap justice in his disputes.

What the
German
government
did for
the people

The government enforced an elaborate set of social-insurance laws.² The Accident Insurance Law obliged employers to keep a fund from which money must be paid to every workman injured by accident while at work. Often this was half his usual wages. If he were killed, a sum of money must be paid to his family. Likewise the Sickness Insurance Law obliged workmen and women to insure against sickness. Thus they were taken care of when unable to earn their wages.³ The Old Age Insurance

German
social
insurance
laws

¹See pp. 521, 530-531.

²See p. 693.

³The employer had to pay one-third of the weekly payment needed to provide these benefits, and the workman paid the other two-thirds.

Law obliged every workingman earning less than \$500 a year to make small weekly payments to a government fund. His employer had to pay an equal amount, and this money was then put at interest. When he reached the age of seventy, or earlier if he could work no longer, the workingman received a pension for the rest of his life. The size of the pension depended on his wages and the length of time he had been paying. The government added \$12.50 a year to each pension. The largest possible pension was \$112.50 a year. The system helped give millions of Germans a secure old age. Other countries, too, have adopted it.

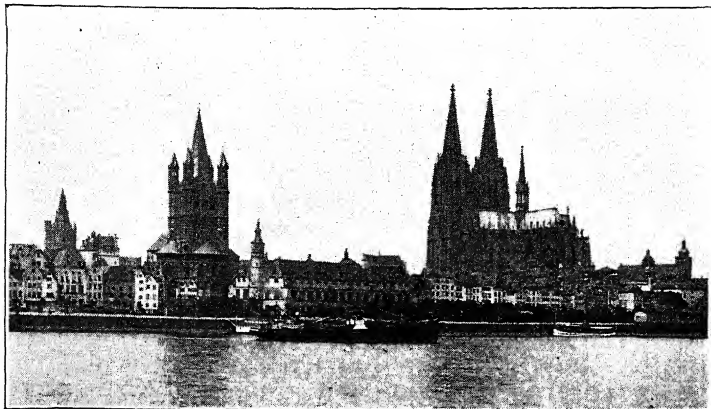
What the
German
cities do
for the
people

German cities do far more for the people than American cities. They have long been governed by experts, and political "graft" is almost unknown. The cities buy land just outside their limits, make streets, build new schools, and lay out parks there. Then they sell the land at low prices and lend the workingman the money to buy his home. City-owned street cars take him to his work cheaply and comfortably. City gas and electric plants are run for his benefit. Often the city also owns and operates savings banks, pawnshops, slaughterhouses, markets, restaurants, and dairies. In short, German cities can and do engage in almost any business.

Germany is a land of system and organization. Each citizen is given his work to do—his place to fill. Each is guided and guarded by the all-powerful state. This system is the great source of Germany's strength. But the men who controlled the government during the reign of William II would not yield to demands for democracy. They helped to plunge Germany into war in 1914. The German people will long be paying a heavy price for trusting this efficient government and obeying it without protest.

The reign of William II was marked by tremendous growth of German industry and commerce. In the factories the most modern methods were used to make goods of every kind at low cost. Young Germans were carefully

trained for the special work they were to do. German salesmen traveled over the whole world learning the languages of different countries and finding out their wants. They



VIEW OF COLOGNE FROM THE RHINE

Ewing Galloway

arranged for the manufacture in Germany of the goods in demand and then sold them at reasonable prices. Most of the German railroads were owned by the government and gave low rates on such goods. Then great fleets of German ships carried them wherever they were wanted. As a result the exports of Germany increased enormously and she became the active rival of England and the United States.

Recent
growth of
German
manufac-
tures and
trade

From 1888 to 1914 the population of Germany increased rapidly. In 1870 it was only about 40,000,000; in 1910 it was 65,000,000. In later years the ordinary increase of native Germans was about 800,000 a year. It was not easy to find profitable work at home for this fast-growing population. There were no German colonies where white men could live in large numbers, and so, if Germans left home, they would be lost to Germany and their children would not serve in the German army. The successful war with France (1870) and the great gains of Germany in manufacturing and foreign trade, as well as the high position

Growth of
German
population

**Desire for
expansion**

in philosophy, literature, and music which she had gained in earlier decades, had made the German people very proud of their country. They came to believe themselves better than the French or English or any other people. They were eager to play a greater part in world politics and to have a great colonial empire. They were even taught by their rulers that Germany was destined to rule the whole world.

To realize these ambitions Germany must have a great fighting navy as well as a vast army. She already had an enormous fleet of merchant ships. After 1900 Germany built great numbers of battleships, cruisers, and submarines of the latest type. The fleet grew so fast that the English felt it was intended for an attack against them. Great Britain depended on her superior fleet of warships to keep open her communications with the rest of the world. If her fleet were defeated, Britain might be starved out in a short time. Germany needed imported food far less than Britain and therefore had less need for the stronger fleet. This with other causes led to the growth of unfriendly feeling between Great Britain and Germany.

**DEMANDS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FOR
REFORMS IN GOVERNMENT**

**New divi-
sion of the
districts
for the
election
of the
Reichstag**

In German politics the most notable movement of recent years has been the rapid rise of the Social Democratic party. Its first great object was to carry out a revolution in industry,¹ but its leaders soon saw that the common people must first win a larger share in the government. Three great changes were needed. The first need was to change the districts in which members of the Reichstag were elected. In 1912 the Social Democrats won 4,238,919 out of a total of 12,188,337 votes cast for members of the Reichstag. With these votes they elected only 110 members out of 397 in the Reichstag. They had the largest popular vote of all the parties and with other liberals might

¹See p. 692.

even have had a majority in the Reichstag, if the electoral districts had been evenly divided according to population. But the system remained as it was in 1871 when the cities were small. Berlin still sent only six representatives, though its population had grown from 600,000 to over 2,000,000 and the city deserved twenty representatives. Other cities were as badly treated. William II and his officers prevented any change in the districts, chiefly because the Social Democrats were so strong in the cities that a fair arrangement would enable them to win a real share in the government. The socialists might even carry out their economic plans.

Social Democrats and liberals also wished to abolish the old system of electing members of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies. The voters were divided into three classes in proportion to the amount of taxes paid. This arrangement enabled the well-to-do people to control the elections and almost keep the common people from choosing anyone to voice their wishes. In 1908 the Social Democrats in Prussia cast 44 per cent of the total popular vote, but elected only seven members out of 443.¹

**Abolition
of the
three-class
system of
voting in
Prussia**

A third great change which German liberals wanted was to put the emperor's ministers under the control of the Reichstag, to be appointed and dismissed at the will of the majority of that body. This would mean the adoption of the cabinet system of government like that of England and France. It would make the emperor nothing more than a figurehead. The Social Democrats also urged that the rich ought to bear a greater share of the heavy taxes, and that the import taxes should be reduced to enable the poor to buy their food more cheaply.

**Demand
for minis-
terial
responsi-
bility**

If these reforms had been adopted they would not have corrected all the illiberal features of the German government. (1) Prussia, which was not in the least democratic,

¹This was due partly to failure to change the electoral districts of Prussia and give the cities their fair representation.

Illiberal
features
of the
German
govern-
ment

controlled the imperial government. Thus, through their control of Prussia, the Junkers, or landed nobles, governed Germany. (2) The higher officers of the army were drawn chiefly from the Junker class. The emperor was commander in chief of the army and in close friendship with its officers, and when an important decision on a political question had to be made, it was the army officers whose views weighed most heavily as a rule. Here the army controlled the state. In France the civil government controlled the army. (3) The German government controlled a large number of newspapers so completely that they printed and spread only such news as the emperor and his officers wished to have known. Even before the war Germans did not have freedom of speech except in parliament itself, for men were often put in prison for criticizing the government in ways that were very common in England or the United States. (4) Even religion was harnessed to the service of the German government, for the clergy were paid by the government and required to teach the people the duty of obeying the emperor. (5) The schools and universities also taught patriotism as the supreme duty. From his earliest childhood the German boy was taught to obey and to sacrifice himself willingly for kaiser and country. (6) For hundreds of years the people of Prussia were trained to look to the state as a parent from whom they had received vast benefits and to whom they owed their all. This deeply fixed habit of obedience to the state and its head did much to make possible the power of the emperor and his officers over an intelligent people.

How the
emperor
and his
officers
controlled
the people

It is clear that to make Germany a really democratic state, not only must the Social Democratic demands for liberal government be granted, but also the illiberal features enumerated above must be eliminated.

None of the changes requested by the Social Democrats was made, though the weight of the new taxes which were voted in 1912-1913 to pay for increases in the army fell

more heavily on the rich than had any earlier taxes. In 1906, 1908, and 1910 the government proposed slight reforms in the electoral system of Prussia, but they were so unimportant that the liberals opposed them and nothing was done. Defeat in the World War at last overthrew Emperor William and his officers. The chance for liberty had come.

Slight
extent to
which
reforms
have been
granted

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Compare and contrast the German imperial government with that of the United States. (2) How did the powers and position of the emperor and the imperial chancellor differ from those of the king and the prime minister of Great Britain? (3) How is the German attitude toward the state different from the American? Why? (4) Explain in your own words the chief teachings of Karl Marx. With how much of his program do you agree? Why? (5) How did Germany happen to be the first great nation to introduce compulsory social insurance? Explain the main provisions of these laws. (6) What advantages do they give the average man? What disadvantages? Why? What advantages and disadvantages do they have from the point of view of the government? of the well-to-do people? Why? (7) What reasons led Bismarck to favor a protective tariff for Germany? Did it benefit all classes of the German people equally? Why? (8) What colonies did Germany have in 1914? Why did she have fewer than France or Great Britain? (9) Why did German industries grow so fast in the twenty-five years before 1914? (10) Why have the German people in recent years sought more and more for wider lands? Are these aspirations justifiable? Why? Compare them with those of the American people (especially in the middle of the nineteenth century). (11) Explain three great changes in the German system of government which the Social Democrats demanded. Were these demands just? State the arguments for and against each one. (12) Would the German Social Democrats be satisfied with the way the people of the United States are really governed? Why?

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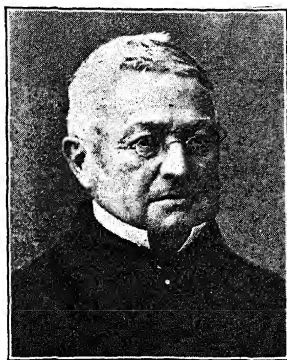
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FRANCE, 1870 TO 1914

FRANCE AFTER THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

The recovery of France after the disasters of the Franco-German War was delayed by a revolt of Paris against the national government. The Parisians were strong republicans much opposed to the terms of peace, but the rest of France wanted peace. Less than one-third of the members of the National Assembly elected February, 1871, were republicans.

Civil war
between
Paris
and the
national
government



THIERS



GAMBETTA

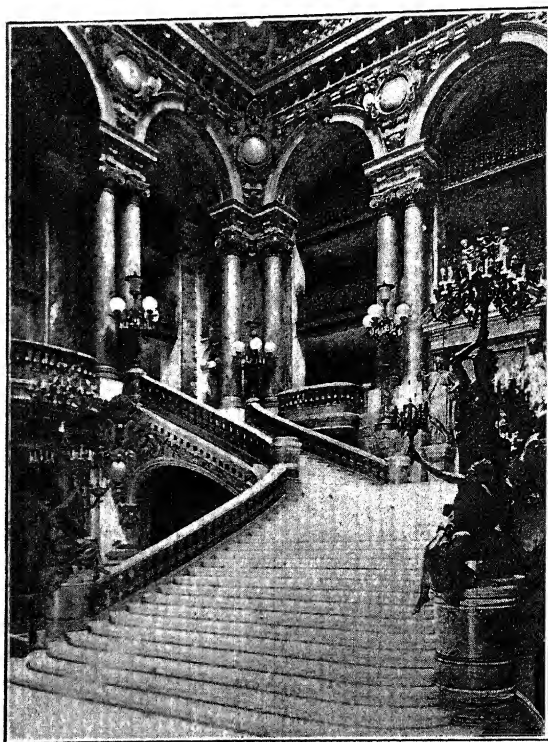
After making peace the Assembly decided to govern France for a time and prepare a constitution. The Paris republicans feared a king would be set up and determined to prevent it. A fight broke out between some National Guards and some government troops. Fiery radicals won the Parisians, and their "Commune of Paris," as they called it, tried to secede from France. President Thiers and the Assembly determined to crush the revolt, and after a terrible siege government troops took the city and shot the rebels as traitors.

The work of rebuilding France was now begun at once. The losses had been staggering. Thiers was made president of the French Republic under control of the Assembly. Otherwise the form of government was left to be settled

Rebuilding
of French
prosperity

**Payment
of the war
indemnity**

later. The treaty of peace allowed a German army of about 500,000 men to stay in France at the cost of the French. They were to be withdrawn gradually as the war indemnity of \$1,000,000,000 was paid. To get them all out of France was the first aim of Thiers, and in September, 1873, the last German soldier left the country. The money was borrowed



STAIRWAY OF THE OPERA, PARIS

mainly from the French people, who offered several times as much as was needed. France was still rich and strong.

Another urgent need was the formation of a new army to protect France and perhaps win back the lost provinces.

France adopted a military system like the Prussian (1872). Every young man was required to serve five years in the active army and then be subject to call until he reached the age of forty-five. Thus by 1875 France had an army of 2,400,000 men, including militia and reserves. Vast quantities of war material were also prepared and great fortresses built along the eastern frontier. This quick recovery of France was a great surprise to the world and especially to the Germans.

Establishment of the new army

When the work of rebuilding France had been well started, the Assembly decided to set up a king whether the people liked it or not. They forced Thiers to resign (1873) and offered the crown to the count of Chambord, the last direct descendant of King Louis XVI. He refused to become king unless France would have the old white flag of the Bourbons instead of the revolutionary tri-color flag. This saved the Republic for the time.

Failure of the attempt to restore the monarchy

Then Marshal MacMahon was made president for seven years. Meanwhile everything was done by the royalists to keep the French people from becoming republican. The agitation for republican government, however, grew too strong. In 1875 the Assembly made laws giving France a definite form of government, and these, with certain amendments, make up the present constitution of France.

How the Republic was set up

GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Republic has a parliament of two houses, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, both elected by the people.¹ Together these two bodies choose the president. He has far less power than our president, for the government is really carried on by the cabinet, whose members are controlled by the chambers, as the two legislative bodies are often called. The cabinet resigns if it is not supported by a majority of votes in the Chamber of Deputies. The

The democratic government of France

The cabinet system

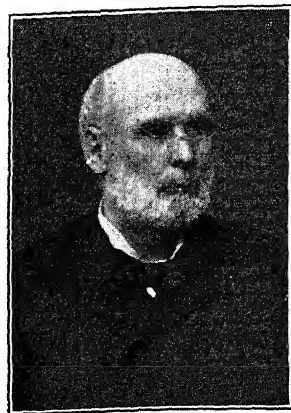
¹Until 1884, one-fourth of the senators were chosen for life by the Assembly. As these places became vacant, they were filled by election for nine-year terms. The senators are indirectly elected, the deputies directly.

direct representatives of the French people are in full control, for they not only make the laws but put them into effect.

To the surprise of the monarchists who had made this constitution, the republicans won the bitterly fought elec-



MARSHAL MACMAHON



JULES GRÉVY

tion of 1877. They thus soon obtained control of the Senate and in 1879 elected Jules Grévy to the presidency.

**Local
government**

Locally, the system of government in France is much the same as that established by Napoleon. The country is divided into departments and these are again subdivided. Over each department is a prefect, appointed by the minister of the interior at Paris. The voters elect a council to help the prefect manage departmental affairs, but the prefect appoints a host of policemen, letter carriers, inspectors, and other local officers. Each of the more than 40,000 communes is ruled by a mayor and council. The people elect the council, and its members (since 1884) choose the mayor. Thus local government seems democratic, but almost everything a local officer may do can be revoked by the prefect or the minister of the interior. The central government is controlled by the people through the Chamber of Deputies,

but it still wields vast power over local affairs. This centralization is very different from the decentralized government prevailing in the United States and Canada, where the municipal, county, and state or provincial governments are almost wholly free from control by the federal government.

After the Republicans won control many reforms were made. The newspapers were freed; citizens could now hold public meetings. The people were given more control over their local government, and workingmen were allowed to form unions freely. To enable the people to use their power wisely, a national school system was created. Primary schools were made free, and all children had to attend them. Public schools were taken wholly out of religious control or influence, for no clergymen, monks, or nuns could teach in the state schools and no religious teaching was allowed there. Better higher education was also provided. These schools were very expensive for the heavily burdened government, but the republicans felt that the clergy were enemies of the Republic and must not be allowed to educate the children.

**Reform
work of
the repub-
lican gov-
ernment**

Under the leadership of Jules Ferry, twice prime minister, France won many new colonies. The French had already taken control of Algeria (1830-1870). Now they took Tunis, east of Algeria, under French protection (1881) and in the next few years sent expeditions to southeastern China, Madagascar, and the Congo region. Since then the French flag has been raised over most of Morocco and other vast regions of Africa. Ferry hoped thus to cheer the French people after their defeats by Germany and to gain trade advantages.

**French
colonial
expansion**

In 1914 the French colonial empire was over eight times its size in 1870. It is now second only to the British, being eleven times larger than France itself. It has a population of 50,000,000, and its trade is growing fast. Algeria and Tunis are especially valuable because white

men can live and prosper there. Most of the other colonies are in the tropics and extensive European settlement there is unlikely.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Causes
of the
separation
of church
and state

Some of the hardest problems of modern France have been due to the quarrels of clericals and radical republicans. For many years the Catholic clergy worked hard to overthrow the Republic and set up a king. In 1893 Pope Leo XIII wisely urged them to be loyal to the existing Republic, and for several years there was little strife. But unfortunately the quarrel had gone too far. Not all the clergy ceased agitating against the Republic, and the anti-clericals were very bitter. They believed the Republic was endangered by army officers taught by the clergy. Monks and nuns still taught many thousands of French children in private schools. Some anti-clericals believed that actual disloyalty was taught there.

The number of monks and nuns had increased enormously since 1870. Most of them belonged to orders which, it was claimed, had no legal right to exist in France.¹ These orders were very rich² and used their wealth to control newspapers and influence public opinion in various ways. Many of them were also engaged in business and made large profits, partly because the monks and nuns did much work without pay. The Carthusian monks near Grenoble manufactured a famous liqueur called "Chartreuse." Other orders made drugs, toilet articles, pharmaceutical preparations, and many other commodities. Business men and laborers disliked this competition.

¹Most monastic orders in France had never been authorized to exist according to law. In other words, they had not become legally chartered corporations. Their opponents claimed that the orders had avoided incorporation to escape government supervision and especially to escape taxation of their great wealth.

²In 1900 the real estate of the various monastic orders was worth about \$214,000,000. Their personal property was harder to value, but a deputy defending them in Parliament said they spent a sum equal to \$60,000,000 a year. Their income was undoubtedly greater than that.

In 1901 parliament made a law forbidding any religious order to stay in France without special permission of the Assembly. No member of an illegal order was allowed to teach or keep a school. Many orders were refused permission to remain in France. The law was enforced severely, and about five hundred monasteries were broken up. The clericals were very angry, but the voters of France gave the radicals a good majority in the election of 1902. Later another law was passed (1904) forbidding at the end of ten years all teaching by religious orders.

**Attack
on the
monasteries**

This was not all. The anti-clericals were still dissatisfied, for the clergy had been paid by the state ever since Napoleon had made his Concordat with the pope.¹ In 1905 Parliament passed a law providing that the clergy should no longer be appointed or paid by the state. Clergymen were given pensions for several years. The churches, residences of the clergy, and other clerical buildings which had belonged to the state since the great Revolution were to be used by the clergy, but under control of so-called "Associations of Worship" composed of from seven to twenty-five persons in each parish.

**Separation
Law of
1905**

The pope forbade the Catholics to form the "Associations" for managing the churches. Nevertheless the separation of church and state was carried out. The government took the bishops' palaces, clerical residences, and seminary buildings for schools, hospitals, and government offices, but left the churches to be used for public worship, even though the Associations were not formed according to the law of 1905.²

Results

RECENT PROGRESS OF FRANCE

During the years just before the World War a new spirit was showing itself in France. Many Frenchmen had

¹See pp. 593-594.

²It is interesting to note that the Protestants and Jews of France obeyed the law of 1905 and formed the Associations at once. Most of them seem to have favored the law.

Little
increase in
population

long been dissatisfied and discouraged. The population of France had increased little. In 1871 it was about 36,000,000. In 1911 it had reached only about 39,600,000, a sharp contrast to the vast increase of Germany's population during the same period. Few French families had more than two or three children, and many had none. This meant that France could never have as large an army as Germany in time of war.¹

Spread of
socialism

Moreover, there was much criticism of the French army and fear that it might be defeated in war. Government officers often were charged with theft and corruption. It was said that the children of France were growing up without enough religious teaching and that atheism was spreading fast. Some labor unions were showing a very unpatriotic spirit. Socialism was fast spreading among the laborers of the towns. Great revolutionary strikes were planned (1909-1910), and it seemed that the nation might be paralyzed at a time of crisis. Some even said that France was becoming a second-rate power.

Growing
prosperity

But in spite of this doleful talk, the French people gradually gained confidence. While the population did not increase rapidly, it was clear that the people as a whole were becoming far better educated than before. Moreover, most families were growing more prosperous and happy. Business was good, and the national wealth was increasing.

The French people had gradually learned how to govern themselves better. No ruling caste of nobles or army officers controlled the government. The bitter feeling due to the Separation Law had gradually died away. The great strikes failed, and in the hour of trial, when the World War broke out, socialists and clericals joined enthusiastically to help save France from the German invaders. The war showed the wonderful strength and courage of the French people in spite of their fearful losses.

¹ See p. 867.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How was France able so quickly to pay the great war indemnity to Germany? Does this suggest that the rule of Napoleon was good or bad for France? Why? (2) Why was a republican form of government set up in France in 1875? How did this affect its character for the next few years? (3) Compare the French system of central government with that of the United States, making a list of the main points of likeness and difference. (4) Make a similar comparison between the governments of France and Great Britain. (5) How did the republicans and monarchists differ as to what the government should do for the people? What attitude did most of the clergy take toward these ideals? Why? How did this affect the feeling of the common people toward the clergy? (6) Was colonial expansion a wise policy for France after 1870? Why? Did Bismarck in 1870-1871 think colonies were very valuable? Give proofs. (7) Explain why the republicans disliked the monastic orders. Was their dissolution just? Why? (8) Compare the arrangements for the management of churches provided by the Separation Law of 1905 with those common in the United States. Why then did the pope object so strongly to the law? (9) Was the Separation Law of 1905 just and fair? Why?

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ITALY, 1870 TO 1914

PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS OF UNITED ITALY

Difficult
problems
of Italy

The struggles for the unity of Italy were not ended until Rome was added to the state (1870). Even then some lands in the northeast peopled by Italians were left under the control of Austria-Hungary. The different parts of Italy had so long been governed separately and the people knew so little of one another that a strong national feeling could not grow up in one year or in ten.

The differences between the people of the north and the south were especially serious. Most of the people had been so long under despotic rulers that they were almost sure to blunder in trying to govern themselves. The new national government had not only to take over the large debts of the formerly separate states, but it had also to borrow immense sums to build railroads, to provide for the army and navy, and to educate the densely ignorant population. In 1864 over three-quarters of the people could not read or write. Moreover, the country was not rich in natural resources

and had few industries. All its coal and most of its iron had to be imported. Another serious difficulty was the enmity of the pope, who forbade Catholics to vote in national elections or to hold national offices.

Fortunately Cavour had started United Italy with a liberal government. The constitution¹ provided for a parliament composed of a Senate appointed for life by the crown, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by the voters of the nation. The right to vote was at first given only to a small proportion of the people, but it was gradually extended until in 1912 it was made almost universal for men. The cabinet which carried on the government held office at the will of the Chamber of Deputies. The cabinet chose local officers to govern the provinces into which the country was divided.

**Democratic
government
of Italy**

The Socialist party grew rapidly in Italy. Its demands included (1) laws to better the condition of the poor, lower their taxes, and give them better education; and (2) government ownership or control of all industries. The radical parties were well led and at times controlled the government. As a result of the growth of socialism, the pope at last gave Catholics permission to vote, and they began to take a greater part in politics than before.

**Party
politics**

Italian leaders have always had trouble getting money to carry on the government. For several years after 1861 expenses were much greater than income. The already heavy debt had to be increased and new and heavier taxes collected. At last, in 1879, income was greater than outgo. A few years later, Italy allied herself with Germany and Austria and was obliged to spend vast sums for a larger army and navy. About the same time the government started out to acquire a colonial empire in East Africa, and this project led to costly military campaigns. The result was that from 1887 to 1891 expenses were \$75,000,000

**Financial
difficulties**

¹This was the constitution of the kingdom of Sardinia, with only a few changes.

greater than income. The taxes were already crushing the poor, who paid over half the whole revenue of the government, and an increase of these taxes led to revolts in several parts of Italy. The prime minister, Crispi, made no attempt to remove the causes of discontent but crushed the revolts by force and ordered the army to advance farther into East Africa. There (1896) a force of 14,000 Italians was utterly defeated by the Abyssinians. Crispi was compelled to resign, and his successor gave up the attempt to add to the colonial possessions of Italy.

Gradual
improve-
ment in the
condition
of the
Italian
people

Discontent continued among the common people of Italy on account of low wages, bad working conditions, and too heavy taxes; but until the World War broke out conditions gradually improved. After 1897 government receipts were greater than expenses, partly because Italy was becoming a prosperous manufacturing country. She has plenty of water power to make electricity, and this promises well for the future. The emigration from Italy has been enormous but will lessen as her industries grow and can employ more men. The Italian people are still ignorant as a whole, for 40 per cent of the army recruits are as yet unable to read and write. Militarism has done much to keep Italy back, but even with this burden much progress has been made.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

- (1) Against what obstacles and difficulties have the Italian people had to struggle to build up a great nation?
- (2) Describe the Italian system of government.
- (3) Which has the better government, Great Britain or Italy? Why?
- (4) Why has the pope remained hostile to the king and the government of Italy? Are there any indications that his attitude is changing? Why?
- (5) What evidences are there that Italy is advancing toward higher civilization? What unfavorable signs do you see?

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1849 to 1914

PROBLEMS OF THE DUAL MONARCHY

After the defeat of the Hungarians (1849),¹ absolutism was fully restored throughout the Austrian Empire, and the Magyars, as the Hungarians called themselves, were especially oppressed. But in 1859 and 1860 their bitter discontent helped force the emperor to allow Italian unity to be won. Again in 1866 he was weakened by their enmity. He saw that he had to satisfy them or risk their rebellion, and so made a compromise agreement (1867) which set up the dual kingdom of Austria-Hungary.

How the Hungarians won freedom from Austrian control

Each of the two states had its own constitution and its own separate parliament, cabinet, and all other officers. Each managed its own affairs, but both had the same ruler, who was emperor of Austria and king of Hungary. They had three departments of government in common, foreign affairs,

Nature of the dual monarchy

¹See pp. 654-655.

war, and finance, controlled by representatives of both parliaments. The amount of money to be paid for the upkeep of these common departments, the tariff on imported goods, and other matters were provided for in the treaty between the two states, effective for a period of ten years. At almost every renewal of this agreement there were quarrels.

Racial
questions

Oppression
of subject
peoples

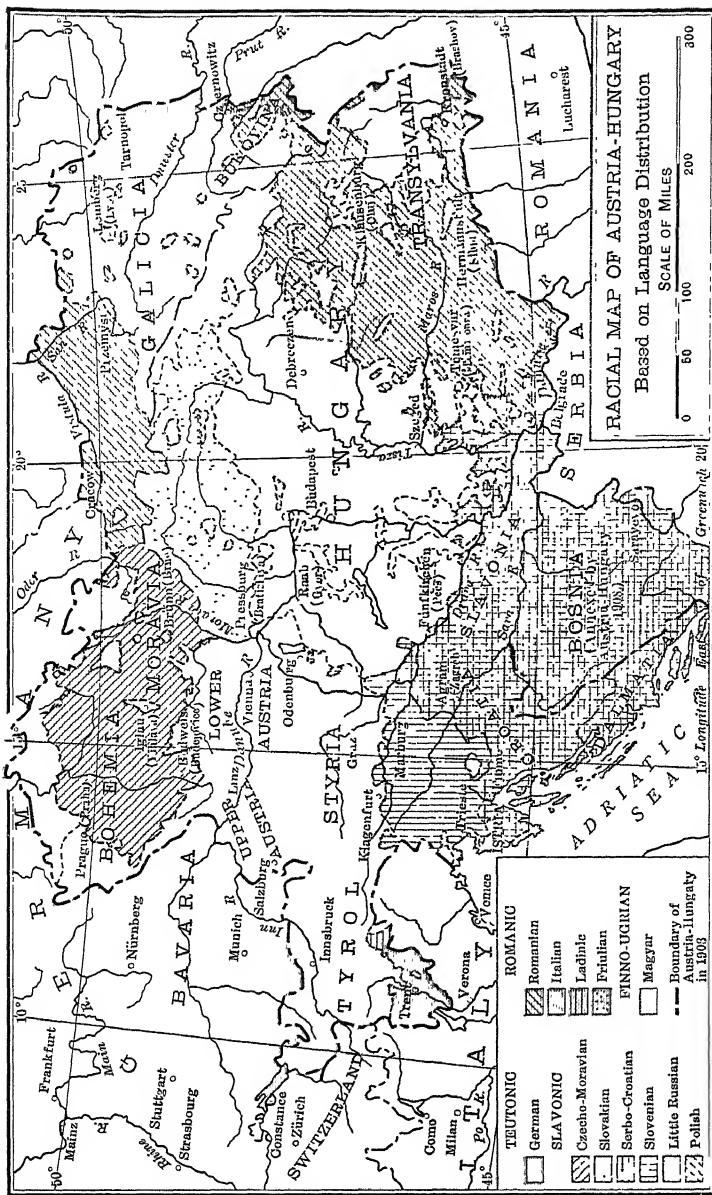
Within each of the separated states lived a number of different peoples, each having its own language and desiring more self-government. Most of these peoples were Slavs, distantly related to the people of Russia. The Austrian government was controlled by the Germans and that of Hungary by the Magyars. Each allowed few rights to the subject peoples and often oppressed them. The strongest of these peoples were the Bohemians or Czechs, who had once been independent. They were very discontented and demanded to be separated from Austria as Hungary had been. The Poles in the north, the Croats in the southwest, and the Serbs in the south also demanded separate government for themselves. Several other Slavic groups in Austria-Hungary were not so well led, but they, too, were certain sooner or later to demand freedom from German or Magyar control.

Danger
of these
demands
to
Austria-
Hungary

Policy
of the
Magyars
and its
effect

If all these demands were granted, Austria-Hungary would become a federal state, and quarrels among its different racial groups probably would greatly lessen its influence in international affairs. Hence the emperor did all he could to check these racial movements.

The Magyars gave the Croats some independence, but treated all their other Slav subjects harshly. They required the use of the Magyar language in the law courts, on the railroads, and in the post offices. They tried in every way to break up the racial group feeling and make all their subjects into Magyars. Less than one-quarter of the adult males of Hungary could vote, and the Magyar leaders fought any change for fear it would give the various Slavic



groups more power. The bitter discontent of the southern Slavs was an important cause of the World War in 1914.

Austria had more trouble with racial problems than had Hungary. The Bohemians so blocked the work of government that in 1871 the emperor promised to give them the same rights as the Magyars. This would have set up a triple kingdom. But German and Magyar opposition was so bitter that he did not carry out his promise. Gradually, however, the various Slavic groups won some privileges in return for their votes in support of government measures in parliament.

Policy
of the
Austrian
government

Meanwhile the demand for a more democratic government was growing stronger. The voters were arranged in classes which gave the votes of the well-to-do more influence than those of the poorer people. And many of the poor could not vote at all. As in Germany, the socialists were most active in working for votes for all men. Finally in 1907 they were successful. The old class system of voting for members of parliament was abolished, and every man in Austria over twenty-four was given the right to cast a direct and secret ballot. Great care was taken to guard the rights of each nationality in the empire. Each had its representatives in the national legislative body. Under the new law the Social Democrats won greater influence. In May, 1907, they cast over a million votes, about one-third of the total vote. In theory the emperor's cabinet was chosen and controlled by the parliament, but in practice he still kept great power in his own hands.

Growth of
democracy
in Austria

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why was the dual monarchy set up? Could the arguments that justified a dual monarchy have been used also to justify setting up a triple monarchy or a federal empire? Why? Why was the last not chosen as the solution? (2) Describe the system of government set up in 1867. Compare and contrast with that of the German Empire. (3) Where did the common people have the most control over their government, in Austria, Hungary, France,

or Prussia? Why? Where the least control? Why? (4) Why were the Slavic peoples of Austria-Hungary discontented? Were the policies of the governments toward them wise or unwise? (5) Why do Americans find it easier to make foreign immigrants into Americans than the Magyars found it to make their subjects into Magyars? (6) To what extent are recent immigrants to the United States really made Americans in thought and feeling? Why?

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THE LESSER STATES OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Through much of the nineteenth century Spain was a prey to frequent revolutions and civil wars. Conditions were so bad that after Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern refused to become king in 1870,¹ the crown fairly went begging. It was also offered to a Portuguese prince, a Brazilian prince, and two Italian princes, all of whom refused it. Finally a younger son of the king of Italy accepted, but gave up the crown and left Spain in disgust after two years' trial. After this a republic was set up, which lasted only two years. In 1875 the Bourbon dynasty was restored to the throne and has remained in power up to the present time.

**Spain
in the
nineteenth
century**

A constitution was granted in 1876, which provided for a Cortes, or Parliament, elected mainly by the people. This is so arranged by the professional politicians that the people do not actually rule, though they do vote. Since about 1880 many reforms have been adopted in Spain. Government has been reformed, trial by jury set up, modern systems of taxation adopted, and the schools improved.

**Constitu-
tion of
Spain**

One important event of Spain's recent history was the loss of her last important colonies. In the sixteenth century Spain was the most powerful nation in Europe. But misgovernment led to the successful revolt of the Central and South American colonies early in the nineteenth century. The Cubans attempted several times to free themselves but failed, and a final effort led the United States to take their part (1898). Defeat in the Spanish-American War forced Spain to give up Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

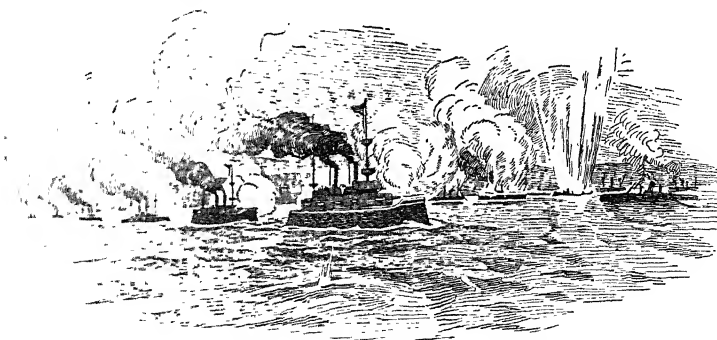
**Loss of the
Spanish
colonies**

Spanish prosperity is still checked by the dense ignorance of the people. The clergy has strong control over them, and none but Roman Catholics may hold public religious

**Present
conditions
in Spain**

¹See p. 681.

services. About two-thirds of the people do not yet know how to read and write. Much of the soil is poor, and many of the peasants earn barely enough to keep themselves alive. In spite of these obstacles Spain is making progress.



BATTLE OF MANILA, SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Portugal

The history of Portugal since Napoleon's time is largely a story of frequent rebellions and civil wars. In 1908 the king and his eldest son were murdered in the streets of Lisbon. The government showed no improvement under the new king, and socialists and republicans became more and more numerous among the people. In October, 1910, several regiments of soldiers started a revolt. Many citizens and sailors joined, the king was forced to flee, and a republic was set up. The property of the Roman Catholic church was seized, and the church was separated from the state. Hence the clergy are bitterly opposed to the republic. Royalist uprisings have taken place, but the republic has lasted up to the present time. The ignorance of the people is shocking. About four-fifths of them can neither read nor write. The debt of the government is enormous, and taxes are outrageous. In both Spain and Portugal large armies are kept up, and the government's resources which should be turned to the needs of education, are wasted on excessive military armament.

Revolution of 1910

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

Belgium won her independence from Holland in 1830.¹ **Belgium** This was recognized and her neutrality guaranteed by the great powers (1831). Then the Belgians adopted a liberal constitution providing for a national parliament and the cabinet system of government. Under this government the country developed fast. Its industries grew wonderfully and the population increased to over 7,000,000, making it the most densely populated country in Europe.

For a long time only the well-to-do had the right to vote. At last (1893) universal suffrage was granted, but the older and richer men were given the right to cast two or three votes apiece. The growing Socialist party bitterly opposed this system, and at last (1921) plural voting was abolished. Each man has one and only one vote.

One of the most important political questions of the past twenty-five years has been the control of the schools. The liberals wanted them free from the influence of the clergy. The Catholic party wanted religion taught in the schools and public money given to the church schools. They succeeded to a great extent, for almost all the Belgian people are Roman Catholics. For several years before the World War the socialists were winning the support of many Belgians.

The Belgian people are not all of the same race. Some speak the Flemish language, which is much like the Dutch of Holland; others speak French, still others speak other dialects. In spite of these differences the Belgian people are very patriotic. The present king, Albert I (1909-), has won great popularity. Belgium has one colony, the Belgian Congo in Central Africa, formerly known as the Congo Free State.

Since the separation from Belgium in 1830, the kingdom **Holland** of Holland has had a peaceful history. The most important changes have been those which gave the people more control over the government. The parliament started with little

¹See pp. 646-647.

power (1815), but the liberals were able gradually to increase it (1848-1914). Both houses of parliament are now elected, but all men do not yet have the right to vote. Holland has very important and valuable colonies in the West and East Indies, the latter including Java, Sumatra, and a large part of Borneo.

SWITZERLAND

Federal government

Switzerland in 1815 was simply a collection of twenty-two separate states or cantons. Each managed its own affairs and the central government had little power. But most of the people wanted a stronger central government and forced the opposing cantons to join a new federal state. The new constitution (1848) set up a National Council elected by the people and a Council of State composed of two representatives from each canton. These two bodies together choose the supreme court and a committee of seven to carry out the laws. One of these seven is chosen to act as chairman each year and is called "president of the Swiss Confederation." This system is much like that of the United States, except that most federal laws are left to the cantons to carry out, and so the federal government has comparatively few officers and employees.

Democratic institutions of Switzer- land

It is important to note the means by which the Swiss people fully control the government. In six small cantons all the voters of the canton meet in one great assembly and make their own laws. Most cantons, however, elect representatives and make their laws as do the people of our states. But they require that certain kinds of laws be voted on by all the people. Other laws have to be presented to the people for voting if enough voters petition for it. This system is called the "referendum." Another arrangement, called the "initiative," enables a certain number of voters to propose a law and to require the legislature to refer it to the people for decision. The initiative and the referendum have been extended to federal as well as canton matters, and thus the voters are able to get what they want. In recent

years the initiative and referendum have been adopted and put to use in many states of the United States.

The Swiss people are divided in race and language. Over two-thirds speak German, about one-fifth speak French, about 8 per cent speak Italian, and a few use a peculiar local tongue (based on Latin) called Romansh. But the Swiss have been kept united by a strong bond of patriotism and this has enabled them to maintain their national independence through very trying situations. They are highly intelligent and prosperous and are increasing in numbers.

Linguistic
divisions
of the
Swiss
people

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

The most important features of modern Danish history have been the loss of land to stronger powers and the growth of democracy. Denmark had remained loyal to Napoleon I and was punished for it by the loss of Norway. Later (1864) the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, one-third of her lands, were seized by Prussia and Austria.¹ Naturally the Danes remembered this last loss and did not feel very friendly toward Germany. For a time the Danish king kept his absolute power, but later he was obliged to grant a constitution. Gradually the people have won more and more control over the government until now Denmark is one of the most democratic countries of the world. Three-quarters of its area is farm land, mostly held in small farms and cultivated by the owners themselves. They succeed especially well in dairying with the help of numerous coöperative creameries and other agencies for marketing Danish products. Each of the coöperative enterprises is owned by near-by farmers and does much for their prosperity. All Danish children must go to school from the age of seven to fourteen. The laborers are protected by an old-age pension system. All these features have helped to make the Danes a notably prosperous and happy people.

Denmark

¹See p. 674. The northern part of Schleswig (Slesvig) was returned in 1920. See p. 860.

Sweden
and
Norway

Sweden took the side of the allies against Napoleon I and was rewarded for it by the gift of Norway, which had for many years been ruled by the king of Denmark. But the Norwegians had no mind to be handed over without their consent, and declared their independence. The Swedes tried to conquer them and failed. Finally, in 1815, it was agreed that Norway and Sweden should have the same king and the same ministers of war and foreign affairs, but otherwise separate governments. The king was required to govern in Norway according to the Norwegian constitution, which was quite democratic, while in Sweden he had more power. There followed frequent disputes between the two countries, for Sweden was the larger and stronger and wanted to manage Norwegian affairs. But Norway prospered greatly and at last declared her independence (1905). Sweden consented, with some hesitation. Both countries now have popular government. Sweden has adopted universal manhood suffrage (1909). In Norway all men over twenty-five who have been in the country five years, and all women over twenty-five who pay a small income tax, have the vote.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why did Spain about 1870 have so much trouble to find a king? (2) Which country has the more democratic government, Spain or Italy? Which is more advanced in civilization? Why? (3) Why was the loss of the last Spanish colonies a blessing? What colonies had Spain once held? What had become of them? (4) Is the fact that Portugal is now a republic evidence that she is farther advanced than Spain? Why? (5) What have been the chief problems in Belgian politics since 1850? How have they been settled? (6) Compare and contrast the government of Switzerland with that of the United States. Which is more democratic? Why? (7) Why are the Swiss people (though speaking four different languages) so much more patriotic and loyal to their government than the Slavs of Austria-Hungary? (8) What evidences of progressiveness do you find in Denmark? Are these truly marks of high civilization? Why? (9) Make a list of the lesser states

that have democratic governments and those that have not. Can you find any historical facts that will help explain why certain groups are democratic and others less so?

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A more detailed account may be found in *Cambridge Modern History*, XII.

DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS IN GREAT BRITAIN (1830-1914)

BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH REFORM

We have seen how the people of France and other continental countries slowly and often only by violent revolts, won a share in government and better conditions of life and work. In 1820 conditions in Great Britain were almost as bad as in the other countries of Europe.¹ Fortunately, however, a few conservative leaders saw the need of reform and made a start. The tariff was made more simple, working men were allowed to form unions to better their condition, and Protestant dissenters² and Roman Catholics were allowed to hold office. This was a good beginning but it did not satisfy the people. It did not give them the vote, without which they could not force the upper classes to yield to further demands.

Conditions
in Great
Britain

Since 1830, however, progress has been steady. The upper classes have had the good sense to let reforms be made without a serious fight and have not tried to undo them, once they have been made. Often they have favored reforms. Hence democratic progress in Britain has been very peaceful in comparison with other European countries. The nobles still have much influence. The king still reigns, though he does not rule. The old political parties have taken new names. The Whigs became the Liberals, and the Tories, the Conservatives. The latter have worked

¹See pp. 641-642.

²See pp. 493, 498.

hard to build up the British Empire, while the Liberals have been active reformers at home. The central government has been put under the control of the people, mainly through a series of laws for the reform of Parliament.

THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENT

Reform Bill
of 1832

The first demand of the people was the vote. A bill was introduced in Parliament (1830) but was voted down. The Liberal cabinet then had Parliament dissolved, and in spite of the nobles' bitter opposition the reformers won the election. The new House of Commons voted the Parliamentary Reform Bill by a majority of 108, but the lords defeated it. They would not give up their vast power without a struggle. Riots now broke out in many cities and civil war threatened unless the lords gave in. The commons passed another reform bill, and public feeling grew even more bitter against the lords. The cabinet asked the king to create enough peers—that is, appoint enough new members of the House of Lords—to pass the bill. He refused, and the Whig cabinet resigned. The Tories tried to form a cabinet but failed, and then the king promised to create the needed peers. That was enough. Through the influence of the duke of Wellington,¹ about a hundred Tories stayed away from the House of Lords when the vote was taken, and so the bill became a law.

Terms of
the bill

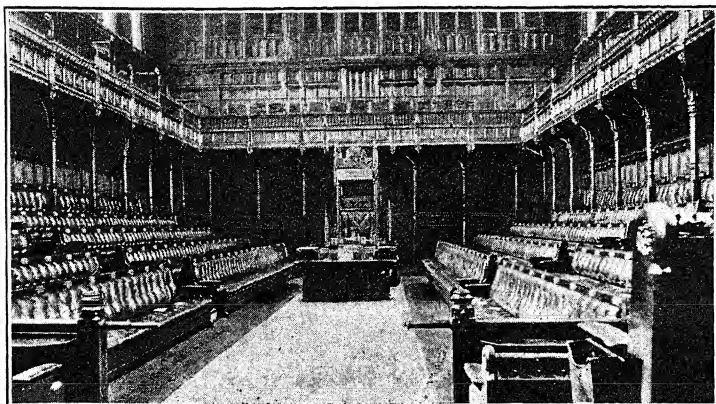
In England the bill brought about three great reforms. First, 144 seats in the House of Commons were taken from small boroughs and given to large towns not represented before, and to large counties. Similar reforms were made in Ireland and Scotland. Second, the right to vote was given to the upper-middle-class people, though not to the laborers.² Even after this reform only about one person in

¹See pp. 606, 614.

²In the counties the right to vote was now given to men who held land worth about \$50 a year on long leases, or others renting land worth about \$250 a year. In the boroughs every man who owned or rented any building or shop renting for about \$50 a year received the vote.

thirty had the vote. Third, voting at each election was limited to a period of two days instead of about two weeks, as before. This tended to stop bribery.

The common people, by their monster meetings, their threats, and their riots, had done much to get the Reform



HALL OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Bill passed. Many of them were now bitterly disappointed because they had not yet succeeded in winning the right to vote. Hence the agitation was kept up.¹

Common
people dis
satisfied

In spite of all their efforts, no further reform bill was passed until the Conservative leader, Disraeli, took up the problem (1867). He believed that the right to vote must be extended sooner or later, and so decided to do it himself and gain the credit for his party. His bill was more radical than that of 1832. It gave the vote in all English boroughs

Reform
Bill of 186

¹In 1838 they drew up a great petition called the "People's Charter," from which they called themselves Chartists. In this petition they demanded that every grown man have the right to vote, that voting be by secret ballot, that poor men be eligible to Parliament and be paid salaries for serving there, and that the House of Commons be elected each year instead of only once in seven years, unless dissolved sooner.

Between 1838 and 1848 several of these petitions, signed by great numbers of people, were presented to Parliament, only to be rejected. Some of the Chartists urged open revolt. But they did not win the majority. Gradually the movement died away. In 1920 only one of the Chartist demands remained ungranted—annual elections to Parliament.

to every man who owned or rented a house and to all men who paid one dollar a week for unfurnished rooms.¹ This nearly doubled the number of voters. The better-paid laborers in the towns and most of the tenant farmers in the country were given the vote. At the same time representation in Parliament was taken from some small boroughs and given to large towns and counties.

Defects
of the
electoral
system
after 1867

The Bill of 1867 was a great advance, but the laborers found they were not free to vote as they pleased, for voting was not secret. The employer or the clergyman could see whether his people voted as he told them, and the man who bought votes could see whether he received what he paid for. These evils were reformed by a law (1872) providing for the secrecy of the ballot.

Reform
bills of
1884-1885

The next reform was made by the Liberals under the leadership of Gladstone. The Bill of 1867 had given the vote to many day laborers in the towns. Now (1884) the vote was given to most farm laborers, thus adding 2,000,000 voters. The system of representation was also changed. Towns of 15,000 to 50,000 people were allowed one member in Parliament, those between 50,000 and 165,000 two members, with one more member for every 50,000 inhabitants above that number. A similar redistribution was made in the counties. Each county or town was divided into as many districts as they were allowed members, each district choosing one member.

These three reform bills did not complete the work of giving the people control of Parliament. Since 1885 four changes have been urged:

1. A just division of seats in the House of Commons according to population. Britain has no system for regularly changing the size and location of the electoral districts to keep pace with changes in population, as has the United

¹This did not give the vote to as many men as it would now in America, because great numbers, on account of low wages, could not pay even a dollar a week for lodgings.

States. It is done only by a special act of Parliament, which cannot always be passed when it ought to be.

2. Votes for all grown men. Many laborers were barred because they had to move often.

3. The abolition of plural voting. Owners of freehold land in the counties did not have to live there in order to vote, hence they could vote more than once at the same election. Sometimes one man voted in as many as thirty-seven different places. There were about 500,000 of these plural voters, most of them Conservatives.

4. "Votes for women." Many old laws place women at a great disadvantage in the world of today. Those who favored woman suffrage believed that these would be removed if women received the vote, and that working conditions for women would be improved and better laws dealing with education and moral questions would be made.

In recent years several electoral reforms have been proposed, but not until 1918 was a law passed. The Representation of the People Act gave the vote to all men of twenty-one and to most women over thirty, and limited plural voting so that a man could vote in only one place other than that in which he lived.¹ It redistributed the electoral districts, giving one representative for every 70,000 people in Great Britain and one for every 43,000 people in Ireland. Voting must now be done in one day instead of during a period of several days. This bill added about 8,000,000 new voters, three-fourths of whom were women.

Representation of the People Act (1918)

The House of Lords had long been a great obstacle to reforms,² especially those of the Liberals. They refused to pass several important bills (1906-1909) and finally voted down the budget with its proposal of new taxes to meet increased expenses (1909). In this budget Mr. Lloyd George, the Liberal chancellor of the exchequer, had greatly increased

How the veto power of the lords was limited

¹A man may vote in one place besides that in which his residence is located if for business purposes he occupies property there worth \$50 a year or more.

²See pp. 726-728, 734-735.

**Need for
reform of
the lords**

the taxes which fell on the very rich, because he felt that they were best able to bear the extra burden and that the food of the poor ought not to be taxed. The Liberals declared the lords had no right to change or vote down a money bill and advised the king to dissolve Parliament. The Liberals and their allies won the election (January, 1910). The lords yielded and voted the budget.

**How the
Parliament
act (1911)
was passed**

But the Liberals decided to take away the lords' power to veto laws made by the people's representatives. The lords refused to pass a bill for this purpose, and a new Parliament was elected (December, 1910). The Liberals won again. The same bill was again passed by the commons, and the king agreed to create enough peers to pass it through the upper house.¹ Under this threat the lords voted for it (August, 1911), and it became a law. The act provided that under certain rules a money bill voted by the commons becomes a law without the assent of the lords, that any other bill becomes a law if it is passed by the commons in three successive sessions even though voted down three times by the lords, and that no Parliament may have a term longer than five years. In short, this gave the lords the power to veto most bills for two years only, and thus enabled the commons to make any law which the people really demanded.

REFORM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT**Need for
reform of
town and
city gov-
ernment**

Local government in 1832 was badly in need of reform. For over a hundred years most of the towns had been governed by small "rings" of men who collected taxes, wasted the money, and failed to provide good police, schools, or streets. Most citizens had no right to vote, whether they owned property or not. This wretched system existed so long mainly because it helped the upper classes to control Parliament.

In 1835 Parliament put nearly all the larger towns under the government of town councilors to be elected by the

¹This would have required about four hundred new peers and would have greatly cheapened membership in the House of Lords.

taxpayers. The mayor was to be elected by the council. This gave the towns self-government.

Over fifty years later (1888 and 1894) local government in the country districts also was put in the control of councils elected by the people of each county and parish.¹

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

Even before the French Revolution, British subjects had in theory the right freely to hold public meetings and to speak and print what they pleased. Actually, however, the government did not allow these privileges in times of popular discontent.² Besides, there were heavy special taxes that made an ordinary newspaper cost about 14 cents. Gradually these checks to the people's education were removed and the press was freed. For a long time the government has not interfered with freedom of speech and of the press, and under the present system the common people have grown more and more intelligent and independent in spirit.³

**Freedom
of speech
and of
the press**

In 1800, dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Jews did not have the same advantages as members of the Church of England. They could not attend the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Dissenters could hold office and sit in Parliament, but the others could not. The laws against Roman Catholics were most severe. By 1872 all these inequalities were removed, though in England it is still more fashionable to belong to the Church of England.

**Religious
equality**

During the nineteenth century much was done to lessen unnecessary suffering, especially among the factory workers. One hundred years ago thousands of pauper children were rented or practically sold to factory owners and forced to work hard for their scanty food and miserable lodgings. Often they were chained up to prevent escape, and tortured without mercy if they attempted it. American slaveholders

**Need of
reform in
factories**

¹A parish is about equal to a township in most of the United States.

²See pp. 639-642.

³During the World War the government severely censored the press, as well as letters and telegrams.

called them the "white slaves of England." But this was not all. Many more thousands of children were hired to work very long hours for only a few cents a day.¹ Older people were little better off. A large number of women and girls did outrageously hard work in mills and mines. In coal mines young women were hired to drag cars loaded with coal along passages so low that they had to crawl on their hands and knees.

Factory
legislation

After 1832 Parliament began taking steps to end these horrors. First, child labor in spinning and weaving factories was limited (1833).² The next law (1842) forbade women and children to work underground in mines. Another shortened the working day for women and children in factories to ten hours (1847). Every few years since then other factory laws have been made until conditions of labor in Britain are now regulated with great care. In 1912 Parliament ordered that a minimum wage for coal miners be set so that wages might not be lower than a certain amount fixed by arbitration in each locality.

Need for
free trade

For hundreds of years England had favored her manufacturers, farmers, and shipowners by keeping foreigners from selling their products or services in England more cheaply than the English could sell theirs with a fair profit. Most of this protection was in the form of heavy taxes on imported goods. Many able men were coming to believe that trade should be free, and so some of these laws were repealed (1823-1825).³ But the great landowners would not let the Corn Laws be abolished.⁴ These forbade the importation of wheat when its price in England was under \$2.50

¹See pp. 630-631.

²Children under nine years of age were forbidden to work in spinning and weaving factories. Those from nine to thirteen years old were permitted to work only eight hours a day, and those from thirteen to eighteen, not more than twelve hours a day. Working conditions were regulated and inspectors provided to see that this law was enforced, since earlier ones had not been.

³See pp. 632, 725.

⁴They were called Corn Laws because in England the word "corn" is commonly applied to all grain.

a bushel, and fixed import duties so high that the landlords could sell their wheat at a very large profit. Only in times of unusual scarcity were these duties lowered enough to let foreign wheat in. Of course this taxed the food of the poor people very heavily for the advantage of the rich who controlled the government.

The merchants and manufacturers wanted the protective tariff abolished, for they themselves needed no protection and believed they could sell more of their goods to foreign countries if England bought more grain abroad. Hence they formed an Anti-Corn-Law League (1838) to work for free trade. Later (1845) the failure of crops in England and Ireland forced food prices up so high that thousands of Irish starved to death. Something had to be done, and so the prime minister, Sir Robert Peel, against the bitter opposition of the landlords, induced Parliament to repeal the Corn Laws (1846). Other tariffs then went quickly, until (1867) no import duties were left except a few for revenue only, such as those on tea and alcoholic liquors.

**Repeal of
the Corn
Laws**

In recent years some English leaders urged that protective tariffs be again introduced. No other great nation allows free trade, and so, they said, Britain could not successfully bargain to open foreign markets to British goods because she had no tariffs which she could promise to lower in return. Foreigners were underselling the British right at home. Moreover, to keep the colonies and the mother country closely united, it was argued that there should be tariffs on goods made outside the British Empire, but free trade or very low tariffs within its limits. In the election of 1906 the restoration of protective tariffs was made an important issue, but the people gave an overwhelming majority to the Liberal party which stood for free trade.

**Agitation
for the
restoration
of the
protective
tariffs**

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The men who carried on the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution planned a great system of free public

First
public
schools

schools for the people. But no English statesman seems to have thought of this. Not until 1833 was any money voted to aid primary schools, and then only a very little. At last (1870) the government authorized towns and cities to elect school boards, build schools, and provide teachers. This law led to the building of a great number of schools, but not until later was education made compulsory and free to all.

Church
schools

Religious differences made the school question a very difficult one. Various churches had their own schools, and each wanted to teach its own beliefs to the children. Perhaps the government should have taken over all the schools and ended the quarrels. Improvements in education were made by a new law (1902) which required the government to pay nearly all running expenses of the church schools while it left them under church control. As the Church of England had over half the primary schools in England, the dissenters felt very bitter. In the next election (1906) they helped defeat the Conservative party which had passed the bill; but when the Liberals tried to remedy the law, the House of Lords vetoed their bills.

Education
Act of 1918

In the meantime, great numbers of children were leaving school too soon to make them good workingmen and intelligent citizens. Most teachers, too, were so badly paid that the best men and women did not choose to teach, and many children were left to poor teachers. At last (1918) another education law ordered all children to go to school full time up to the age of fourteen. Continuation schools were to be set up for their further training in the work they were to do for a living. All under eighteen were required to go to these schools eight hours a week in daytime.¹ The salaries of the common-school teachers were raised, and another law (1918) provided them with a national system of pensions to be paid for wholly by the government.

¹These provisions were not to go into effect with full strictness until several years after the close of the World War.

RECENT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION

Britain has recently (1906-1915) been governed by cabinets of the Liberal party pledged to work for the welfare of the common people. They have proposed several reforms which the House of Lords has vetoed. Others they have made into laws. Some of these have provided for money payments to workmen injured while at work, have helped the unemployed to find work, and have made it easier to buy land in small amounts.

More important was the Old Age Pensions Act (1908). This gave a pension of \$1.25 a week to every British citizen seventy years old whose income was under \$105 a year.¹ Those who had over that received smaller pensions. None at all was paid to a person having more than \$153 a year. This pension system was very much more expensive than that of Germany because the government paid the whole cost.²

**The Old
Age Pen-
sions Act
(1908)**

Lloyd George obtained the money for the pensions and also for large increases in the navy by laying heavy taxes on unused land and on the increased value of land, by raising the taxes on inherited wealth, and by taxing large incomes far more heavily than smaller ones.³

**How the
extra
money was
obtained**

A very important law was the National Insurance Act (1911) which required all wage-earners from fifteen to sixty-five years of age receiving less than \$800 a year to insure against sickness or disablement.⁴

**National
Insurance
Act (1911)**

¹There are some few exceptions. Since the World War these pensions have been doubled.

²Compare this system with the old age pensions system of Germany. See pp. 693, 695-696.

³See p. 730.

⁴For this purpose men are required to pay 8 cents a week, women 6 cents. Their employers must also pay 6 cents a week for each employee, and the government adds 4 cents a week for each one. Those who earn less than 61 cents a day may pay smaller amounts while the employer pays more. In return for these payments, the government provides free medical care, free treatment in a sanatorium for tuberculosis, a weekly payment during illness amounting to \$2.50 a week for men and \$1.88 for women, and other advantages. A like system insures workers in the building and engineering trades so that they receive about \$1.50 a week when out of work for no fault of their own.

THE WRONGS OF IRELAND AND THE STRUGGLES
TO RIGHT THEM

Origin
of Irish
abuses

The wrongs of the Irish people go back to the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, who tried to make them give up their old customs, language, and religion and adopt those of England. The Irish clung especially to the Roman Catholic religion. Their priests were driven out and they were forced to pay the Protestant clergy who were put in control of their churches. Again and again the Irish broke out in unsuccessful rebellions, followed by seizure of their lands. After the defeat of James II in Ireland,¹ the English made a number of laws intended to deprive Irish Catholics of all education except in Protestant schools, and offered special inducements to those who would adopt Protestantism. At the same time Irish industries and agriculture were discouraged in order to help the English, while English landlords, who owned much of the land in Ireland, squeezed every possible penny from their poor tenants. In spite of all this, most of the Irish still clung to their religion.

The Act of
Union
(1801)
takes away
hope of
Irish
self-gov-
ernment

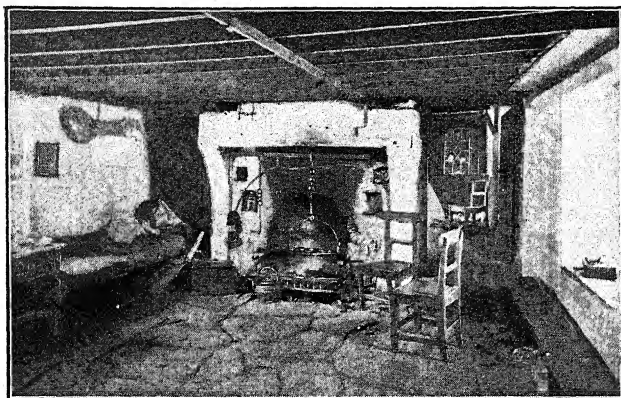
Ireland rebelled again (1798), but without success. Then the Irish Parliament, which did not really represent the Irish people, was abolished, and Ireland was given representation in the British Parliament. The law providing for this was known as the Act of Union (1801) because it united Ireland to England and Scotland. Ireland now had no control over its own affairs. No Roman Catholic could sit in Parliament, and so Ireland was not truly represented in the British Parliament. This injustice was removed in 1829.

Evils of
the land
system

The worst evil was the land system. The population was increasing so rapidly that the land would not produce enough grain to feed all the people. They had little or no money to buy grain from abroad, for wages were only about one-fourth what they were in England, and so nearly a third of them lived chiefly on potatoes. Moreover, there were few

¹ See p. 497.

factories in Ireland and most of the people were compelled to live by tilling the soil. Hence so many people wanted land that the owners could, and many did, charge outrageous rents for very small pieces of land. If a tenant could not pay, he was driven out and left to starve. The land was



AN IRISH FARM KITCHEN

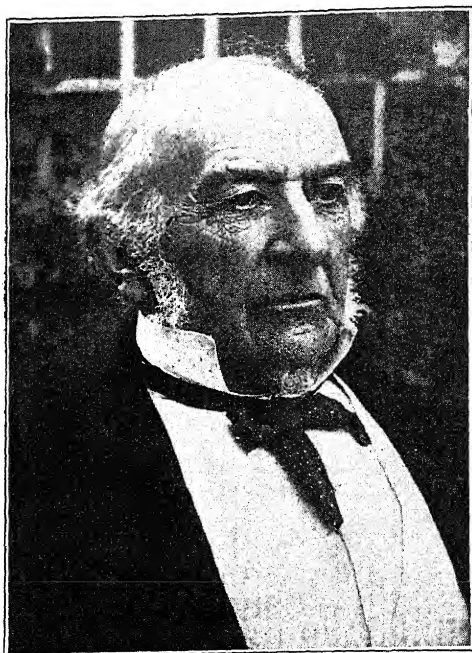
rented for short terms and the tenant had to provide all improvements, such as buildings and fences. When he left, he could get nothing for what he had added to the value of the land.¹ If he made an improvement, his rent was likely to be raised. Hence most of the so-called houses were hardly fit even for animals. Yet from these wretched people wealthy English landlords drew vast sums as rent for lands which the Irish believed rightly belonged to them.

When the potato crop failed (1845), nearly half the people were without food, for their grain went to pay-rent to the landlords. While thousands of Irish were starving to death, much grain was shipped out of Ireland to England. Then the Irish began to leave the country. In the next fifty years nearly 4,000,000 of them came to America, where

**Famine of
1846-1847**

¹This was not true in Ulster, where tenants were paid for improvements they made.

they have prospered and handed down to their children a bitter hatred for England. But in spite of the gradual decline of the population, the Irish people still suffered.



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

Disorder, riots, and arson were all too frequent, and were followed by severe punishment.

REFORMS IN IRELAND

Gladstone's
reform
work for
Ireland

At last there came into power in England a great statesman, keen for the reform of Irish abuses. This was William E. Gladstone. He carried through Parliament a bill to separate the English church in Ireland from the state, take away part of its wealth, and stop forcing the Irish to pay its clergy (1869). Next he secured a law compelling

landlords to pay tenants for all permanent improvements they made. His second land act (1881) provided that just rents be fixed by the courts for fifteen years, that the tenant be sure of his land as long as he paid his rent, and that he should be free to sell his right to the land if he wished. Should he wish to buy the land, the government would lend him three-fourths of the purchase money.

These reforms failed to bring peace to Ireland. The Irish were now demanding Home Rule. They hoped to repeal the Act of Union and have a separate parliament for Ireland, through which they could manage their own government, free from English control. The Home Rule movement was led by Charles Stewart Parnell. He and his followers in Parliament banded together to oppose the cabinet and delay business until their demands were granted. Many of his allies in Ireland resorted to violence.

Home
Rule
movement

In 1886 Gladstone introduced his first bill to give Ireland Home Rule. He proposed to set up an Irish Parliament to govern Ireland, which was still to pay some taxes to the imperial treasury but send no representatives to the British Parliament. This aroused the greatest bitterness. Its opponents said it would separate Ireland from England and endanger England's safety in war, that the Protestants would be oppressed in Ireland, and that the Irish would not govern themselves ably and honestly. Gladstone answered that Home Rule would make the Irish friends of England instead of lifelong enemies, but he failed to convince his party. About one-fourth of the Liberals voted with the Conservatives against the bill, and it was defeated in the House of Commons. Parliament was dissolved, and in the election that followed Gladstone was badly defeated. The Conservatives at once made severe laws to stop disorder in Ireland.

Gladstone's
first Home
Rule Bill

But the Home Rule agitation did not die out. In 1893 Gladstone, once more in power, introduced a second Home Rule Bill. After long and bitter debates this was passed by the House of Commons, but voted down by the lords.

Gladstone's
second
Home
Rule Bill

**Final
victory
of Home
Rulers in
Parliament**

Even when the Liberals returned to power (1905) no Home Rule bill could become a law, for the House of Lords was certain to defeat it. But the Parliament Act gave the Irish their chance. The Liberal cabinet introduced another bill to give Home Rule to Ireland (1912). This provided for an Irish parliament of two houses, a senate and a house of commons, with power to make laws for Ireland. The Irish treasury was to receive an annual payment from the imperial treasury to help meet its expenses, and the Irish were to send forty-two representatives to the British House of Commons. This bill was passed by the House of Commons (1912 and 1913) and twice voted down by the House of Lords.¹

**Objections
of the
Ulstermen**

The Protestants of Ulster insisted that they must be kept free from the control of the Catholic majority in the new Irish Parliament. Engaged largely in industry, they believed their religious and business interests would be in danger under an Irish Parliament which Catholics and farmers would control. They organized great numbers of volunteers who armed and drilled and threatened civil war. Their leaders demanded that Home Rule be put to popular vote by a new election of Parliament before the House of Commons finally made it a law by voting it the third time. Mr. Asquith, the prime minister, offered to allow the voters in each of the nine counties of Ulster to decide whether their county should be kept out of the control of the new Irish Parliament for six years.

**Postpone-
ment of the
bill's en-
forcement**

Then (May, 1914) the Home Rule Bill was again passed by the Commons, this time to become a law whatever the Lords did. Threats of civil war were frequently uttered, and both Home Rulers and Ulstermen were preparing to fight when the World War broke out (August, 1914). In this emergency a truce was agreed to and the Home Rule Bill was not put into force.

In the meantime the government had done much to make the people of Ireland happier. The Irish people had been

¹See pp. 729-730.

given the right to elect councils to govern their counties and districts (1898). According to the Land Purchase Acts (1885, 1891, and 1903) the government advanced the money needed to purchase tracts of land, and the Irish peasants were given the chance to buy it on the installment plan without paying any cash at the start. At the end of forty-nine years the peasant would have paid the whole cost together with the interest.¹ During all these years he had to pay less each year than he had formerly paid as rent.

Economic
and social
measures
which made
Ireland
happier

Public-spirited men have also done much to better Irish farming methods and build up the dairy and poultry business. About 200,000 Irish peasants had bought land up to 1914, and the British government had advanced nearly £100,000,000 for this purpose. Over half the land of Ireland formerly subject to landlords is now (1927) in the hands of peasant purchasers on the installment plan. The Old Age Pensions have helped even more elderly people in Ireland than in England. These reforms made the Irish more prosperous and contented, but did not satisfy them. They still felt that they were ruled by foreigners who did not understand them.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How was the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832 made a law? Was it satisfactory to the common people of England? Why? (2) At the present time which of the Chartists' demands have been won? (3) Which had greater control over their government about 1835-1840, the common people of England or of France? Give your evidence. (4) What improvements in election arrangements have been made in Great Britain since 1867? Explain the advantages of each. (5) Compare the terms of the British Representation of the People Act (1918) with the suffrage rules in force in your own state. Which is more democratic? (6) What great changes did Mr. Lloyd George introduce into his budget of 1909? Why? Do you regard these changes as wise? Why? (7) In what

¹The Act of 1903 required a somewhat longer time to pay up the principal of the loan because interest rates were then higher.

respects was the Parliament Act of 1911 a decisive change in the British form of government? (8) Has the Senate of the United States delayed or denied what the people wanted, as the House of Lords did? Give examples, if possible. Ought the Senate's power to be cut down as that of the lords has been? Give your reasons. (9) How have the English people obtained control over their local government since 1832? (10) Make a list of the laws that have been made between 1820 and 1906 to give the common people of Great Britain greater happiness and prosperity. Which do you think were most important to the largest number? Why? (11) What classes of the English people worked hard for the repeal of the Corn Laws in England? Why? (12) What advantages and disadvantages would there be in again setting up protective tariffs in Great Britain? Is it likely to be done? Why? (13) What difficulties have hindered the work of providing England with enough good schools? How has the government dealt with these difficulties? Has its course been wise? Why? (14) Compare and contrast the British Old Age Pensions system with that of Germany. Which do you think is better? Why? (15) Would it have been fair for the British government to get the extra money to pay these pensions by taxing imports? Why? How was the extra money obtained? (16) Have we anywhere in the United States anything like the arrangements provided by the British National Insurance Act? Where? Do you believe this law is a good one or unwise? Why? (17) Why do so many Irishmen think loyalty to Catholicism and loyalty to Ireland about the same thing? Is this feeling due to any extent to English blunders? Explain. (18) Describe the evils of the Irish land system. Explain what has been done in the past seventy years to remedy them. (19) To what extent will home rule for Ireland remedy the bad conditions among the Irish people? Give reasons for your opinion. (20) Make a list of arguments for and against Irish home rule and explain each in your own words.

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1815

Treaties of 1815

While the reforms just described were being carried out at home,¹ British settlers and soldiers were building the greatest colonial empire in the world. After the War of American Independence, Britain kept most of the North American territory previously seized from France.² She held eastern Canada and most of its adjacent islands, as well as Jamaica and other islands near by. She also held part of Australia and several strips on the coasts of India. By the treaties of 1815³ Britain obtained the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and many small islands scattered over the globe. It should be noted, however, that as yet, in many

¹ See pp. 725-741.

² See pp. 537-539.

³ See pp. 617, 637.

regions, she held only strips of coast land. The almost boundless lands in the interior were to be occupied during the nineteenth century.

THE INDIAN EMPIRE

In India the British East India Company, not the king's government, held power.¹ This British company waged war (1816-1818) against a league of native princes in central and western India and forced them to accept its control. It steadily pushed forward to the north and north-west and to the east, fighting when necessary, and annexing or taking control of one native state after another. The company's conquests and its modernizing policies aroused great enmity among many natives. Most of its troops were native soldiers under British officers. Only about one-fifth of the total armed forces were whites.

In 1857 the British introduced a new rifle in which a paper-covered cartridge was used. The paper was greased and the end of the paper had to be torn off with the teeth to prepare the cartridge for firing. The natives heard that the new cartridge was greased with the fat of cows and pigs. The Hindus objected to the use of cow's fat and the Mohammedans to the use of pig's fat. Some soldiers refused to use the new cartridges and were sentenced to prison. Their mates rebelled to save them, and a great revolt spread through northern India. The British and their families were besieged in many towns. At Cawnpore two hundred men, women, and children were barbarously killed after they had surrendered. Many British garrisons suffered severely before help could come from the coast. But the British finally regained control, taking fearful vengeance on the rebels, and since the Great Mutiny there has been little trouble in India.

Great
Mutiny

Parliament now took all governing power in India away from the East India Company, and in 1876 India was declared

¹See pp. 538-541.

How the
Indian
government
was
changed

an empire under Queen Victoria as its empress. The government was put under control of the British Parliament. The king, advised by the cabinet, appoints a viceroy and the heads of the Indian governmental departments, who form a council of government. The population of the Indian Empire totals over 320 millions, of whom about 67 millions are under native rulers controlled by the British. This vast population is made up of many different races and religions, often living side by side, yet remaining quite apart from each other. Most of them dislike one another far more than they do the British, and so India remains loyal. British rule means peace among hundreds of princes who used to be at war much of the time.

Civilizing
work of the
British
in India

Railroads have been laid throughout the empire, factories have been built, schools provided for over five million students, and in 1914 British India was more prosperous than it had ever been before. But nearly half of the taxes were spent on the army and another quarter to pay the salaries of government officers, the higher ones all British. In 1911 only five per cent of the people could read and write any language. The poverty of the common people was frightful. Many educated Indians believed that their people were still exploited by the British and began to demand self-government for the Indian Empire. But though discontent has grown, the malcontents do not seem to have won the support of the majority of the people.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Division
and gov-
ernment of
Canada

The St. Lawrence Valley and the region north of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie had been won by Britain in the seven Years' War with France. Almost all the inhabitants were French¹ and the British government very wisely promised them religious freedom and the right to govern themselves according to their French laws and customs. They were loyal to Britain during the War of American

¹See pp. 537-538.

Independence and received many refugees who had opposed the Revolution and had left the thirteen colonies during or after the war.

These Loyalists settled mainly in the regions that are now Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. To provide proper government, Canada was divided into two provinces, an upper one (Ontario), where most of the English lived, and a lower one (Quebec), the home of the French. Each was given a government that was English in form, with a governor and a legislature composed of an upper house appointed for life by the king and an assembly elected by the people. But the popular assembly could not control the government, for the cabinet system had not yet been adopted in the colonies. In both provinces there was much discontent, which led to a rebellion (1837). It was easily suppressed, but it so alarmed the British that a special commission headed by Lord Durham, a leading liberal, was sent out to investigate conditions (1838). In his report he urged that the provinces be reunited and given full control of their own government.

Not many years later the cabinet system of government was set up in Canada, making the ministers responsible to the Assembly. From Canada the cabinet system soon spread to other British colonies not only in North America but in Australia and South Africa as well, wherever most of the people were English.

In 1867 a very important step was taken—four British provinces of the North American continent were combined in a federal union called the Dominion of Canada,¹ under a form of government in many respects like that of the United States. Arrangements were made to take in other provinces later, much as new states have been added to the United States. Each province has its own government for local affairs, while there is a Parliament for the whole

**Formation
of the
Dominion
of Canada
(1867)**

¹Previously the term "Canada" had been commonly applied only to the regions which now make up the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

federation. The Dominion government and each of the provinces has the cabinet system, giving real control to the people's representatives. Now all British North America except Newfoundland has joined.

**Canadian
progress**

Canada is now almost independent and even taxes British goods imported into the Dominion. The people are very wide-awake and progressive. Great railroad systems have been built and much manufacturing is done.

**Canada's
part in the
World War**

The Canadians have a strong patriotic feeling toward the British Empire. In the World War nearly 600,000 Canadians were enlisted to fight for Britain. On the Western Front the Canadian soldiers took part in the severest fighting. At Ypres (1915) it was the Canadians who held their ground in spite of the new and terrible poison gas used by the Germans. Five times their number of Germans could not break through the thinned ranks. At Vimy Ridge (April, 1917) they showed equal skill and bravery in attack. In dozens of other hard fights they proved that Canadians were not to be beaten. Out of 418,000 Canadian soldiers who went overseas, nearly 60,000 were killed and over 155,000 wounded. In loans and gifts, in munition making, and in shipbuilding Canada's services were equally important.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

**How they
were first
settled**

Another vast British dominion is Australia, with which are often associated the islands of Tasmania and New Zealand. With the exception of New Zealand, these lands had a very small native population, and so the English settlers had a chance to develop the land as they wished. Several Portuguese and Dutch sea captains had seen these lands but had made no attempt to settle them. Just before the French Revolution, the English Captain Cook took possession in the name of King George III.¹ For over fifty years many places in Australia and Tasmania were used

¹See p. 544.

as convict camps to which prisoners were taken from England. Gradually many other settlers came, for it was fine country for cattle and sheep raising. The greatest attraction to settlers, however, was the discovery of rich gold deposits (1851-1852). Since then Australia has been one of the world's greatest gold producers.

Gradually six colonial governments were formed, each with its parliament and cabinet. But the people of these separate colonies felt the need for greater union. Delegates were sent (1891) to draw up a federal constitution, which, after approval by the people, was made binding by the British Parliament (1900). This formed the Australian Commonwealth composed of the six states of New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia. The machinery of government is much like that of the United States, with the exception of the cabinet system, which is the same as that of Great Britain. Each state sends six senators to a Senate, and the House of Representatives is chosen as it is in the United States. The Parliament has large powers of lawmaking.

**Formation
of the
Union**

New Zealand, a group of islands 1,200 miles southeast of Australia, is known as the Dominion of New Zealand. Its area is one-fourth larger than Great Britain, but its population is only about 1,000,000. In social-reform work New Zealand is the most interesting country in the world. Everything possible is done to help the common people. A system of old-age pensions has been in operation for some time. There the state controls more industries than anywhere else in the world, and carries them on for the benefit of the people. It owns and runs almost all the railroads at a profit of only about 3 per cent a year. It owns and operates the telegraphs and telephones, does a large insurance business, and operates coal mines. Taxes are levied so as to keep large landed estates from being built up, and to favor the small owner and the small manufacturer in many ways. The laws do much to help

**Social
reforms in
New
Zealand**

and protect those who work with their hands. Women have the vote on the same terms as the men. The government is going ahead steadily with further social-welfare measures. Some of the Australian states, especially the state of Victoria, have many laws similar to those of New Zealand.

SOUTH AFRICA

Early
friction
between
Dutch and
English

The first large African colony of Britain was in the Cape of Good Hope region, secured in 1814 by conquest and purchase from the Dutch. Most of the white people living there were of Dutch descent and were called Boers or peasant farmers. After occupation by the British many Englishmen came to live in the new colony. English and Boers did not get on well together, and ten thousand Boers left Cape Colony (1836) to found new homes in the wilderness of the interior. But the English too pushed on and refused to allow the Boers to remain independent in their new settlements. Many of the Boers again migrated, this time to the wilderness beyond the Vaal River, called the Transvaal, where for a long time the British let them govern themselves. At last the British announced the annexation of the Boer Republic (1877). The Boers rebelled and defeated a small body of British soldiers at Majuba Hill (1881). Gladstone, in office at home, was trying to arrange a peaceful settlement when the rebellion broke out, and he insisted on granting the Boers much independence. The Boers felt that they had won it by their victory, the British were sure it was granted through generosity, and so enmity continued.

Causes
of the
Boer War
in South
Africa
1899-1902)

In 1885 gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and thousands of miners and fortune hunters flocked in among a quiet and rather unprogressive farming people. In a few years the population trebled. Most of the newcomers were Englishmen. The Boer government taxed them heavily and even forced them to do military service, but allowed very

few to vote. The newcomers complained bitterly that the Boer government was corrupt and incompetent, and formed a plot to overthrow it (1895). Several hundred raiders



SCENE IN JOHANNESBURG, TRANSVAAL, ABOUT THE TIME OF THE BOER WAR

invaded the land to help the plotters, but were arrested by the Boers. The British government did little to punish those responsible for the rebellion. It was thought that Cecil Rhodes, the richest and most influential man in South Africa, had encouraged the plotters. The English in the Transvaal continued to complain of their treatment and finally the British government demanded that they be given the right to vote. Paul Kruger, the head of the Transvaal Republic, would not yield at all and made an alliance with the Orange Free State, another Boer state to the south.

War broke out in 1899. Both sides felt sure it would be short. The British made little preparation. The Boers were ready; moreover, they were wonderful marksmen, just as were the Americans in their War for Independence, and so they were at first able to defeat the British. But such great armies were sent out from England that the Boers could not win. At the end, over 250,000 British were fighting about 12,000 Boers.

Events of
the war

At the end of the war (June 1, 1902) the Transvaal and the Orange Free State lost their independence. But

otherwise the Boers were generously treated. Self-government was granted within five years. British moderation was very successful in quieting ill feeling.

Union of
South
Africa

A union of the South African British colonies was formed (1909), with a senate and assembly and the cabinet system of government. Both English and Dutch are official languages, and the Boers have their due share of political power. In fact, Botha, one of the Boer leaders in the war, was prime minister of the Union when the World War broke out. The Germans tried to stir up a Boer revolt, but nearly all the Boers remained loyal to Britain. Two Boer generals—Botha and Smuts—led the British armies against the Germans in Africa and won marked success.

OTHER BRITISH COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

Egypt

Besides the great possessions in India, North America, Australia, and South Africa, Britain has many other colonies, scattered far and wide. In Africa, stretching from the South African colony and north to Egypt, lie vast interior and coastal lands belonging to the British. Egypt was occupied by British soldiers (1882) in order to crush a rebellion against the khedive. The latter continued to rule in name but was obliged to obey his British "advisers." At the outbreak of the World War, Egypt was taken under full British control, but in 1922 independence was granted.

Other
possessions

In all the great oceans Britain has numerous islands and along many coasts she holds valuable ports, such as Hong Kong off the China coast, and Aden off the coast of Arabia. The World War added still other territories, among them, Irak and Palestine in Asia Minor, and several former German possessions in Africa.

Problems
of imperial
federation

One of the problems much discussed by British leaders in recent years has been the strengthening of the spirit of union so as to bind the British Empire together more firmly.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are almost wholly free from control by the home land and they may grow less loyal to the Empire as time passes. They have the protection of the British fleet, but do little to pay its cost. To solve the problem many urge (1) a common tariff for the whole empire, (2) representation for the colonists in an imperial Parliament, and (3) a common plan of defense for which the colonies are to pay their share. But there are many difficulties in the way. Canada and Australia are willing to lower their tariffs on British goods somewhat, but will not do away with them altogether unless Great Britain has something to give in return. Britain has nothing to offer so long as she keeps up the policy of free trade, and the British people have not seemed willing to drop that policy. Colonial representation in an imperial Parliament would bring up several knotty problems.

Three
suggestions
of the
imperialists

Colonial conferences have been held, in which leading men from all the colonies have met to talk over imperial problems. The colonies have paid the cost of several wars for the British navy and so taken up part of the burden of common defense.

What
has been
accom-
plished

In the World War all rallied nobly to support Britain and her allies with large armed forces. Several able colonial statesmen and generals became members of the war cabinet, a special committee to govern the empire and push the war actively. The war tended to make Britain and her colonies closer friends.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Compare the Indian Empire and the United States with regard to area and population. (2) How is the Indian Empire governed? How are the British able to hold it with few British soldiers? (3) How did the victory of the American colonists in the War of Independence affect the development of Canada? (4) Compare the government of Canada since 1867 with that of

the United States. Which is better for the common people? Why? (5) Is Canada likely ever to become part of the United States? Why? (6) Describe the government of Australia, both central and local. Compare with that of the United States. (7) Compare Australia and the United States with regard to area and population. At about what date was the United States in almost the same stage of development as regards industry, population, and wealth as Australia is now? (8) For what reasons do you think it would be pleasant to live in New Zealand? (9) With whom do you sympathize, the British or the Boers of South Africa? Why? (10) How did the British treat the Boers after the war? Why was this wise? Compare this treatment with the way the southern states were treated by the Federal Government after the American Civil War. (11) Do you believe the British Empire will ever become a federal union like the United States or like Canada? Give your reasons.

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THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE SINCE 1815

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF RUSSIA

After 1600 Russia pushed steadily out in every direction from its center near Moscow. On the west and southwest the Russians met strong opposition and their progress was slow, but on the east and southeast they moved steadily onward, opening up new country very much as the American frontiersman colonized the Middle West and Far West of North America.¹ In 1815 Russia was by far the largest country of Europe and had an even greater empire in Asia. Yet Russian land hunger led to still further conquests.

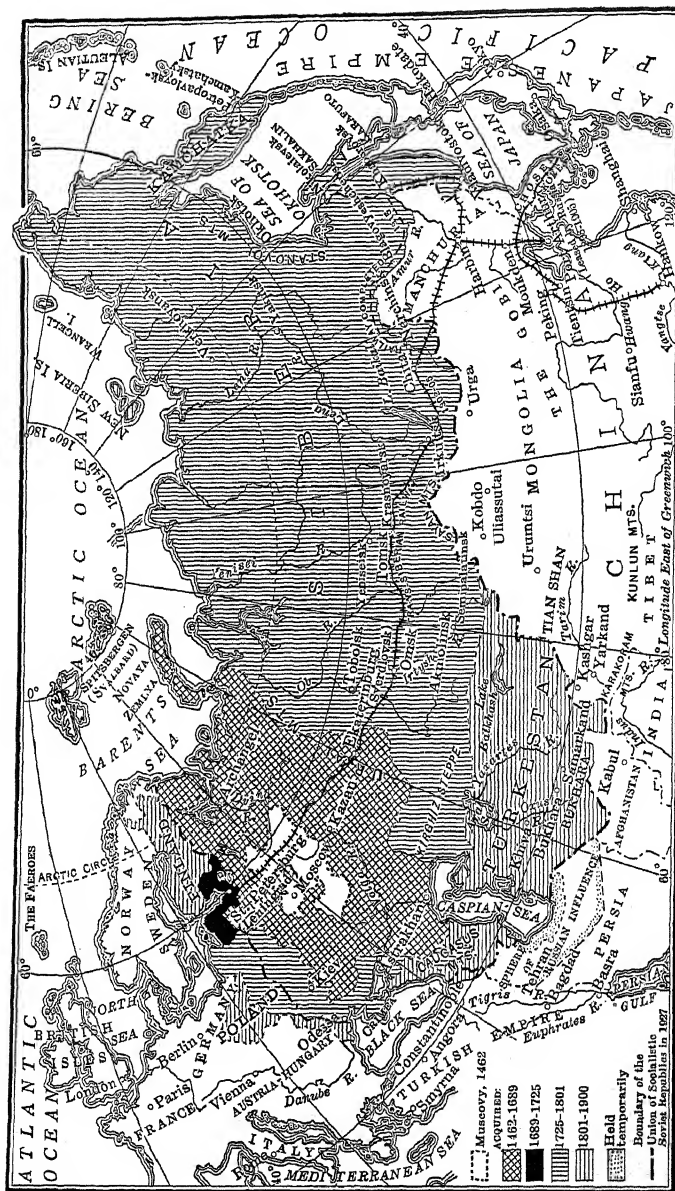
The Russians pushed on over the Caucasus Mountains and drew northern Persia under their influence. Farther east they won Turkestan and almost reached the heights of the Himalayas, the natural fortress guarding the northern frontier of India. In the extreme east they obtained a strong foothold on the Pacific with fortified seaports at Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The latter was secured by a lease from China (1898), where Russia gained great influence. It was to become the terminal of the Trans-Siberian Railway and give Russia the long desired ice-free port on the Pacific.

**Eastern
expansion**

But Russian advance there was watched with bitterness by Japan. Russia seemed likely to annex the great Chinese province of Manchuria and then take Korea (Chosen), which Japan hoped later to occupy. The result was the war between Russia and Japan in 1904. The Japanese were thoroughly prepared, and the whole nation was aflame with patriotism. The Russian people did not want the war, and the government was corrupt and not very capable in carrying it on. There were not enough railroads to carry supplies to the Far East. Hence Russia was badly defeated, and had to surrender her ice-free harbor at Port Arthur. Korea came under Japanese control and Russian expansion in the Far East was checked.

**Russo-
Japanese
War
(1904-
1906)**

¹See pp. 517-519.



TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA

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But in another quarter Russia still had hopes. Ever since the time of Peter the Great, her ablest leaders have wanted to annex Constantinople. Several times Russia fought to drive the Turks out of Europe,¹ but Great Britain kept her from winning the prize. Leading Russians regarded Constantinople as the key to their house. The Turks could close the straits to trade and keep Russia from selling freely her great wheat crop and importing goods from Western Europe and America. Hence control of the straits was of vital importance to Russia. The Russians wanted also to free from Turkish oppression their Slav brothers in the Balkan region, most of whom were Greek Catholics like themselves. Russia's foreign policy since 1815 has been governed largely by these motives.

**Expansion
toward
Constantinople**

INTERNAL PROGRESS OF RUSSIA SINCE 1815

In 1815 Russia was the ignorant and backward giant among the European nations. There were only two classes among the Russian people: less than one million nobles and over forty-four million peasants. Some of the nobles were very rich, but most of them were poor. They held government offices and had many special privileges. Most of the peasants were serfs living on the lands of the tsar and the nobles, who often oppressed them and always made them pay heavy taxes. They were densely ignorant and a prey to drunkenness. There was almost no middle class of merchants and manufacturers, for farming, still of the medieval type, was the only important industry.² The tsar had absolute power over the government and the national church.³

**Conditions
in 1815**

In 1815 Tsar Alexander I was a liberal, working hard to give Russia better government and to make the lot of the serfs easier. But revolutionary agitation and Metternich's influence frightened him, and he gradually became harsh and oppressive.

**Reform
efforts of
Alexander I**

¹See pp. 518-519, 767-773.

²See pp. 257-259.

³See pp. 517-519.

Reaction
under
Nicholas I
(1825-1855)

His successor, Nicholas I, believed Russia needed no reforms and so tried to keep out western customs and ideas. Foreigners were discouraged from traveling in Russia and Russians from going out of the country. Books, magazines, and newspapers coming into Russia were carefully looked over by special censors. Anything likely to make the reader disapprove of the government or wish to change it was blotted out or the book was seized. Private letters often were opened in the post office and searched for revolutionary sentiments. There was no freedom of speech or of the press anywhere in Russia. Police spies were every-



EXILES ON THE MARCH TO SIBERIA

These prisoners wore heavy fetters attached to a waist band by heavy chains. Men and women, young and old, had to march thousands of miles through dust or mud. They were ill fed and brutally treated by the soldiers that guarded them.

where, and the slightest word reported by one of them might mean exile to Siberia with fearful hardships and a long and cruel imprisonment. Nearly everyone thought the Russian army was the best in Europe, and that helped console the Russians. But the disastrous Crimean War with England,

France, Turkey, and Sardinia proved its weakness.¹ The government was wholly corrupt and unable to do anything but keep Russia a backward country.

The next tsar, Alexander II, tried to help his people. He reformed the courts, made the censorship of the press milder, and encouraged education. In each province and each of the districts into which the provinces were divided, he set up a sort of popular assembly (1864) called the Zemstvo. Its members were chosen by the people, and they were to help in managing schools and hospitals, building roads, and doing much other work for the public. The Zemstvos were not lawmaking bodies, but they helped educate the people in government, and did much good work.

Reforms
of Tsar
Alexander
II

The
Zemstvos

Alexander's most important reform was to free the peasants from serfdom. Nearly half of the peasants of Russia lived on crown lands belonging to the state. They were better off than the serfs of the nobles, for the nobles usually kept most of their lands for themselves and turned over to their serfs only what was left. The serfs had to work three days each week on their lord's fields and pay rent to the lord for the fields they worked for themselves. They were not slaves, but many were little better off than slaves, for they could be beaten whenever their lord willed, and they seldom had more than barely enough food to keep them alive. Tsar Alexander began the reform by freeing the crown serfs (1859). Then (1861) he issued an edict abolishing serfdom throughout the empire. The lands were divided between nobles and peasants, the government paying the nobles for what they gave up and arranging to collect the money from the peasants in forty-nine years by very heavy land taxes. The former serfs would at last own their own lands and in the meantime be free from their lords.

Freeing of
the Serfs

Unfortunately the condition of the peasants was not bettered as much as was expected. They now had less land

¹See p. 769.

Some disadvantages to the peasants

than they had had before and had to pay more for it than it was worth. Peasants were usually forbidden to go to other parts of the empire where more land was available, and so they had no way to escape the terribly heavy payments. In many parts of Russia the land was held, not by individual peasants, but by the village as a whole, and every few years the lands of the village were redistributed among the villagers. If one peasant were allowed to leave the village, the taxes on those who stayed would be higher. Many said they had been freed from serfdom only to become slaves of the state. Time made these conditions worse, for the population grew fast and there was far less land for each peasant than there had formerly been, while the crops were not much larger.

Alexander II ceases his reform work

Unfortunately Tsar Alexander II did not keep up his reforms. The nobles opposed him and the reforms he did succeed in introducing were not sufficient to satisfy the people. After two attempts had been made to murder him, the tsar went back to the policies of Nicholas I.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF RUSSIA

Spread of the revolutionary movement in Russia

This change of policy aroused bitter disappointment and desire for revolution. Many young nobles devoted their lives to teaching the workingmen and peasants how to better their condition. Clubs and debating societies were formed, and discontent as well as knowledge was gradually spread among the ignorant peasants. The government tried to stop this by imprisoning or sending to Siberia all the leaders. Some of the reformers then plotted the murder of the chief of police and all other high officers who hindered reform. They were sometimes called "Nihilists," sometimes "Terrorists." Several government officers were killed, but the police arrested thousands of suspected revolutionists and without trial sent them to Siberia for life. After several unsuccessful attempts at his assassination, the tsar was killed by a bomb (1881).

His son, Alexander III, was determined to keep the Russian government and church as it was and to force the Poles, Jews, people of Finland, and all other non-Russian groups in Russia to adopt the Russian language, customs, and religion. Many of these people fled to escape his persecution. Great numbers of Russian Jews began to come to the United States at this time.

**Policies of
Alexander
III**

In spite of this unrest, the reign of Alexander III was marked by progress in industry. Russia had vast wealth in her farms and mines, but had not the ready money to develop them. A very able leader, Witte, minister of finance and commerce, set up a protective tariff to keep foreign goods from flooding the country (1892). He then induced foreign investors, mainly French, to lend their money to build and equip factories, railroads, and mines, which would enable Russia to supply most of her own needs. A wonderful change soon came about. Before Witte took office, only about four hundred miles of railroad were built in a year; afterward, about fourteen hundred miles a year. The greatest of the new railways was the Trans-Siberian Railroad, finished in 1902, which connects European Russia with the Pacific Ocean. Many factories were built and hundreds of thousands of peasants flocked to the towns to work.

**Industrial
Revolution
in Russia**

The Industrial Revolution in Russia, as elsewhere, made the people discontented.¹ With the growth of cities, those who wished to change the government could spread their views far more easily than had been possible in the country. The factory laborers soon learned socialistic ideas. Moreover, the new and growing class of intelligent merchants and manufacturers would certainly demand a share in the government. Thus the Industrial Revolution undermined the Old Régime in Russia.

Alexander III was followed by his son, Nicholas II. For ten years Nicholas II tried to carry out his father's plan, while the government grew worse and discontent

**Revolution
of 1905-
1906**

¹See pp. 630-632.

**Causes
of the
Revolution**

more bitter. No intelligent person was safe from the police unless he kept silent in regard to his honest opinions about the bad government. The new railways often cost the government four or five times as much as they would have cost if the officials and contractors had been honest. These expenses, in addition to the enormous cost of the army and navy, had to be met by heavier taxes, falling mostly on the poor. The condition of the peasants became so miserable that frequently they could pay nothing at all. The tsar now took away the special liberties under which the Finns had prospered (1899).¹ This put Finland, which was far in advance of Russia, back to a lower stage of development and made the Finns very bitter. The whole empire was ready for rebellion as soon as a weakened government offered an opportunity.

**Defeat of
Russia in
the war
with Japan
opens way
for Revolution**

This opportunity came when Russia was defeated in the war with Japan (1904-1905).² The despotic government was widely blamed for the war and its defeats. Discontent could no longer be suppressed in the old way by imprisonment and executions, and so the tsar adopted a more liberal policy, allowing greater freedom of discussion.

**Demands
of the
liberals**

The liberals demanded that complete freedom of speech, of religion, of the press, and of public meetings be secured, and that the judges be independent and give fair trials to persons arrested. They demanded further that the people be given a greater share in local government. They declared for a national parliament to make laws for the whole empire and to control the government, and urged that a convention be at once elected to frame a constitution granting these demands.

**How the
tsar met
these
demands**

The tsar promised reform but did nothing. In the meantime wild excitement was spreading among both factory laborers and peasants. On Sunday, January 22,

¹The Russian tsar won Finland from Sweden in 1809 as a result of war, but had governed the Finns separately and granted them many privileges denied to the Russians.

²See p. 755.

1905, an enormous crowd of workingmen, women, and children tried to go to the tsar's palace to beg his sympathy for their sufferings and plead for better treatment. They



COSSACKS CHARGING RIOTERS NEAR THE TSAR'S PALACE

expected to see the tsar. Instead they were confronted by the Cossacks, who shot down the innocent people by the thousands. This "Red Sunday," or "Bloody Sunday," was only one of repeated massacres of peaceful citizens by the police and soldiers, and horrified all Russia. The people were determined to overthrow this blundering, cruel government. Strikes and revolts broke out everywhere. Several high government officers were killed.¹ To save the tottering government the tsar now (August 18, 1905) promised to call a Duma, or parliament. This was a trick, for the common people were not to vote in the elections.

The revolutionary leaders saw that the time for action had come, and called a great general strike throughout Russia. Railroad men and telegraph operators stopped work first. Then everywhere factories, shops, and mines

The
general
strike

¹The detested von Plehve, Minister of the Interior, who had continued to use the old methods, was killed by a bomb.

were compelled to shut down. Cities were left without lights. Merchants would sell no more goods. Judges, lawyers, doctors, and teachers refused to work. Even the domestic servants would do nothing. All business was tied up. This evidence of the people's determination forced the tsar to yield. He promised (October 30, 1905) personal liberty to all, that no law should be made without the approval of the Duma and that it should have power even over his officials, and agreed to change the election law so as to give every man a vote. The next few months were marked by more strikes, by mutinies in the army and navy, and by a furious revolt in Moscow. After desperate fighting all these revolts were suppressed by soldiers loyal to the tsar, but the country remained on the brink of anarchy.

The
Russian
Duma and
its suc-
cessors

Before the Duma met in May, 1906, the tsar appointed a Council of the Empire, a sort of House of Lords, without whose consent no law could be made. This body would prevent anything too revolutionary being done. The Duma demanded thorough reform of the government and the leasing of the crown and monastery lands to the peasants. Debates were stormy, but no reforms were won. The tsar dissolved the Duma after two months. The next year another one was elected but it too was soon dissolved. Then the tsar broke his agreement and so changed the election laws as to make the next Duma represent the great land-owners and wealthy men almost wholly, leaving the common people very little power in the election of members. Hence the third Duma did not seriously oppose the tsar, and when the fourth Duma was elected (1912), the government secured a favorable majority. Danger of revolution now seemed over.

Why the
Revolution
failed

The Russian Revolution of 1905 had failed to set up a real check on the tsar's absolute power. In spite of its corruption the government had crushed this vast popular revolt. The victory had been due to several causes: (1) The bulk of the great army was loyal to the tsar. The Cossacks especially were willing to shoot or ride down discontented

mobs. (2) The vast size of Russia made it difficult to organize revolution. (3) The enemies of the tsar disagreed in their aims. The revolutionary socialists planned to put all the factories in the hands of the laborers and to divide the property of Russia among the common people. They started many strikes, burned many factories, and attacked the owners. Much property was looted. These activities frightened the middle classes. They hated the tsar's government but they hated anarchy more, and so they helped the government get back its power.

The Revolution was not a complete failure, however. The government abolished the tax that had been levied to pay for the land given to the freed serfs (1907).¹ The Duma made a number of good laws to provide accident and sickness insurance for workmen, to start more schools, to hasten the break-up of the old system of common landholding by whole villages, and to help the peasants to become owners of their own land. But these laws did not satisfy the common people. The seeds of discontent could not thus easily be killed. The laborers in the cities were still oppressed. The governing classes were still utterly corrupt. The peasants still hungered for land. They waited for the day when the many great estates of the rich should be broken up and the common people made owners of all the land.

*

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) What have been the main objects of Russian expansion in the past two centuries? Do you believe Russia's reasons justified her policies? Why? (2) Make a list of the conditions within Russia in 1815 which needed reform and explain why each was an abuse. (3) Compare the methods and policies of Nicholas I and Metternich. Which had the better chance of success? Why? (4) Why was the establishment of the Zemstvos an important reform? (5) What good effects did the freeing of the Russian serfs have? What bad effects? Why? Contrast the methods

¹See p. 759.

used with those used by the United States in freeing the negro slaves. (6) Why did the tsar believe that all the people living in Russia ought to be forced to become Russians in speech, customs, and religion? Why does the United States not follow this policy? Which methods were more successful, those of Russia or those of the United States? Why? (7) How and why did the Industrial Revolution help the Russian people? (8) When did the English people win the rights and privileges demanded by the Russian liberals of 1904? When did the people of the United States win them? (9) How and why was the Russian general strike of October, 1905, different from strikes in the United States? (10) Did the Duma really represent the Russian people? Why?

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THE BREAK-UP OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

CONQUESTS BY THE OTTOMAN TURKS

To make clear the situation in the Balkan Peninsula, often called simply "The Balkans," let us review briefly its earlier history. Early in the fourteenth century barbarian invaders, called the Ottoman Turks, seized western Asia Minor.¹ In 1453 they took Constantinople and pushed on to the northwest, taking the whole Balkan Peninsula and threatening Central Europe. For many years they held most of modern Hungary and tried to take Vienna. The city was saved from capture (1683) only by the timely help of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who drove off the besiegers. From that date the Turks weakened and were soon driven out of Hungary, though they were still able to hold all the land south of Hungary against attacks by Austria and Russia. Russia especially wanted to recover Constantinople.²

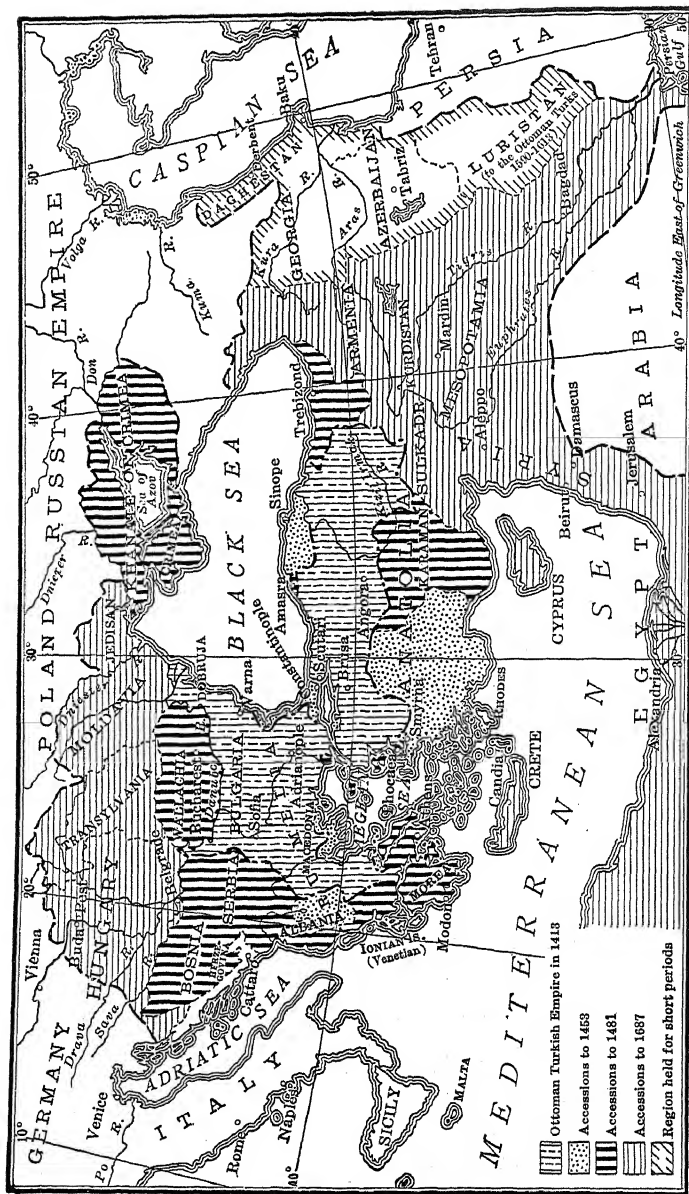
When the Turks conquered the Balkans, the Christians were not forced to become Mohammedans or to give up their own languages, customs, or local officers. But they were taxed without mercy, cruelly ill-used, and many were killed without cause. The Turkish government was utterly corrupt. Almost every Turkish officer obtained his place by bribery and then forced those below to pay him. Refusal to pay was often followed by brutal tortures, and the Christians were ready to rebel whenever there was any chance of success.

¹It will be recalled that the westward migration and conquests of the Seljuk Turks had helped to bring about the Crusades. See p. 313.

²See p. 757.

Early
history
of the
Balkan
Peninsula

Causes
of discon-
tent among
the Balkan
peoples



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GROWTH OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE TO THE PERIOD OF ITS GREATEST EXTENT

THE BALKAN PEOPLES FIGHT FOR FREEDOM 769

The first Balkan people to win partial freedom were the Serbians (1817). They were followed by the Greeks (1829).¹ The states along the lower Danube, later called Romania, also became almost independent.

THE BALKAN PEOPLES FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Russia had done most to help the Balkan countries get their freedom; hence Russian influence was strong in the Balkans. The tsar proposed to England an agreement to divide up the Ottoman Empire (1853). He met with refusal, because the British feared that Russia was planning to take India. England and France even went so far as to help the Turks drive the Russians out of Ottoman territory (1854). Then they invaded the Crimean Peninsula in order to destroy the great Russian fortress at Sevastopol and thus break up Russian military and naval power in the South. Sardinia² sent her army to join those of England, France, and Turkey and the city was taken after a terrible siege of eleven months.

**Crimean
War
(1854-1856)**

Peace was made at the International Congress of Paris (March, 1856). Russia was compelled to give up some land at the mouth of the Danube, and it was agreed that no warships should be kept on the Black Sea or go to it or from it through the straits. The powers of Europe promised that the Turkish Empire should keep its independence and its lands, and the sultan promised to treat his Christian subjects better. Compared with the heavy cost of the war, the results were very insignificant, and they were not permanent.³ The Christians under Turkish rule were treated worse than before.

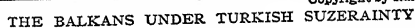
**Results
of the
Crimean
War**

In 1876 uprisings took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, west of Serbia, and also among the Bulgarians. Turkish soldiers crushed the rebellions with frightful cruelty. Western Europe was horrified, but the governments could not

¹See p. 645.

²See pp. 665-666.

³In 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War, Russia announced that she would build warships on the Black Sea, and in 1878 she recovered her lost lands.



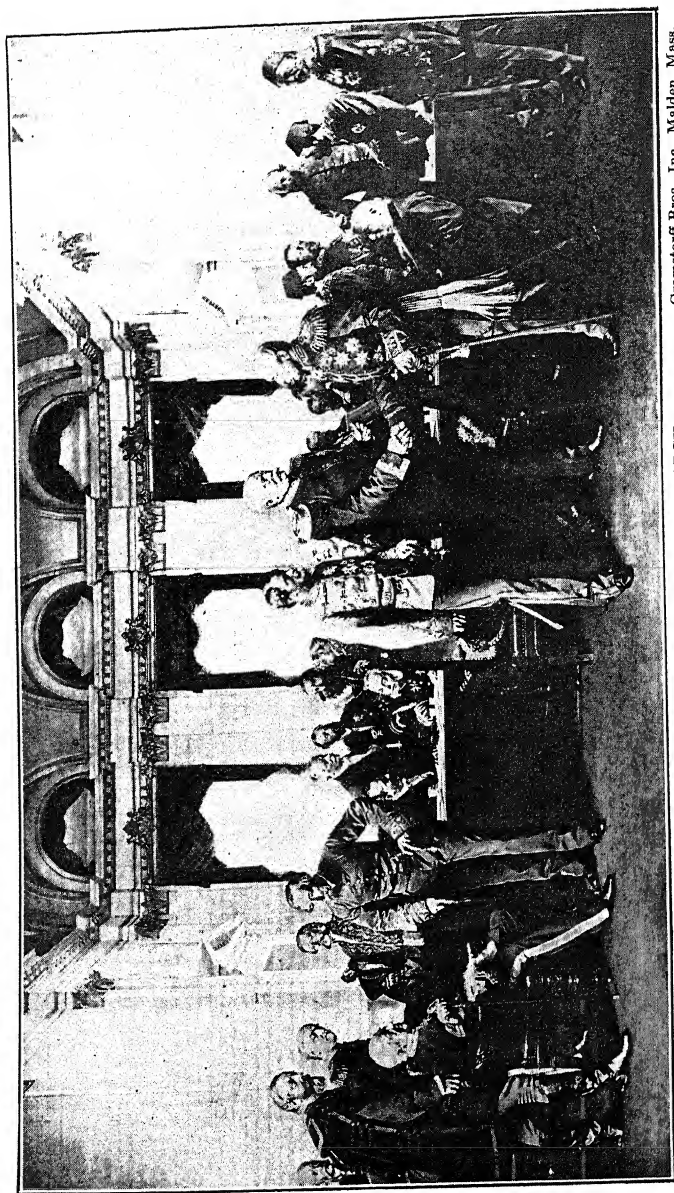
agree to do anything. It seemed as if the Turks would be allowed to torture and butcher as many Christians as they wished. Serbia and little Montenegro alone declared war on the sultan (1876), but they were about to be overwhelmed by greater numbers when at last Russia came to their help (1877). Romania soon declared its independence, and its excellent army joined that of the Russians. The



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THE BALKANS AFTER THE TREATY OF BERLIN

Turks held them back for a time but finally (January, 1878) the Russians took Adrianople, close to the Turkish capital. The sultan was obliged to sign the treaty of San Stefano which gave full independence and more land to Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania. Bulgaria was made partly independent and received far more land than it has now (1927). The Turks kept only a small piece of land in Europe.



DISRAELI

BISMARCK
THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN
From a painting by A. von Werner

Gramstorff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.

But the other powers of Europe were jealous of Russia and would not allow this treaty to stand. An international congress was called to meet at Berlin, where a new treaty less favorable to Russia and Bulgaria was drawn up. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria to govern, though these regions were still to be considered Turkish territory. The decaying Turkish Empire was again set on its feet.

Congress
of Berlin
(1878)

The Treaty of Berlin satisfied none of the peoples concerned. The Serbians and Bulgarians felt especially bitter because they did not receive what they felt was due them. The Serbians had hoped to win Bosnia and Herzegovina, where most of the people spoke the Serbian language. Through them Serbia had hoped for an outlet to the Adriatic Sea, which would enable her to export her products freely. As it was, most of her grain and other food products could get to market only by the consent of her neighbors, the strongest of which was Austria. Such conditions could not last.

Why the
Treaty
of Berlin
was not
satisfactory

Ambitions
of the
Balkan
States

THE BALKAN STATES, 1878-1912

It was expected that the Bulgarian principality would be completely under Russian influence, but after a few years the Bulgarians drove the Russians from office. In 1885 the people of Eastern Rumelia, a Turkish province just south of Bulgaria, rebelled and chose the prince of Bulgaria as ruler. Following that event, the enlarged Bulgaria continued to grow in wealth and population. A strong army was organized and many schools and railroads built.

Bulgaria
since 1878

After 1878 Romania grew rapidly in population and wealth and seemed the strongest of the Balkan states. Serbia likewise developed, but not so rapidly. It was difficult for her to export her products because she had few railways and had no outlet to the sea.

Romania
and Serbia
since 1878

Greece likewise developed slowly under a very heavy burden of debt. In 1897 she made war on Turkey, hoping to win the island of Crete where the people were in rebellion against the sultan, but she was badly defeated.

Greece

Turkish
Revolution
of 1908

In Turkey, after 1878, the sultan continued to rule in the old despotic way. Intelligent Turks wished to check the decline of their country by giving it a modern government. Cleverly they agitated among the officers and soldiers of the army. When all was ready (July, 1908), the Young Turks, as the revolutionists called themselves, forced the sultan to grant a constitution and have a parliament elected. There was great joy throughout the Ottoman Empire. But various European powers feared their interests would be injured by a revived Turkey that might try to win back her lands. The Austrian emperor announced (1908) that he had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Turkish provinces given him to govern by the Congress of Berlin.¹ The prince of Bulgaria declared his complete independence of Turkey and took the title of tsar. The Greeks in Crete declared for union with Greece.

Interna-
tional
effects of
the Revolu-
tion

Effects
of the
annexation

These acts broke the Treaty of Berlin and startled all Europe. The great powers were already lined up in two great groups: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy on one side; and Great Britain, France, and Russia on the other. The latter were angered by the action of Austria. Russia especially protested because she prided herself on being the protector of the Slavs in the Balkan region.² The people of Serbia had long hoped that at some time they could gather all the members of their race living in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and the southern part of Austria-Hungary into one single state, just as most of the Italians had been united (1859-1870). This would revive the Serbian Empire as it had been in the Middle Ages.

Grievances
of Serbia

The Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina dashed the hopes of the Serbians, who then prepared to fight. They hoped for Russian backing, but Russia had not yet recovered from the disastrous war with Japan, and

¹See p. 773.

²This was rank hypocrisy, for the Russian minister of foreign affairs had given his consent in advance in return for Austrian consent to the opening of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to Russian warships.

was not ready for another war. Britain and France were unwilling to fight for Serbia. Certain Austrian leaders insisted that now was the time to crush "the dangerous little viper," Serbia, by an immediate "preventive war." But Germany stepped in as mediator and persuaded Russia to yield to Austria and to warn Serbia to keep quiet. Serbia had to agree to keep the peace, and the danger of a great European war was over for the time. The Turks accepted some money payments and consented to what had been done. It was victory for Austria.

Germany
backs
Austria

Russia and
Serbia
forced to
yield

THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912-1913

The Turkish Revolution did not bring to the people of Turkey all the benefits they expected it would. The old sultan had been overthrown (1909) after he had caused a mutiny of the soldiers, but the Young Turks proved to be tyrants too. They determined to force everybody in the empire to become Turks, and saw to it that few but those of their party were elected to the parliament. They sent Turks to govern people who did not know the Turkish language. The Arabs were deeply offended. The Armenians were repaid for their help to the Young Turks by fearful massacres. The many Greeks in Turkey were angered by an attempt to take from the clergy of the Orthodox Greek church special privileges they had held for centuries. In order to force the government of Greece to give up its claim to Crete, the Turks refused to have anything to do with Greeks; that is, boycotted them. Greece was badly hurt, but the Turks suffered still more and had to give up the boycott. Thus the Young Turks lost the loyalty of the Greeks, the most prosperous of the business men of Turkey, and aroused the war spirit in Greece itself.

How the
Young
Turks
blundered
and made
enemies

How these
blunders
helped
bring about
the Balkan
War of
1912

Treatment
of the
Greeks

In the region known as Macedonia are people of many different races: Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Albanians, Turks, and others. Of course, Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia

The
Macedo-
nians

each claimed the land. In order to check possible rebellions, the Young Turks induced Mohammedans from other lands to settle there. There was already great disorder in parts of Macedonia. There were many brigands, and property was not safe. The Christians of the region were forced to serve in the Turkish army, a service which had not been required before. These grievances led to strong appeals to the Christian Balkan nations to free Macedonia from Turkey.

**Treatment
of the
Albanians**

Mountainous Albania to the west of Macedonia had never been fully conquered by the Turks. Many Albanians had become Mohammedans and had served the Turks ably as soldiers and government officers, but they had always been free in their own mountains and had paid no taxes to Turkey. Now the Young Turks made an attempt to subdue them completely, but Albania could not be conquered.

**Italy
makes war
on Turkey
(1911)**

While the Young Turks were blundering and making enemies on every side, Italy demanded Tripoli, the only land in Northern Africa which the Turks still held. The demand was refused (September, 1911). An Italian army then sailed for Tripoli and occupied the coast. To force the Turks to yield, the Italians seized several important islands along the Asia Minor coast and bombarded the Turkish forts at the mouth of the Dardanelles. The Turks closed the straits to trade, but refused to give up Tripoli.

**Why the
Balkan
States had
not attacked
Turkey
before**

Ever since the Congress of Berlin, and even before, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece had wanted to free their fellow Christians in Macedonia from Turkish oppression and also to annex as much of the land as each was able to get. War with the Turks probably would have broken out long before it did if each state had not feared that its rivals would seize too much of the spoils. The old Sultan Abdul Hamid II was so clever at playing one against the other that often his enemies seemed to hate one another more than they hated him.

Gradually the enemies of Turkey grew stronger and more confident that they could win. They saw that they must

take advantage of the Young Turk blunders and fight before the Turkish army was reformed. The Italian war against Turkey made them act. First, Bulgaria and Serbia agreed to a plan of dividing the spoils if they won. Soon little Montenegro joined, and finally Greece.

**The
Balkan
Alliance
(1912)**

They demanded of the Turks the thorough reforms in Macedonia which had been promised many times. Then they ordered their armies to mobilize; that is, they called out all their reserve soldiers (September 30, 1912). The six great European powers declared they would not allow any change of Turkish boundaries and promised to obtain reforms in Macedonia, for they feared a war in the Balkans might lead directly to general European war. Montenegro replied by declaring war on Turkey, and the other three states made demands that were sure to bring about war. The Turks hurriedly made peace with Italy by giving up Tripoli, and declared war on October 18, 1912.

**First
Balkan
War
(1912)**

Very soon the better preparation of the Balkan allies began to show results. The Montenegrins invaded the land to the northeast of them and the Serbians and Greeks pushed into Macedonia. The Bulgarians besieged the great Turkish fortress of Adrianople, utterly defeated an advancing Turkish army, and pushed on toward Constantinople as fast as the deep mud would let them. Again the Turks were defeated in a three days' battle (October 29-31). Had the Bulgarians been able to attack Constantinople at once, they could probably have taken it. Two weeks later they were faced by strongly entrenched Turkish forces through which they could not break. In the meantime the Serbians and Greeks had defeated the Turkish forces in western Macedonia. The Greek fleet kept the Turks from sending help to the West and seized all the islands in the Aegean Sea that were not held by the Italians. At the end of six weeks the Turks had been driven almost out of Europe.

**Bulgarian
attack**

**Work of
the
Serbians
and
Greeks**

After a truce was made (December 3, 1912) the terms of peace were discussed for nearly two months. The Turks

**Terms of
peace**

would not yield, and so the Balkan allies began war again. Adrianople had to surrender, and peace was made at last (May 30, 1913). The sultan gave the Balkan allies nearly all his lands in Europe except Constantinople and the land adjacent to it. Crete was given up to Greece.

Causes of
the war
between
the Balkan
allies
(1913)

This treaty settled only the boundaries of Turkey. The division of the land among the Balkan allies themselves was more difficult. Greece expected to extend to the northwest. Serbia had expected to gain lands to the southwest and obtain an outlet on the Adriatic Sea. But Austria and Italy insisted on making Albania partly independent, thus shutting Serbia off from the coast. This was a bitter disappointment for Serbia and Greece. They now decided to hold western and central Macedonia for themselves, for they had already taken it from the Turks.

Bulgaria, however, claimed most of Macedonia and insisted that Serbia had earlier agreed to let her have it. Serbia insisted that without Albania she must have part of Macedonia, and made an alliance with Greece to check Bulgarian ambitions (May, 1913). The great powers of Europe, fearing that the Balkan War might lead to a general European war, had supported Austria and Italy in setting up a separate Albania. Their attitude embittered the quarrel between Bulgaria and her former allies.

Second
Balkan
War
(1913)

Suddenly, while negotiations to settle these differences peaceably were still going on, the Bulgarians made a great night attack on the Serbians and Greeks (June 29). At first the Bulgarians seemed to be winning, but after severe fighting they were driven back. Meanwhile the Turks invaded the land they had been forced to give up, and retook Adrianople. The Romanians¹ saw a chance to win more land south of the Danube and they also declared war on Bulgaria. They invaded Bulgaria almost unopposed, and she had to accept a truce at the close of July.

¹ The Romanians had demanded something as payment for their friendly neutrality during the war with Turkey. In April, Bulgaria had given them only a part of the land needed to allow Romania a defendable frontier.



Terms of peace were arranged at the Romanian capital, Bucharest. Romania obtained what she wanted, Serbia gained far more of Macedonia than her soldiers had taken, and the Greek frontier was pushed farther east on the shores of the Aegean Sea, Greece granting Serbia railroad rights to the port at Salonika. Bulgaria was given only a short strip of shore line on the south with one port, while the Greek gains included several better ports. In another treaty with Turkey, Bulgaria was obliged to give up most of the land she had taken from the Turks in the first war.

Terms of
peace

The Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 did much to bring about the great European war. They showed clearly the weakness of the Ottoman Empire and the unexpected strength of the Balkan States. This at once affected the military rivalry of the Great Powers, for Germany had counted on substantial help from the Turkish army in case of a general European war. As this could no longer be depended on, the German government decided greatly to increase its own army (1913). Austria, France, and Russia followed Germany's example.

Results
of the
Balkan
wars of
1912-1913

Serbia and Greece, which were somewhat under Russian influence, were the greatest gainers in the Balkan Wars. Bulgaria, which was somewhat anti-Russian, was humbled. The Serbian people now hoped to win the lands north and west of them, where the people were closely related to them in language and customs. Austria-Hungary determined to check these Serbian ambitions and subdue Serbian agitation in her southern lands, especially in Bosnia. To succeed, she had to humble Serbia, by war if necessary. The main railroad line from Berlin to Constantinople passed through Serbia, enabling that state to interfere with German communication with Turkey. In addition Serbia now controlled most of the through railroad from Austria to Salonika on the Aegean Sea, and Greece held the rest. Germany and Austria had long wanted a German-controlled line to Salonika. This a strong Serbia would never allow. Thus German statesmen also had strong motives for wishing to see Serbia

Strengthening of
Serbia
and
Greece

Railroad
control

humbled so that she could not interfere with their plans to gain lands and influence in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire. In the summer of 1913 several Austrian leaders thought seriously of making a "preventive war" against Serbia, but Germany sent a speedy and decisive warning, supported by Italy, and so kept Austria from taking such a reckless step, likely to cause general war.

The Bulgarians were so bitter over the settlement that they were almost certain to fight again in the hope of getting what the Serbians and Greeks had won, especially the land along the north shore of the Aegean Sea. Thus they needed little inducement to enter the World War in alliance with Germany and Austria (October, 1915).

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) In what respects was the Turks' treatment of their Christian subjects wise and unwise? Why? Compare and contrast their treatment with that of the subject races under the governments of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Great Britain. (2) Was Great Britain wise or unwise in refusing the friendly advances of the Russians in 1853? Why? (3) Which was better for the peace of Europe and for the Balkan peoples, the settlement made by the Treaty of San Stefano or that made by the Treaty of Berlin? Give reasons in detail. Who gained most by the latter? Give proofs. (4) Explain the causes of the Turkish Revolution of 1908. Why did it succeed? (5) What reasons had the Serbians to hope that they might annex Bosnia and Herzegovina? How and why was Austria able to obtain those provinces and keep them? (6) What blunders did the Young Turks make after their successful revolution in 1908? Explain in your own words how and why each of these helped bring about the Balkan War of 1912. (7) Make a list of the remote and immediate causes of the Balkan War of 1912. Explain in your own words how each cause you name helped to bring on the war. (8) Why did the Balkan allies win against the Turks? (9) How did their victory please Germany and her allies? Why? What policies did Germany adopt as a result? (10) How did Germany and Austria help bring about the second Balkan War? (11) Why was the distribution of territory

unsatisfactory to Bulgaria? (12) How did the Balkan Wars prepare for the World War of 1914?

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN WORLD CIVILIZATION

THE AGE OF MECHANICAL INVENTIONS

CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Political
progress

The nineteenth century was a time of vast progress in almost every phase of European civilization, and of the spread of that civilization over almost the whole world. The rise of representative government in England, the rise of liberty and equality in France, and their extension to other European countries have already been studied. By

Spread of
democracy

1914, governments that were at least partly democratic in form had been set up nearly everywhere in Europe. The United States and the British dominions had popular government, and France even allowed her colonies representation in the French parliament.

Changes in
agriculture

The changes made in England in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries by the agrarian or agricultural revolution have been explained.¹ These were followed by a great number of further inventions. Harvesting machinery, first invented by an American, McCormick, has been developed until a single machine cuts grain, threshes it, gets rid of the chaff, and puts the grain into sacks right in the field. On large farms the old horse-drawn single plows have been supplemented by gasoline tractors pulling a series of plows which turn over many wide strips of soil at the same time. Artificial fertilizers have been perfected. These enrich much poor land so that it can be tilled with profit.

New
machinery

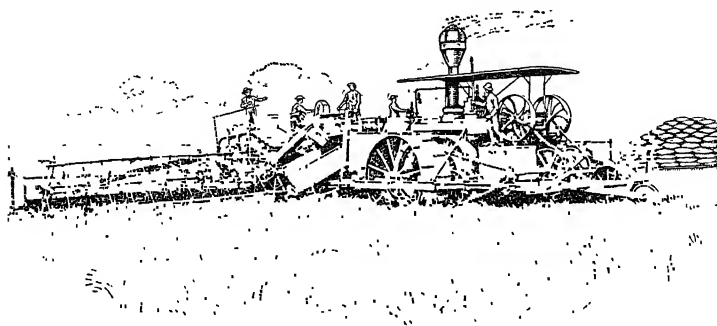
Science
applied
to agricul-
ture

The tremendous scientific progress made in the past hundred years has been applied to agriculture so as to give farmers all sorts of valuable information, ranging from a knowledge of new crops and new ways of growing the old ones to fairly

¹See pp. 622-623.

accurate forecasts of the weather for a day or two in advance. The tremendous expansion of transportation facilities and the discovery of ways of keeping perishable foods from

**Extension
of markets**



A STEAM HARVESTER AND THRESHER AT WORK

spoiling, have given farmers the chance to sell their products to people halfway across the world. All this has meant a vast expansion of markets for the producer, as well as far lower prices for the consumer of foodstuffs.

At first the revolutionizing of agriculture helped the large farmer and put at a disadvantage the man who had only a few acres, for the latter could hardly afford to buy many expensive machines. Hence in Great Britain great landlords largely took the place of small farmers. In 1876 it was learned that less than 4,000 persons, holding estates of over 1,000 acres each, owned four-sevenths of the land of England. But a change was coming which was to make large-scale farming in England far less profitable. Men who tilled the cheap virgin soils of the northwestern United States, western Canada, Argentina, and Australia could undersell Europeans who farmed expensive, worn-out lands in the old countries. Wheat prices declined heavily in the late seventies. The trend was now toward the break-up of old estates into many small holdings, since small owners could now generally make better profits than large owners.

**Trend
toward
large land
holdings**

Recent
tendencies
favoring
break-up
of great
estates

Since the French Revolution, France has been a land of small farm owners. In 1908 only 29,000 persons held over 250 acres apiece, while 864,000 held from 25 to 250 acres, and 4,602,000 held 25 acres or less apiece. Similar conditions prevailed in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, western Germany, and northern Italy, but beyond these regions the manorial system with serfdom continued until after 1800. Serfdom, however, disappeared in the course of the nineteenth century. Since the World War, revolutionary agricultural changes have been going on in Central and Eastern Europe. Great estates have been broken up into small peasant holdings, creating whole nations of peasant landowners.

Continua-
tion of the
Industrial
Revolution
and its
effects

The inventions that started the Industrial Revolution¹ marked the beginning of an age of mechanical inventions that has continued to the present. It will now be our task to survey these developments and study the further results of the Industrial Revolution.

Changes in
the iron
and steel
industry

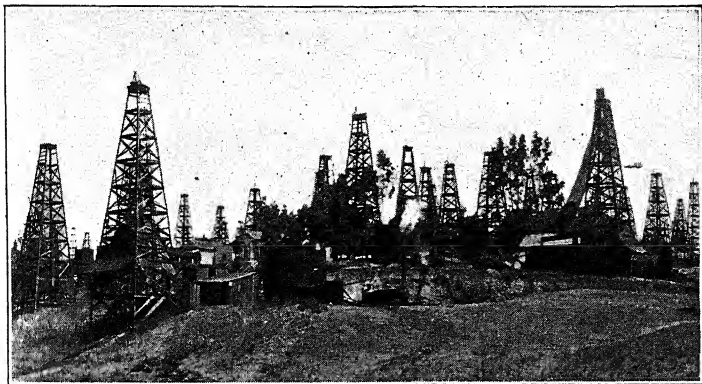
The story of how the steam engine took the place of water power to make the new machinery go, and how the subsequent enormous demand for iron and coal resulted in revolutionary changes in their production, has already been told. Steel, a combination of iron and carbon, had long been highly prized for its hardness and strength, but had been so very expensive as to be little used. About 1850 the Bessemer process made steel far cheaper, and so for many uses it fast took the place of iron. Our great bridges, our skyscrapers, our giant ships and fast railway trains, and our automobiles would hardly be possible without steel. The Industrial Revolution made coal and iron ore extraordinarily valuable. Countries that have ample deposits of coal and iron located close together have great advantages over those that do not. England and Scotland are greatly favored in this respect. They have another great advantage—their coal is near the sea and so can be shipped

Vast
increases
in the
value of
iron ore
and coal

¹See pp. 623-628.

abroad cheaply. Until about 1850 England supplied most of the coal used in Europe for manufacturing. Since then the United States and Germany have sold coal in larger and larger quantities.

Another fuel, petroleum, together with more than three hundred substances derived from it, has now become extremely important. This mineral oil was first obtained in 1859 in the United States. For many years it was used chiefly in the form of kerosene for lighting. Since about 1900 it has been far more widely used for fuel to drive ships and locomotives, and, in the form of gasoline, for automobiles and tractors. More than half the petroleum used in the world now comes from the United States (1927), but it is predicted that the supply in the United States may become exhausted within a period of twenty-five years.



A TYPICAL OIL FIELD IN EXPLOITATION

Oil has been found in some European countries, especially Russia, Romania, and Poland, and in Mexico and India, but the demand now seems to be increasing faster than the new supplies can be opened up. Farsighted men have recently been seeking control of lands where oil is likely to be found, in order to gain the vast wealth it will bring.

Rivalries for these lands are likely to be the cause of future wars.

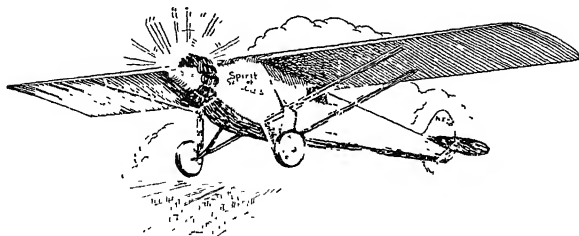
Shifts of
population
due to the
Industrial
Revolution

The building of numerous factories near the coal and iron supplies in the north of England drew many people thither. The appearance of great areas of country was entirely changed. Large towns and cities took the place of farms. Black smoke clouds filled the air. Most of the laborers lived in squalid, overcrowded slums, and their children, when they had a chance to play at all, had only the narrow streets for their playgrounds. Similar shifts of population from the country to the fast-growing factory towns took place in other lands to which the Industrial Revolution had spread. Continental Europe took up the new ways of manufacturing much more slowly than England did, but considerable areas in the western part of Europe are now industrialized. The same is true of some regions in Russia, India, China, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. Manufacturing rather than agriculture has also become the chief business in the eastern half of the United States as well as in some parts of Canada and even in Mexico.

Changes in
transporta-
tion

The Industrial Revolution brought about extraordinary changes in means of travel and communication. The story of how hard roads took the place of the muddy trails of earlier days, how numerous canals were built to provide cheap water transportation for the goods turned out by the new machines, and how steamboats took the place of sailing ships has already been told. Revolutionary inventions continued to be made. Ocean-going ships were made of iron, and later of steel, instead of wood. Screw propellers took the place of side paddle wheels. Ships were made larger and longer. The great liner of today would make an early steamer look like a midget. The modern giant railroad locomotive likewise would make Stephenson's "Rocket" look tiny, though the latter attained a speed of fifty-three miles an hour. Soon after 1880 electricity began to be used extensively to move street cars in cities, and later for

longer lines between cities. The trolley car enabled hosts of people to live in suburbs instead of in crowded city blocks. The electric locomotive is beginning to supplant the steam engine for hard hauls over mountains and may soon take its place for nearly all hauling. Later inventions, such as



THE MONOPLANE 'SPIRIT OF ST. LOUIS,' WHICH TOOK LINDBERGH
ACROSS THE SEA

the automobile, the airplane, the dirigible, and the submarine, are almost too familiar to require much comment. The first two were dependent mainly on the gasoline engine, invented in the late nineties of the last century and fully perfected in the second decade of the present century. The World War speeded up the improvement of the submarine, the airplane, and the airship. Flights across the Atlantic were made in 1919, then a flight around the world by American aviators in 1924, and in 1927, the American aviator, Charles Lindbergh, made his famous non-stop flight from New York to Paris.

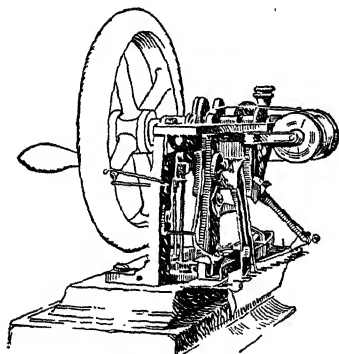
Means of communication were revolutionized by a system of mailing letters paid for in advance by the adhesive postage stamp, a method used first in England in 1840; by newspapers, turned out on a large scale from mechanically operated printing presses; by the electric telegraph, invented in 1837 by Samuel Morse, an American; by the submarine cable, first successfully laid across the Atlantic in 1866; later by the telephone, invented (1875) by Alexander Graham Bell, who was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, but was long a resident of the United States. Wireless telegraphy dates

**New means
of com-
munication**

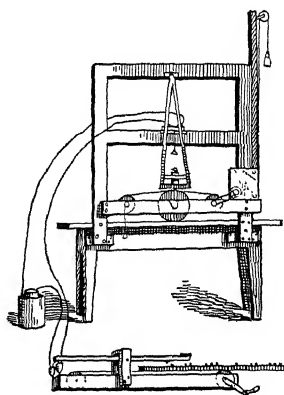
from 1899, and the wireless telephone, or radio, was invented more recently and has been perfected to a remarkable degree.

Some
inventions
of the past
hundred
years

The past hundred years have seen a great number of other inventions to meet all sorts of needs. Only a few inventions can be listed in addition to those already mentioned, such as friction matches (1827); illuminating gas for lighting houses, stores, and streets; iron stoves to supplant the old fireplace for cooking and heating; the "Colt's revolver" (1835), which replaced the one-shot pistol; photography (1839); ether for use as an anesthetic; and the Howe sewing machine (1846). Very recently war machinery has been completely revolutionized by airplanes, by rapid-fire small cannon and enormous cannon that shoot



FIRST MODEL OF HOWE'S
SEWING MACHINE



THE FIRST TELEGRAPH
INSTRUMENT

large projectiles more than fifty miles, by automatic pistols and machine guns, by flame-throwers, and by poison gas. Our ordinary daily lives have been changed by radio sets, phonographs, moving pictures, washing and ironing machines, dish-washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and devices for canning and preserving fruits and vegetables on a large scale. In our factories and mines new machines

are being installed every few years. It is quite clear that the Industrial Revolution is still going on, though the changes it is now effecting are not so completely revolutionary as were the earlier ones.

The changes already explained have had a tremendous influence on ways of doing business, both local and international. Manufacturers soon found that they could greatly increase their production by running their machinery more hours each day, and by adding more machinery. As long as they could sell all their output, they were tempted to manufacture more and more to get added profits. But sooner or later they produced more goods than could easily be sold. Then competition forced down prices until no profits could be made. Prudent factory owners shut down their plants, at least in part, until they saw signs of a reviving demand for goods. This left their employees without work and so caused great suffering. After sufficient time had passed, the supply of goods ran low and continued demand brought rising prices. Owners started their factories again, wage-earners could now buy goods, and prosperity took the place of business depression. Many causes other than over-production help to bring business depression, but the Industrial Revolution was undoubtedly responsible for the alternating periods of great prosperity and depression that have come to all industrialized countries ever since 1800. During the year 1921 the whole world was in the midst of one of the worst depressions in history. Most European countries were slow in recovering from its effects. The United States seemed to suffer less from the depression.

The excess production of the factories made the owners seek new markets for their goods. Often the buyers could not pay at once, and so the sellers took, instead of money, shares in new railroads or mortgages on farms, mines, or factories. Their profits were so large that they could well afford to invest in foreign enterprises. Up to 1914, British, French, and German capitalists had thus made enormous

**Changes in
ways of
doing
business**

**Alternating
periods of
prosperity
and
depression**

**Capital
invested
abroad by
industrial
countries**

investments abroad. At the beginning of the World War business men of the United States owed large sums to Europeans who owned bonds and stocks of our railroads and factories, but the allied governments bought American products so heavily in the World War and after, that our indebtedness to Europeans was paid off, and their governments now owe us large sums for products we shipped to them.

Industrial
corporations
combined
into giant
"trusts"

Another scheme adopted by competing factory owners to protect themselves from the effects of business depression was the combination of a number of business enterprises under one control. These combinations were formed in different ways, either by agreements on prices, terms of sale, and quantity of goods to be produced, or by merging the enterprises into one corporation. These vast combinations of factories, mines, and railroads under one small group of capitalists have aroused much opposition but they have continued to exist, nevertheless, for they can do business to better advantage than a large number of smaller groups.

Changes in
banking and
finance

The great growth of commerce that followed the Industrial Revolution led to important changes in financial methods. Exchanges have been set up for buying and selling corn, sugar, coffee, cotton, and other staple products, not only directly but for delivery at a future date. Exchanges also developed for the purchase and sale of mortgage bonds and shares of stock of corporations. These exchanges make speculation easy, but they also help to make the prices of commodities more stable. Banking business has been developed to a remarkable extent. By getting many people to deposit their money with him for safekeeping, the banker is able to put large sums at the disposal of business men who wish to borrow for short terms money to use in business enterprises. Vast quantities of gold have been mined in the past seventy-five years, and this precious metal has been made the standard of value for money in most countries of the world. As a result, those who lend money by insisting on a promise to repay in gold, can be sure of later receiving

CENTRAL EUROPE, COAL, IRON, AND
POPULATION, 1914

somewhere near the same value that they loaned. Money based on the gold standard is comparatively stable in value.

RISE OF TRADE UNIONISM AND OF SOCIALISM

Industrialism put factory laborers at a great disadvantage. Frequent business depressions gave the employer a chance to force wages down. Even in good times it was hard for the laborers to get a raise in wages, because one machine did the work formerly done by many laborers and so created a smaller demand for labor. Low wages for long hours of work helped make the large profits in which factory owners were most interested. In earlier centuries the employer had only a few persons working for him, all of whom he knew personally. Now he might have several hundreds of employees, about whose welfare he knew little and usually cared less. In the first years, as new machinery came into use, some lucky and especially energetic and able workmen became factory owners, but in later years this became harder and occurred very seldom. Between the employer class and the artisan class there was raised a high fence which only a few could climb. Not only were wages low, but laborers, even children, were expected to spend twelve to fifteen hours a day at the most tiresome work, doing one single thing over and over again, or tending machines in crowded rooms with bad air and poor light. The tired body craved sleep, but a moment's yielding meant serious injury in the fast-moving machinery.

**Rise of
trade
unions**

The economists of the early nineteenth century believed the government ought to allow no organizations of laborers, but leave each laborer free to make his own terms with his employer. This gave the employer the "whip hand" and factory workers saw that they must combine if they were to better their condition. Even before 1800 they began to form unions in England. Enraged by their activity, employers got Parliament to make severe laws forbidding laborers to combine to regulate wages, hours, or conditions of labor. Unions

**Early
government
opposition
to unions**

were treated as illegal conspiracies, and many members were sent to penal colonies overseas for their "heinous" crimes.

**How the
unions won
freedom**

Agitation among the people at last induced Parliament to legalize unions (1825) though still with many restrictions. Not until 1875 were they given full freedom in England. Since then their membership has grown enormously. The great majority, even of unskilled English laborers, are now organized. In other countries, where the Industrial Revolution came later, trade unions were established later.

**Coöperative
movement**

English laborers early started coöperative societies to buy goods in large quantities, sell them to their own members, and divide the profits, thus reducing the cost of their purchases. The English coöperatives were very successful and extended their business to wholesale as well as retail merchandising. In Continental Europe such societies are common and do much to improve living conditions. In the United States coöperatives have made less progress than in Europe.

**Government
regulation
of labor
conditions**

After years of delay reformers began to urge the need for government regulation of factories and mines to preserve the health and morals of the laborers. In 1802 the first English law of this sort was made to better the condition of children in cotton factories. In 1833 a stricter law provided government inspectors. Later more laws were made by Parliament, until British law today goes far to protect all laborers from excessive hours, extremely low wages, accidents, sickness, and unemployment, and provides pensions for the aged poor. Other countries followed the example of Britain and in recent decades some have far surpassed her. Sweden, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand have gone farther than the rest in this legislation. The United States has made fewer laws of this kind than many other countries.

**Efforts to
make inter-
national
labor laws**

Recently efforts have been made to get international action to secure such laws. The treaty of peace between the Allied Powers and Germany (1919) set up an International Labor Office as a part of the League of Nations, and provided for annual conferences to discuss proposed laws.

Some of the reformers who early saw the evils which the Industrial Revolution brought to the artisan class, worked out schemes for bridging the gap between the few rich and the many poor people. The most famous of these was Robert Owen, owner of a large cotton mill in Scotland. He bettered conditions in his mill, paid his employees good wages, and provided them with good houses and schools. His town became a model town, and Owen still made money. But he believed the people ought to solve their own problems, and so he founded a number of little town groups, where the people owned their own means of production and held the property of the group in common.¹ None of these communistic colonies succeeded. Even before Owen's time several Frenchmen wrote books explaining like theories, but they had less influence than Owen. All of them are now called Utopian socialists because they dreamed of setting up ideal conditions as did the writer of *Utopia*.² Later the French journalist, Louis Blanc, wielded more influence than any earlier socialist.³

**Beginnings
of socialism**

**Utopian
socialists**

Modern socialists do not look with favor on Owen or Louis Blanc, but get most of their arguments from the writings of Karl Marx (1818-1883). This highly educated German spent most of his life in exile on account of his radical teachings and had a hard struggle to make a living. Nevertheless he found time to write a famous book called *Capital*, which is sometimes called the Bible of socialism. Its main contention is that laborers produce all the value in any product, but are paid only a fraction of this while the surplus goes to the capitalist as his profits. If the capitalistic system of carrying on industry were abolished and socialism put in its place, those who work would receive all they create. In a socialist state the government would own and carry on all industry and all means of production, employing all the people according to their ability and

**Theories
of Karl
Marx**

**Marx's
theory
of surplus
value**

¹ One of these was in Indiana (1825).

² See p. 401. ³ See pp. 648, 658-659.

How socialism would better conditions paying them fairly for their work. No rent, no interest, no dividends or profits would be paid to anyone. Every person could have his clothes, furniture, a little money, and possibly each family would have a house and garden. There would then be no people living at leisure without useful labor.

Marx's idea of how socialism was to be established To establish this socialist state, control of the government must be put in the hands of the common people. They must be persuaded to work only for the interests of their class and overthrow the capitalistic control of government. Marx insisted that socialism was inevitable, for he said capitalists will combine more and more closely and reduce all other classes of people to the level of ordinary laborers. Then to save themselves the many will have to overthrow the few, by force if necessary but preferably by parliaments chosen by the many. Marx urged that laborers must not be drawn away from their class interests by patriotism, for "all socialists are 'comrades' whatever be their nationality."

Socialist political parties Socialist political parties have been formed in most European countries and in Japan, Australia, and the United States. In several they have won control of the government in recent years; but these events will be explained later.

Public ownership of industries In several countries the government owns and operates many industries, whereas in the United States they are usually under private control. Almost everywhere in Europe telegraphs, telephones, and the parcel-post business are owned by the government. Except in France and Britain the railroads usually are owned by the state. European cities generally run street railways and gas and electric plants, as well as water works and numerous other enterprises such as markets, docks, and pawnshops. More of this public ownership is being tried in Australia and New Zealand than anywhere else. It should be clearly understood that public ownership is not the same as socialism, for it does not abolish private enterprises nor do away with the capitalist class.

Modern civilization may seem to have brought much harm to the common people through the evil effects of the

Industrial Revolution, but our eyes should be opened to its many advantages. There is poverty among the people in many parts of the world, but there was also plenty of it before the Industrial Revolution. In the industrialized countries of today the common people really live in greater comfort and with their wages can buy far more of the pleasures of life than could the common people of the Middle Ages. Actually poverty is most terrible in such countries as India and China where industrialism has spread little. The common people of every country in which modern civilization has developed, enjoy much the same benefits which years ago only rich people could have, such as better foods—sugar, fruits, canned vegetables, and coffee—finer dishes and furniture for the home, better clothing, better pictures, and books and newspapers for low prices or even free in public libraries. Playgrounds for the children, better houses, and machinery to do much of our hardest work are a few more of the gains of modern civilization.

**Advantages
the Industrial
Revolution
has brought
to the
people**

SOCIAL REFORMS OF THE MODERN AGE

Modern civilization has done much to lessen human suffering. Among the reforms of the last century are the abolition of human slavery, the reform of penal laws and prisons, and the provision of proper care for the blind, for the deaf, and also for the insane and idiots. Many organizations have been created to help unfortunate persons, victims of accident, war, or crimes, to get on their feet again. Most famous of these organizations are the Salvation Army, the International Red Cross, and the Young Men's Christian Association. Efforts are being made to check the trade in narcotic drugs by international agreements.

**Philan-
thropic
reforms
of the
present day**

Modern civilization has also done much to raise the average education of the people and give all of them a fair chance in the world. In the Middle Ages the few schools that existed were kept by the clergy and were not free. Some of the earliest Protestant leaders saw the need

**Improve-
ments in
education**

of providing free elementary schools. The Puritans of New England founded many. In the course of the nineteenth century the common school system begun by them gradually spread over the United States, and was extended to provide high-school training and even higher education at the expense of the taxpayers. Before 1800 Prussia began to build up a public school system. Other European countries were slower, but in the past fifty years it has generally been recognized that every civilized state ought to give its children free elementary education at least.

Elevation
of the legal
position of
women

The past century has seen a great change in the position of women in civilized countries. With little education, a woman was a dependent of father, brother, or husband and had few legal rights. Agitation for legal equality of women with men started over a hundred years ago, but only in the last few decades has it won much success. Before the World War Norway and Finland had given women the vote. Since then, Soviet Russia, the United States, Germany, and Great Britain have granted women the same voting rights as men. Likewise most of the old laws that made women legally inferior to men have been repealed and women given practically the same rights as men. But there are still many countries where women have yet to gain equal rights.

Establish-
ment of
religious
liberty

Most civilized countries now allow full religious freedom, and in most the church is entirely separate from the government. Over one-third of the people in the world are now Christian, and the number is steadily increasing as Christian missionaries of various churches work actively to teach their religion to the natives of distant lands while at the same time they bring to them European civilization.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS OF THE MODERN WORLD

One of the most important features of modern civilization is the tremendous growth of knowledge in the past century and a quarter. This growth is especially notable in science.

It would be hard to specify any particular field of science as the one in which most remarkable progress has been made.

Until after 1800 most people believed that the earth and all the plants and animals on it had been created at nearly the same time, about six thousand years ago. Eighteenth-century philosophers and scientists had begun to doubt this, and in 1830 Sir Charles Lyell, the English geologist, published his *Principles of Geology* in which he explained how volcanoes, earthquakes, rains, rivers, frosts, and other natural forces, still at work, had changed the surface of the earth. He showed, also, that these changes had been going on for many millions of years. Later he offered evidence that man must have lived on the earth for many more than fifty thousand years. Other geologists followed up Lyell's work with many more proofs, so that his conclusions are now generally accepted by scientists.

Geology

In his later years Lyell also adopted a sensational scientific theory, known as "evolution," that had been first advanced by Charles Darwin (1859). This theory was that all plants and animals of today have developed from earlier varieties by a gradual process of growth. Of the great number of animals and plants that have developed on the earth only a few have survived. These few have reproduced, and gradually new species have grown up, better and better fitted to cope with the dangers of life. In this way Darwin contended that the higher animals, including man, had in thousands or millions of years grown from lower forms of animal life. Darwin's theories were enthusiastically received by many of the younger scientists, and have been worked out in far greater detail in the past seventy-five years. They met with a heavy storm of opposition, which still rages. Other writers, such as the philosophers Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley, used the Darwinian theories as ammunition for attacks on common religious beliefs.

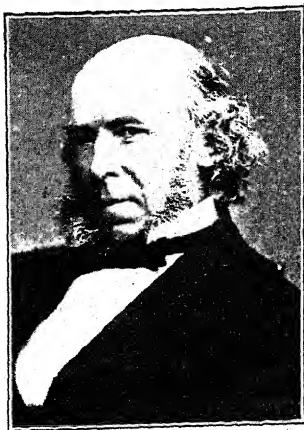
**Theory
of evolution**

Little controversy has been aroused by other important discoveries in biology. About 1840, biologists came to

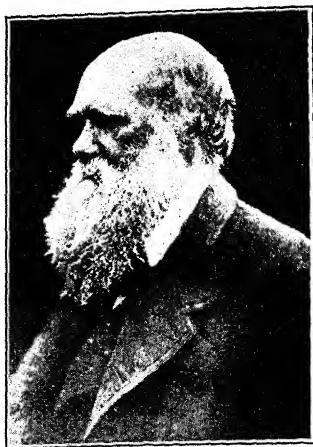
Biology

The cell
theory

believe that all living plants or animals are made up of tiny bodies called cells. Some very simple organisms contain only one cell. In our bodies there are billions of cells



HERBERT SPENCER



CHARLES DARWIN

of different sorts, specializing in different kinds of work. This cell theory has done much to explain the growth of the human body and to show how its diseases may be checked.

The germ
theory

The germ theory of disease, now generally accepted, asserts that many diseases are caused by plants or animals called bacteria or germs, which are so minute that they are visible only through a microscope. Entering the body, they often grow rapidly and some varieties cause sickness and death. A cut on the skin, if not properly cared for, may get very sore, and after a few days a yellowish pus may appear. Physicians expected all surgical operations to result in pus until at last they found this was due to bacteria which could be kept out by carefully sterilizing everything used in the operation. The English surgeon, Joseph Lister, was the first to use modern aseptic methods; that is, to keep his instruments absolutely free from bacteria. Certain chemicals kill bacteria and are widely used in hospitals.

Great heat also kills them. Many diseases are due to bacteria in water or milk; others are caused by bacteria carried by mosquitoes and other insects. Hence modern civilization fights dirt and injurious insects and insists on individual towels and cups in public places.

Scientists have learned that the body can be made immune to certain diseases by inoculating it with a very mild form of the disease. This process is called vaccination. Edward Jenner first used vaccination to prevent smallpox (1796). A Frenchman, Louis Pasteur, found methods of producing immunity to other diseases. Now vaccination is used to free us from the danger of the dreaded typhoid fever. Pasteur was the father of modern bacteriology, for he was the first to associate definite diseases with certain specific bacteria. His work has been continued by others. A German, Robert Koch, found the tuberculosis germ, and others have located the germs of diphtheria, pneumonia, lockjaw, and many other diseases. One of the latest discoveries was the identification of the scarlet fever germ and the preparation of a serum to protect a person from the disease.

How
immunity
is secured

Modern science has also learned that the body produces antitoxins to fight the diseases caused by certain bacteria. From the bodies of men or animals these antitoxins can be taken and then given to another person suffering from the same disease. In this way diphtheria and some other diseases can now be checked.

Use of
antitoxins

Surgery has been revolutionized by the use of anesthetics as well as by aseptic methods. The patient inhales chloroform or ether and sinks into a deep sleep, and thus the surgeon is able to perform the most difficult operations without causing the patient any pain. Another remarkable discovery was the X-ray (1895), which enables the physician to take a photograph in which the flesh of the body appears transparent, thus showing broken bones and other conditions about which one could only guess before the X-ray was used. Three years later Madame Curie and her husband

Anesthetics

The
X-ray

discovered the strange substance called radium, which gives out very intense rays of the same nature as the X-ray.

Physics and chemistry

Physics and chemistry have been revolutionized in the past century, especially by the atomic theory first adequately explained by John Dalton. He said that every substance was made up of tiny particles of matter which he called atoms. These were of various kinds which would unite in different combinations to make many different substances. Combinations of atoms make molecules: for example, two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen make a molecule of water; and one atom of sodium and another of chlorine gas make a molecule of ordinary table salt. Many substances are far more complex than these, each molecule being composed of a great number of atoms of different kinds.

Atomic theory

Artificial combinations of atoms

One of the very interesting things modern chemists can do in their laboratories is to cause various atoms to unite to form substances usually produced by natural processes in plants or animals. By analyzing soils they learn what elements are needed to make certain crops grow, and they can supply just the chemicals needed. Research in physical science has also produced an extraordinary increase of our knowledge regarding electricity, making possible the varied uses to which it is put in industry and in the home today. Most recent of all are wireless telegraphy and "radio." For a great many uses electricity is now taking the place of steam power and coal. Chemistry applied to practical life has given us such things as illuminating gas, friction matches, dyes, artificial fertilizers, and explosives such as dynamite.

Geography

Geographical science has made great strides in the past century. The vast interior regions of South America, Africa, and Asia have been explored. The North Pole was first reached by an American, Robert E. Peary (1909), and the South Pole by a Norwegian, Roald Amundsen (1911). The entire surface of the earth is now fairly well known.

Scientific history

Modern civilization has been greatly enriched also by rapid progress in historical writing and in general literature.

Little scientific historical writing was done before the nineteenth century, though vast collections of primary sources were being gathered. The historian of today tries to study and compare as many of these as possible so as to get full and unbiased evidence as to the facts before he writes history.

In prose and poetry, in fiction and the drama, there has been extraordinary progress in the past century. Lack of space forbids a full account of this progress. The cheapening of printing and the multiplication of free public libraries have brought this literature to the people as never before. Of course, the spread of general education has enabled people to read, which, before 1800, the majority could not do. The past century has seen an enormous development of newspapers and magazines, and these have brought much valuable information to the people as well as much that is perhaps useless. Sale of advertising space for high prices enables popular literature to be sold for amazingly low prices. Literary men of the past century have interested themselves in human problems more than did earlier ones. Carlyle and Dickens in England and Victor Hugo in France wrote about the lives of the common people. The dramatists and writers of fiction of the past twenty years have done this even more than did these earlier writers.

*

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Make a list of the ways in which the Industrial Revolution has affected the lives of the people in the past hundred years and explain each briefly. (2) How have the foreign investments of great industrial nations been acquired? (3) Why has the trend in business favored the building up of larger corporations? (4) In what ways have industrial laborers combated the injurious effects of the Industrial Revolution? (5) How did Karl Marx believe they could best do it? (6) Explain Darwin's theory of evolution. Why have many people criticized it? (7) Enumerate and explain the important scientific discoveries that have revolutionized medical science in the past century.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Inventions of the past century. BYRN, *Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century*; COCHRANE, *Modern Industrial Progress*; THOMPSON, *Age of Invention*.

Socialism. SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, (ed. 1929) 562-592; HAYES, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 253-264; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, I, 257-287.

Recent inventions. *These Eventful Years*, II, 455-474.

Social reform movements. *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, chaps. xxiii and xxiv; SLOSSON, *Creative Chemistry*; SLOSSON, *Chats about Science*; *These Eventful Years*, II, 423-454, 501-510.

Modern explorations. *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, chap. xxv; *These Eventful Years*, II, 475-500.

Growth of historical science. *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, chap. xxvi; G. P. GOOCH *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century* (1913).

SPREAD OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION AND
BUSINESS OVER THE WHOLE WORLD

HOW EUROPEAN HISTORY BECAME WORLD HISTORY

Coloniza-
tion before
the
nineteenth
century

European expansion in the sixteenth century and the building of great colonial empires by the Spaniards and Portuguese, followed by keen rivalry between them and the Dutch, French, and British, have already claimed our attention. In the course of their struggle for independence the Dutch had seized the Portuguese possessions in South Africa, Ceylon, and the East Indies. Later the French and British had despoiled the Portuguese of most of their holdings in India, but had left them Brazil, in itself a great empire. The British had built their own colonial empire in North America, had fought the French and seized their colonies both in America and in India, and, though they lost some colonies when the United States won independence, had added vast new realms in Australasia and South Africa.

During the Napoleonic Wars the Spanish colonists in America began to break away from Spanish despotism, until

by 1821 every colony had declared its independence. There were hard fights, but under the leadership of Bolivar and other able generals, the colonists won. Busy with troubles at home, Spain could not crush these revolts alone. Plans of other despotic European states to help Spain reconquer her colonies were blocked by the united hostile front displayed by Great Britain and the United States.¹

Spanish colonies win independence

The Latin-American states formed republics much like the United States. The only exception was Brazil, which was a monarchy until 1889 and then became a republic. But the people of the Latin-American countries were so ignorant and inexperienced in self-government that they became involved in frequent violent revolutions and fell victim to various despotic rulers. Some, such as Diaz who ruled Mexico (1877-1911), did much to develop the country's resources and keep order. Argentine and Chile have been more successful in self-government than the other countries. They have prospered and advanced far in civilization.

Latin-American government

Most of the common people in Latin America are still ignorant and have been held in subjection and made to work hard for long hours at shamefully low wages. They have had little chance to get ahead in the world. Most of these peons, as they are called, are partly, at least, of Indian race. Gradually they have gained new hope from the promises of political leaders and have determined to get a share of the land for themselves. This has been one great cause of disorder in Mexico in the past two decades. Another cause has been hatred of foreigners. Latin Americans have generally not been quick to make the most of the great natural resources of their lands. European and American capitalists have invested large sums in Latin America. They have hired cheap labor to take out the petroleum, precious metals, and other mineral resources, and so have gained vast wealth for themselves, taking it away from the countries where it was produced. The great hopes of

Latin-American problems

¹ See p. 644.

Latin America in the future are land, education for the common people, and reasonable restrictions to keep foreigners from monopolizing the resources of the land for themselves.

General
indifference
to colonies
(1815-1870)

By 1815 the old era of colonial rivalry had ended. Portugal had gained a foothold in Southeast and Southwest Africa, but was about to lose Brazil. Spain was fast losing her vast colonial empire. The Dutch held the islands of



Courtesy of the Pan-American Union

FOREIGN INTERESTS EXPLOITING A MEXICAN MINERAL FIELD

the East Indies but had lost South Africa to Britain in the Napoleonic Wars. The British had by far the largest empire in the world, but for many decades it aroused little enthusiasm among the British people or their leaders, who felt that the cost of getting and defending colonies exceeded the profit derived from them. This attitude was common in England until after 1850. In fact, not until about 1870 did European interest in colonies become at all keen. One exception was France, whose national pride urged her to replace by lands in Northern Africa, Madagascar, and Southeastern Asia, the empire lost in the eighteenth century.

In the meantime the Industrial Revolution worked many changes. It "produced the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, and the telephone, which annihilated distance"¹ and thus made it easier and more worth while to get colonies. It increased so greatly the production of all sorts of manufactured goods that factory owners were eager to find new markets for their surplus output. Unless new buyers could be found, competition would force the manufacturers to take lower prices and smaller profits, or partly to shut down their factories. As factories became more numerous in European countries, population increased rapidly and colonies were useful for supplying foodstuffs, as well as raw materials for the factories to work up into goods. Men whom the Industrial Revolution had enriched were glad to get even richer by putting their capital at work in factories, mines, or railways in South America, Asia, and Africa.

How the Industrial Revolution helped arouse new interest in colonies

Political changes of the nineteenth century generally put this new capitalist class and the strengthened middle-class in control of the government. Thus they were able to secure government support for their operations in distant lands. If their country settled large colonies and allowed none but people of their own nation to trade there, then they could buy their raw materials at low prices and sell the natives manufactured goods at high prices because there would be no competition. It was argued that this would be good for the laborers as well as for the capitalists at home because it would provide more work and steadier work at good wages. Actually, the capitalists, who often received 30 to 50 per cent a year from their investments in mines, plantations, and rubber forests in the colonies, profited far more than the common people at home. The cost of acquiring the colonies, governing and protecting them, and providing the needed harbors and other facilities often cost the home government large sums, but these were paid by the taxpayers in general. Hence rich investors were filled with

How the public interest in colonies was aroused

¹Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 550.

enthusiasm about colonial possessions. But other arguments had to be used to attract the people in general. They were told that it was the duty of civilized nations to govern and protect the uncivilized natives, or that the colony, having been acquired, would be a wonderful place to which the surplus population at home could go and live under the national flag. The population in such countries as Germany was growing so fast that some outlet was needed if emigrants were not to be lost to the fatherland. Missionary enthusiasm was another strong motive for acquiring colonies. Many a colony was first occupied by troops sent to protect Christian missionaries. Continued occupation was often justified by the need of bringing the teachings of Christ to the ignorant heathen. National pride could always be appealed to, if all else failed, for people could be shown the map of the world and be thrilled with pride to see the color of their territory in all parts of the world.

THE OPENING OF ASIA

In 1870 two continents only were open to European occupation—Asia and Africa. South America was held by independent states, except for small areas in the northeast, and was protected from European attack by the Monroe Doctrine. This did not prevent financial control by European capitalists, however. America, north of the Rio Grande, was rapidly being occupied by westward colonization movements in the United States and Canada.

Russian expansion in Asia

In Asia a similar movement had long been going on eastward from Russia to Siberia. Some regions were used as penal colonies, but southern Siberia offered vast areas of land to settlement by the Russian people, whose numbers were increasing very rapidly. From Siberia the Russians pushed southward and in 1860 secured from China the land near the Amur River, including the site of the port of Vladivostok. Further southward expansion led to a war with Japan (1904-1905) which gave Chosen and Port Arthur to Japan.

To the west, however, the Russians took practical control of northern Mongolia (1913). Near the Caspian Sea the Russians had long been working steadily southward until they were well on their way toward the Himalayas, where the British feared they were aiming at the Indian Empire. West of Turkestan only Persia remained to block their access to the southern ocean. There Russian merchants got a favorable treaty (1902) and seemed likely to dominate the whole country. Again British diplomacy stepped in, fearing for the valuable trade with southern Persia. A compromise agreement was reached between Britain and Russia (1907) giving Russia the upper hand in northern Persia and Britain control in the southeast. Some Persians tried to tear their country from the control of Russian and British financiers, but European influences were too strong.

This brief survey has shown the vast extent of Russian territory in Asia, amounting to six million square miles, an area the size of all Europe with two-thirds of the United States added. The economic value of this Asiatic empire is slight as yet, but there are vast mineral and agricultural resources hardly touched. Russia has the wonderful Trans-Siberian Railroad connecting Leningrad and Moscow with the Pacific ports and Peking, and also another line crossing Turkestan, with large additions in prospect. These lines will bring in numerous settlers and a large volume of trade. Much of the Asiatic land acquired by Russia was sparsely settled, and so was especially desirable to overpeopled countries.

The story of how the British won their vastly profitable Indian Empire has already been told.¹ How Germany also planned to share in the partition of Asia will be told later.²

THE OPENING OF CHINA

The greatest country of Asia, territorially, is China. For over two thousand years the Chinese had had a high

Chinese
Civilization

¹See pp. 539-541, 745-746. ²See pp. 821-822.

civilization, comprising an extensive literature and exquisite art, of which they were justly proud. They had simple forms of the compass, paper, type for rude printing, and gunpowder. Their system of writing was very difficult, but had been used for thousands of years. A famous reformer, Confucius (551-478 B.C.), had collected and edited a number of sacred books. He taught the people to revere their ancestors and to live according to high moral standards. Buddhism is the religion of the majority of Chinese, having spread from India where it was started by a great religious reformer, Gautama Buddha (about 568-488 B.C.).

**How China
was opened**

Until well into the nineteenth century the Chinese knew nothing of European civilization with its machinery, factories, and railroads, and they regarded all foreigners as barbarians. From the time of Marco Polo, Europeans made occasional efforts to get into China, but with little success. Both missionaries and traders were kept out as much as possible. The first great opening of China was made in 1840 as a result of a quarrel over the importation of opium by British traders. A British fleet captured five Chinese cities and forced the government to pay a large sum of money, give the island of Hongkong to Britain, and open five seaports to British traders (1842). Soon the traders of other nations received similar trading rights. Eighteen years later, as a result of another war with the French and British, China had to open six more ports, allow foreigners to travel in China, protect Christian missionaries, and pay another war indemnity (1860). Chinese trade increased amazingly as foreign traders and missionaries swarmed thither.

**European
seizures of
Chinese
ports**

Europeans had now learned how rich and how helpless China was and proceeded to help themselves. Besides the million and a half square miles with three hundred million population included in China proper, there were vast outlying provinces such as Korea (Chosen), Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, and Indo-China, some ruled directly by Chinese officers and others partly independent. Between

1862 and 1914 this vast fringe of China was to become the prey of foreign powers. The French won a foothold in the southeast in 1862 and under various pretexts extended this until by 1896 they held nearly all the Chinese land around the Gulf of Tonking. Britain established a zone of influence in Tibet (1914). Russian annexations on the north have already been mentioned. Japan joined in the scramble and in a war with China (1894-1895) won Formosa (Taiwan), the naval base at Port Arthur, control of Chosen, trade concessions, and a large war indemnity. Russia was jealous and induced France and Germany to join her in advising Japan to give up all conquests on the mainland in return for a larger indemnity. Japan dared not refuse. Russia, France, and Germany pretended to be good friends of China but promptly helped themselves to what they wanted. Each got a valuable port, but Russia gained most: practical control of Manchuria, a lease of Port Arthur, and suzerainty over Chosen. The Japanese were very angry at Russia for cheating them out of the spoils of their victory. In the war that followed between Japan and Russia (1904-1905), Japanese victory gave Japan control of Chosen and Port Arthur and forced Russia to give up Manchuria.

This was not all. China had vast mineral wealth and a large population willing to work for extremely low wages. It would be vastly profitable to operate mines, factories, and railroads in China. Wealthy Europeans urged their governments to give them a chance to do it, and so France, Britain, Russia, and Japan helped their capitalists and planned to divide China into "spheres of influence," which would mean that sooner or later China would suffer the same fate as Poland. China was helpless because she had no army trained in European fashion.

In 1898 an ambitious young emperor began to revolutionize China by adopting European civilization in every form. But he met with strong opposition and was made the prisoner of his aunt, the so-called dowager empress.

Seizure of
territory

Attempted
reform
and
resulting
reaction

She put a stop to all reforms. Anti-foreign outbreaks occurred all over China (1898-1900). Many missionaries, business men, and even a foreign diplomat, the German minister, were murdered. At Peking the foreigners stood a long siege and were relieved by an international foreign army (1900). China had to pay indemnities again.

Awakening
of China
in recent
years

It was clear that China must adopt European civilization or perish, and the empress unwillingly accepted the program. But many young Chinese believed progress was too slow and organized revolt. Led by the Christian, Sun Yat-sen, they won victory and the emperor abdicated (1912). A shrewd general and politician, however, robbed the revolutionary leader of the presidency and tried to restore monarchy. The attempt failed. China remained a republic, but a long period of fighting followed. Army leaders secured control of various provinces, attempting to set up separate governments. The chief conflict was between the North and South. In 1928 the southerners captured Peking, now called Peiping, and moved the seat of government to Nanking.

THE OPENING OF JAPAN

The history of the Japanese people is quite different from that of the Chinese. They welcomed European traders and missionaries early in the sixteenth century; but, fearing overthrow of their government, they drove out the foreigners after a hundred years, killed the numerous converts to Christianity, and foreigners were kept out until 1853.

Japanese
civilization

Japan had had a peculiar sort of government ever since the fourteenth century. The nominal sovereign of the country was the emperor, or mikado, but the power was wielded by a hereditary chief officer called the "shogun." The land was divided among many feudal noblemen, for whom most of the common people worked as serfs. The nobles waged war on each other and misbehaved very much as did the feudal nobles in medieval Europe. Japanese civilization was much like the Chinese, literature, learning,

art, and religion being based largely on those of China. But the Japanese people were quicker to adopt new ideas than were the Chinese.

In 1853 Commodore Perry sailed into a Japanese port with four American warships bearing samples of Western inventions both for peace and for war. The shogun was impressed and agreed that in future American ships might enter two of the Japanese ports. A few years later he opened Yokohama also to American trade. Other nations soon gained like favors. At first the nobles bitterly opposed this policy, but after a few years they were convinced that only by adopting Western civilization could Japan be safe from European conquest. A group of reformers induced the shogun to resign (1867), thus making the mikado the real ruler. Four years later the nobility gave up their feudal rights and property to the mikado, put an end to serfdom, and made the peasants owners of the soil. The feudal system was thus abolished, and military service under the mikado became the duty of the whole people. Then the mikado invited many leading foreigners into the country to teach European civilization to the Japanese. A little later (1889) the mikado granted a written constitution providing for a parliament of two houses and a cabinet to carry on the government. Naturally the noble class that made these changes exerted a great influence over the mikado.

**How Japan
was opened**

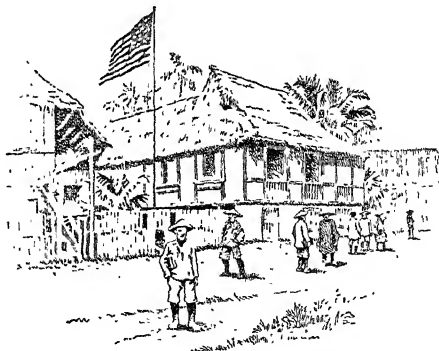
In the meantime many railroads were built in Japan, coal, copper, and iron mines were opened up, numerous factories were built, and the trade of the empire was enormously increased. Japan was very rapidly industrialized and looked out eagerly in search of markets for her surplus products and lands for her fast-growing population. The four chief islands of Japan have an area of only 140,000 square miles (a little larger than the British Isles), too small a space for her 64,000,000 people.

**Japan
becomes an
industrial
state**

The Japanese army and navy won decisive victories in the war with China (1894-1895) and again in the war with

Japan's
standing
as a world
power

Russia (1904-1905). These successes seemed amply to justify the adoption of European civilization. Even before the Russo-Japanese War, Great Britain had made an alliance with Japan (1902). After the war both France and Russia came to a friendly understanding with her, and when the



A SCHOOL ESTABLISHED IN THE PHILIPPINES BY THE UNITED STATES

World War broke out (1914) Japan joined the Allies. Her part was not conspicuous, but she was one of the five great victorious powers at the Peace Conference of 1919 at Paris, and she added to her holdings the former German possessions on the Shantung Peninsula. Japan is now recognized as one of the great powers of the world. No decision of Far Eastern problems can well be made without consulting her.

The islands
of the
Pacific

The story of Australia and New Zealand as members of the British Empire has already been told. The Philippine Islands were discovered by Magellan on his famous voyage around the world (1521) and were held by Spain until 1898. The Spanish friars converted most of the people to Christianity. Since 1898 the United States has given the Filipinos liberal and enlightened government, making great efforts to educate them. Many of them now want independence. Extensive territories in the Malay Islands are ruled by the Dutch. Most of the smaller islands of the Pacific are now ruled by Great Britain, France, and the United States.

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

The last continent to be taken under European control was Africa. Before 1870, North Africa—especially Egypt—a small area in South Africa, and strips of the east and west coasts of Africa were known, but the vast interior of the continent remained almost untrodden by Europeans. The North had been ruled by Rome and was later conquered by the Mohammedan Arabs and finally by the Turks. For centuries pirate states had made the region feared, but the French had taken Algiers early in the nineteenth century and gradually brought the surrounding region under their control. The Portuguese were the first to gain a foothold on the east and west coasts. They were followed and ousted from most regions by the Dutch, who traded for slaves in the East and West but came to the South as settlers. After their land in South Africa was annexed by the British (1806) during the Napoleonic Wars, the Boers, or Dutch farmers, hated the British and many won freedom for a time by migrating into the interior.

**European
acquisitions
before 1870**

During the first half of the nineteenth century the wholesale trade in negro slaves from Africa was almost ended, but slave raids were still common in the interior. Christian missionaries and humane people generally began to interest themselves in the natives. The most famous of the earlier explorers of the interior was a Scotch missionary, David Livingstone, sent there in 1840. For the next three decades and more he spent most of his time in the interior, where he braved appalling dangers. At last he disappeared, and for years his fate was unknown. Finally a clever newspaper man was sent to find him. The story of Henry M. Stanley's trip into Central Africa, his discovery of Livingstone (1871), and his amazing trip westward across the continent and down the mighty Congo River thrilled the reading public the whole world over.

**How
European
interest in
Africa was
aroused**

Leopold II, king of the Belgians, quickly realized and seized the great chance to gain wealth in Central Africa.

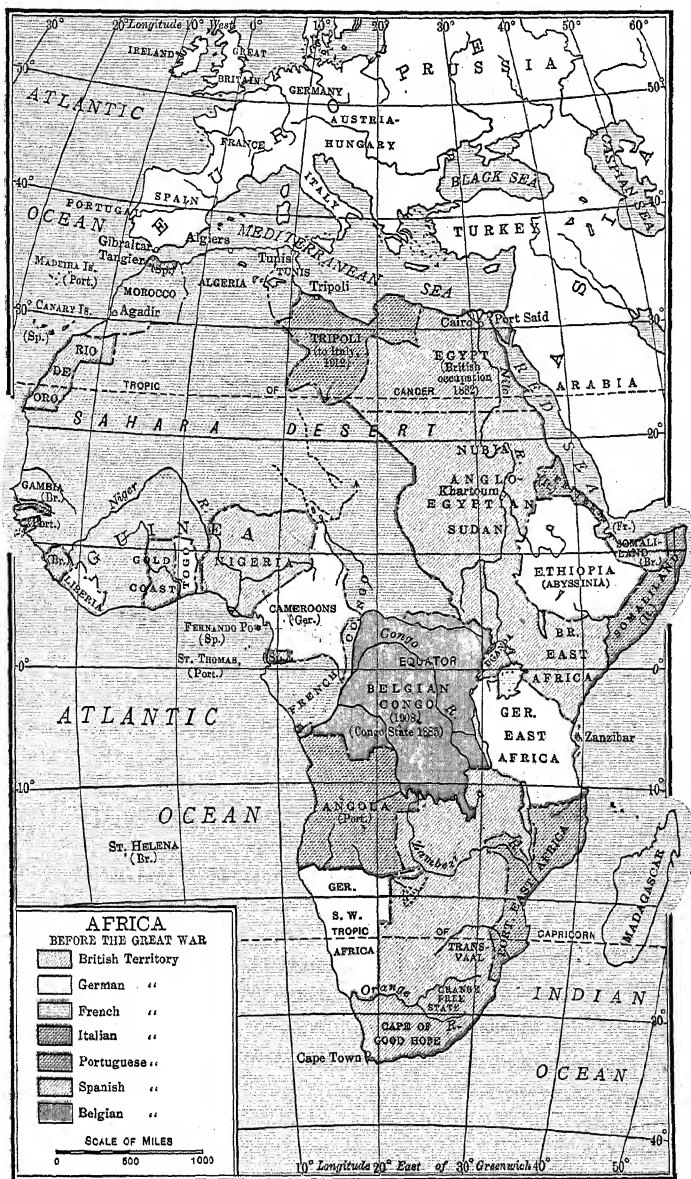
**Congo
Free State**

He formed the International Association of the Congo and got control of the Congo region. There a neutral state called the "Congo Free State" was organized, of which he became king and where he built up a giant business. The "free" natives were forced to collect rubber from the trees in vast jungles, or to bring in ivory or palm oil to the depots established throughout the land. The rubber exported was worth about \$30,000 in 1886, and about \$10,000,000 in 1910. After many years the stories of cruel oppression of the natives forced other European governments to interfere. King Leopold II had to give up his estate and the Belgian parliamentary government took charge of the Congo region, forming it into a colony known as the Belgian Congo.

British
and
German
acquisitions

Other able business men seized the opportunity to win riches in Africa. Most famous of all was Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman who became vastly rich in the Kimberley diamond mines of South Africa. He planned to extend British rule northward all the way from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and went a long way toward success. It was he who left money for 175 Rhodes scholarships for selected American, British colonial, and German students at Oxford University. German business men also took advantage of opportunities to seize African lands, and staked out empires in Southwest Africa, along the West Coast, and in East Africa. The French and British did likewise. This race for empire did not start until after 1880, and by 1890 the various governments were making final agreements among themselves for the division of their seizures. As a result, by 1914 there were no independent native states in Africa except Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Liberia, the former with enough fighting strength to defeat and drive out an Italian invading army, and the latter a small negro republic having the moral support of the United States.

The British possessions in Africa in 1914 included a vast region in South Africa extending north almost to the center



of the continent, the Sudan to the south of Egypt, Uganda adjoining it, the Suez Canal region—control of which was bought by the British government in 1875—the large province of East Africa, Somaliland in the northeast, two large regions on the west coast, and other small scattered territories.

How Africa
was finally
divided

The French empire in Africa was even larger than the British. It included Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, the vast Sahara Desert, extensive regions along the west coast, and on the east, part of Somaliland and the great island of Madagascar. Except Algeria, where there were nearly 450,000 people of French descent and 230,000 other whites, there were comparatively few French settlers in the French African empire. But its trade was immensely valuable to French business men, who bought African rubber, palm oil, and fruit, and got iron, zinc, and lead at low cost, selling the goods manufactured from them to the natives at high prices. The natives could be trained to fight in European fashion and formed a vast reservoir of soldiers for the French armies.

Italy had some lands in the northeast, and Tripoli in the north, which she had taken from the Turks (1911) at a cost of over \$200,000,000. Portugal held two valuable areas on the southeast and southwest coasts, and Spain had secured two other small areas. Germany, entering the competition late, had obtained four large regions—three on the west coast, and German East Africa, an area eight times that of New York state. None of these German lands was suitable for white settlement. They were valuable at once for their mines, rubber, ivory, and palm oil, and might later produce cotton, coffee, tobacco, and other tropical products. The negroes were made to work hard for low wages and punished if they refused. This involved many rebellions, the suppression of which cost much money and many lives.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Explain why there have been so many revolutions in Latin America in the past century. (2) Explain the causes that led

European states to annex overseas possessions. (3) How much of Asia did Russia acquire? (4) Why did the Chinese and Japanese oppose the introduction of European civilization? (5) Why did the Chinese leaders change their point of view? (6) Why did the Japanese leaders so willingly adopt European civilization? (7) How have European capitalists made profits in Africa?

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CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

DEFECTIVE SETTLEMENTS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY PROBLEMS

In earlier pages most of the underlying causes of the World War have been referred to. But it will be worth while now to group them more clearly. The settlement of a number of problems in the nineteenth century had caused lasting discontent. Such was the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine by Germany (1871).¹ These provinces had long been a part of the ancient empire of Otto and Frederick Barbarossa, and the Alsatians still spoke a German dialect. It was perhaps natural that the Germans should feel that these two provinces ought to belong to Germany. But their loss did much to embitter the French people against the Germans. They hoped to recover the lost provinces and to be revenged for the crushing defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1871.

Alsace-
Lorraine

Another faulty settlement was that of the Polish question. Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria,² but in spite of every effort to make the Poles into Russians or Germans, they clung to their own language and customs and their Polish patriotism.

Poland

Austria-Hungary contained many centers of disturbance. There were demands for freedom from nearly every group of people speaking their own language and having their own customs.³ This was especially true of the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Croatsians, the Serbians, the Romanians, and the Italians. They had little influence on the government, which had tried by force to make them into German-speaking

Slavs and
Italians
of Austria-
Hungary

¹See p. 685.

²See pp. 650-651, 716.

³See pp. 544-546.

Austrians or into Hungarians. It was believed in Vienna and Budapest that unless this could be done, Italy, Serbia, and Romania would some time annex the lands inhabited by people speaking their language. Almost the only result of the campaign was to embitter these people and make them more eager for annexation by Italy, Serbia, or Romania. This discontent of the South Slav peoples of Austria-Hungary greatly encouraged Serbian dreams of expansion to the north and northwest and helped bring about the World War.

Roma-
nians of
Russia

Russia, like Austria-Hungary, contained many centers of disturbance in addition to Poland. In southwestern Russia were Romanians anxious to join Romania. The Finns in the north and the people living farther south along the Baltic wanted freedom. The Jews suffered much, but they and other discontented people were not so troublesome to Russia as the South Slavs and Italians were to Austria-Hungary, because only the Romanians were located close to an independent state whose people spoke the same language.

THE CLASH OF RIVAL AMBITIONS

One of the chief causes of the European war was the failure of many nations to satisfy their ambitions.¹ During the nineteenth century, Germany and Italy won national unity, but still remained dissatisfied. Many Germans felt that Germany had been left behind in the race for world power. Many Italians felt the same about Italy, and were discontented also because Italian-speaking people along the borders of Italy were still under Austrian rule.

Serbians,
Romanians,
Greeks,
and
Bulgarians

Naturally the success of the Germans and Italians in establishing national unity encouraged a number of lesser national groups. The Serbians were trying to win from Austria the lands peopled by their Serbian brethren, just

¹The Congress of Vienna wholly neglected national sentiment. Thus Austria was able largely to control disunited Germany and Italy as well as to keep a firm grip on the many other peoples under her sway. See pp. 634-638.

as Italy had won from Austrian control the provinces peopled by Italians. Just as Cavour¹ had won by the help of France under Napoleon III, so Serbia hoped to win by the help of Russia. Similar desires for national unity were moving the Romanians, the Greeks, and the Bulgarians. But these nations could not satisfy their ambitions without injuring the projects of other governments. The success of the Serbian, Romanian, and Italian plans would greatly weaken Austria-Hungary, the ally of Germany, and would block German and Austrian expansion plans in the Balkans. On the other hand, the British and French felt that greater world power for Germany would mean injury to themselves.

Colonial rivalries also helped cause the World War. When Great Britain was building her vast colonial empire, Germany was not united, and Prussia had no extra strength to spend on colonial ventures. Later in the race for control of Africa, Germany obtained land on the east and west coasts but the most valuable regions were won by the British and the French.²

Colonial
rivalries

Division
of Africa
among the
powers

The Germans were trying hard to sell more and more of their products abroad and felt at a disadvantage because Germany had few colonies. Likewise, the rapid increase of population made German leaders want colonies in which their emigrants could settle and prosper under German rule. Everywhere they turned they found the good locations already occupied by one of the great powers. Many Germans grew bitter, thinking it unfair for France and Great Britain, which had no great surplus of population, to have larger colonial empires than Germany had.³ Nearly all Germans believed their army was stronger than the French

Grievances
of the
Germans

¹See pp. 665-670.

²See pp. 813-815.

³It should be noted, however, that until about 1880 Bismarck was not anxious to gain colonies for Germany and allowed many good chances to slip away. He could have seized the French colonies in 1871. In fact, he encouraged the French to seize Tunis and start other colonies. Hence the German failure to obtain colonies was not wholly due to the late unification of Germany.

or British. The German people were taught that their civilization was the highest in the world, and that they must spread it everywhere. Hence, when the British Empire should break up, as they firmly believed it would, they must be ready to seize valuable parts of it for themselves. To succeed in this, they must have not only the best army in Europe but a fighting navy large enough to rival that of Great Britain.¹

But until this great opportunity should come, German business men and statesmen saw a good chance to obtain vast new markets for their goods. The new field was Asia Minor and the great Tigris-Euphrates valley beyond. In ancient times these lands had supported great numbers of people, but under Turkish rule they had become almost deserts. The German plan was to build a great railroad through from Constantinople to Bagdad and thence to the Persian Gulf—the famous Bagdad Railway.² Then German colonists would be sent in, ancient irrigation works be rebuilt, and large crops grown. There Germany could get cotton, oil, and other raw materials and could sell her manufactured goods. When the line reached the Persian Gulf, German merchants could establish a larger trade with Persia and India. A vast region would inevitably become a German colony when the Turkish Empire broke up, and would make a fine starting point for the conquest of British India. This was the dream of German statesmen.

German
expansion
into
Asia Minor
and Mesopotamia

Bagdad
Railway

Much had been done to make the dream come true. The British, however, stole a march on the Germans by getting possession of the best ports on the Persian Gulf so they could control the end of the new railroad. The British agreement with Russia to divide Persia into two "spheres of influence" (1907) blocked the German advance toward India. But at Constantinople the Germans retained their

Diplomatic
clashes
resulting
from
Germany's
Bagdad
Railway
plans

¹ See p. 698.

² This scheme was started as early as 1888 but was not pushed very hard until over ten years later.

influence, for the greater the German business interests in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia the more necessary it was to have Constantinople in friendly hands.

Effects
of the
Balkan
Wars

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 threatened the German plans. The main railroads from Berlin to Salonika and to Constantinople connected Germany with the Bagdad Railway, and Germany wished to control them. The victory of Serbia in 1912-13 blocked this plan.¹ England, of course, not wishing to lose India, opposed the German plans. Up to 1905 Russia was very busy with her plans in the Far East² and did not see that Germany was gaining control at Constantinople. After that date, Russia worked hard to block Germany in the Balkans. The clash of these rival interests was clearly an important cause of the World War.

How the
rival
interests
clashed

MILITARY AND NAVAL PREPARATIONS

Enormous
increase
in armies
and navies

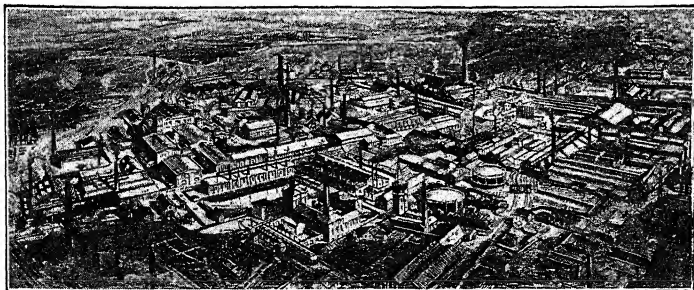
Another important cause of the World War was the great increase in the armies and navies of the European powers since 1871. The German victories of 1866 and 1870 convinced all Europe that the Prussian system of universal military service was best.³ Nearly all the powers adopted it instead of their old system of smaller professional armies. When this was done, the German army was of course not much larger than that of France, and German statesmen, fearing an attack by France to avenge the defeat of 1870, increased the size of their army. Other powers did the same, and so this rivalry forced vast numbers of young men to spend two or three years of their lives in the army, and made necessary the maintenance of a large body of officers and generals who busied themselves preparing plans of campaign against every country with which war was at all possible. Great war maneuvers were carried out on land and sea and many of the officers were eager to try out in actual war the vast armies they had been so carefully training.

¹See pp. 777-780. ²See p. 755.

³See pp. 675-676, 682-685. This system was started in 1807. See p. 607.

Detailed plans for mobilization, or the summons to arms of all the men who had ever served in the army, were worked out in each country. Preparation for war reached such a point that a few days' delay in declaring war, in order to

**Detailed
plans for
mobilization**



THE KRUPP STEEL WORKS AT ESSEN

give time for diplomacy to settle disputes, might well give the victory to an enemy who could mobilize his reserves during the interval. Thus the extremely thorough preparation for war helped to keep quarrels from being settled peacefully. Great factories were making warships, cannon, explosives, shells, machine guns, airships and submarines, rifles, and all sorts of war material. The owners of these factories urged the need of preparing for war.

**Capitalists
urge war
preparation**

In building warships there was almost as much rivalry as in preparing armies. In navy building Great Britain led, for just as the Germans felt that their safety depended on having the best army in Europe, so the British felt that they must have the strongest navy. They had to import so much raw material, especially food, that a victorious enemy fleet could soon starve them into surrender by blockading the British Isles and stopping imports. Hence the British built enough warships to make their navy stronger than any two navies in the world. But after 1905 Germany built so many warships that the British could not keep so far ahead. Both navies grew very fast. The British built a new type of battleship called "dreadnought," with heavy

**Naval
rivalry:
Germany
vs. Britain**

**How pre-
parations for
war helped
to produce
war**

protective armor and an unusual number of guns firing shells from twelve to fifteen inches in diameter (1905). Earlier battleships were almost helpless against them. Then submarine warships were made and improved until they could sink the largest battleships. Each new improvement made many costly ships out of date and almost useless. The United States and France built many new ships, but were outdistanced by Britain and Germany.

The German leaders argued plausibly that Germany needed to build a great fleet of fighting ships merely to protect her merchant ships, trade, and colonies. But knowing the German desire for a greater empire, the British feared that Germany's real object was to attack Britain and force the cession of valuable British colonies.¹ This fear grew into hatred which helped induce Britain to make friends with Germany's probable opponents, Russia and France.

DIVISION OF THE GREAT POWERS INTO TWO GROUPS OF ALLIES

Another important cause of the World War was the division of the Great Powers into rival groups of allies. If two powers were drawn into war, their alliances would draw others into it. These alliances date back to 1871 when German harshness to France² made Bismarck fear a French war of revenge. He made friends with all the great powers, especially Austria and Russia, and encouraged France to seize colonies, believing that this would make England and Italy her enemies.³ But the clash of Russian and Austrian interests in the Balkans (1878) made it impossible to keep the same close friendship with both. He chose Austria as his ally and helped her to win Bosnia.⁴ Austria and Germany then (1879) made a defensive alliance; that is, agreed to

¹It may be noted that in Germany the burden fell on future taxpayers, since much of the cost of the German fleet was paid by government borrowing. In Britain the cost was paid out of regular taxes each year.

²See pp. 685-689.

³See pp. 707-708.

⁴See p. 773. If Russia attacked either, both were to join forces. If another power attacked either, the ally was to keep a friendly neutrality.

stand together in case either was attacked by another power. Later, Italy joined Austria and Germany in a similar agreement, thus forming what was known as the Triple Alliance. Italy had hoped for some of the spoils handed out by the Congress of Berlin,¹ but had received nothing and had seen France take Tunis, which she wanted for herself.² Allied with Germany and Austria, she would be safe from French attack. Bismarck also kept on friendly terms with Russia and England, thus preventing France from winning any ally and making Germany the leading power of Continental Europe.

The Triple Alliance and the isolation of France

Soon after Bismarck resigned,³ Russia and France became allies (1891). Russia wanted to borrow money to build railroads and factories and develop her mines. The French people loaned it,⁴ for they were glad to get the backing of the great Russian army if France were attacked. This Dual Alliance began to line up the second group of the Great Powers. But for many years this alignment did little to disturb the peace of Europe because both alliances were for defense, not attack. Trouble was due chiefly to colonial rivalries. The French held Algeria and Tunis and expected later to win Morocco. Germany, with few colonial possessions, disliked to see Morocco fall to France, already rich in colonies. A clever French diplomat decided to get the agreement of other rivals and so insure future victory for France. Italy and Spain gave their consent (1900-1904). Most important was the treaty of 1904 with Great Britain by which France gave up claims to Egypt, while Britain agreed to let France take Morocco. Other differences were also settled by this famous "Entente Cordiale," which was asserted to be not an alliance but simply a friendship. It was an almost revolutionary change in the diplomatic line-

The Franco-Russian or Dual Alliance (1891)

Influence of colonial rivalries

The Entente Cordiale (1904)

¹See p. 773.

²France was plainly encouraged by Bismarck to take Tunis. Thus Italy's stand was largely arranged by Bismarck and was a diplomatic triumph, for Italy had no love for Austria.

³See p. 694.

⁴See p. 761.

up of the European powers and seemed to the Germans to threaten the encirclement of Germany.

Causes of
Anglo-
French
settlements

France and Britain had long been bitter rivals and more than once since 1870 had almost come to blows. Several times between 1898 and 1901 British leaders made advances that might have led to an alliance with Germany. Failing to receive encouragement from Berlin, the British sought other friends. In the meantime British feeling was changing. During the war with the Boer republics in South Africa (1899-1902),¹ the British were angered by German sympathy with the Boers. They believed Germany was building her great navy to attack the British Empire.² Certain writers in newspapers and magazines of both countries helped to stir up the growing ill will between them by talking war and misstating the intentions of the other side. As a result of these various developments, Great Britain was now glad to join hands with her old enemy, France. Both nations claimed they were merely protecting themselves from the German menace.

Extension
of the
Entente
to include
Russia
and Japan
(1907-1910)

Other treaties soon followed. England and Japan had already (1902) agreed to support one another in case of attack by more than one power. France and Japan also agreed to protect one another's Asiatic lands (1907). Most important of all, their common dislike of Germany led Britain and Russia to settle their differences (1907).³ Russia and Japan also came to a friendly agreement about their interests in the Far East (1910). Thus old rivals and even those who had been enemies in the past were being drawn together.

The Triple
Entente

Great Britain, France, and Russia formed what was called the "Triple Entente," having friendly relations with Italy and Spain and alliance with Japan regarding affairs in the

¹See pp. 750-752.

²Actually Germany was depending more and more on her ocean trade for food and raw materials needed in making goods for export. Hence the same arguments that were used to justify the enormous British fleet could be used by the Germans to justify the German navy.

³See p. 807.

Far East. It was a union of nearly all the great states with lands in all parts of the world, and its aim was to divide the work of protecting these scattered possessions. Each was willing to let the others' colonies alone, except that the state having the largest interests in a given region looked after those of the others. The United States did not join the union, but, because of the Monroe Doctrine, most European states trusted her to protect their interests on the American continents. These arrangements enabled the Entente powers to keep their most powerful battleships in home waters as the German ships were kept.

The German leaders felt keenly their exclusion from this union, which threatened the headship of Continental Europe held by Germany since the defeat of France in 1871. They believed Germany was entitled to a larger colonial empire and resented the refusal of Britain and France to allow her some definite sphere of influence such as the Balkans and the Turkish Empire, a privilege they had allowed other powers. Of course Germany at once tried to break up the Entente. A series of diplomatic crises followed. Each threatened war, but in every case negotiations were successful in preventing a catastrophe.

**Why
Germany
did not
join the
union**

The British leaders feared that another crisis might lead to war and arranged with France to have most of the French navy kept in the Mediterranean, so that the British fleet could be kept united at home in case of attack. There they would be able to protect the northern coast of France, as well as their own. Arrangements were also made to send a British army to join the French if attacked by another power. On the other hand, friendly advances were made to Germany and in the spring of 1914 negotiations were under way to allow Germany a free hand in Mesopotamia. This might have led to the admission of Germany to the Entente system and so greatly lessened the risk of war. But the explosion came before these friendly moves had taken effect.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Make a list of the defective settlements of the nineteenth-century problems that helped lead to the World War and explain in your own words how each did so. (2) Do you sympathize with the national ambitions of such smaller peoples as the Serbians and the Romanians? Why? (3) What were the objects of the European powers in getting as much of the land of Africa as possible? Were these just? Why? (4) How did the Germans expect to benefit by the Bagdad Railway? How did the Balkan Wars affect the German plans? (5) Why did the British and Russians dislike the German plans? What did they do to check them? (6) Which is more effective, a professional army or a universal-service army? Why? Did universal military service make it harder to prevent war? Give your arguments. (7) Did not Germany have as good a right to a great colonial empire as France and Britain? Why? (8) Why did British leaders feel that they must have the largest navy in the world? Did the Germans need the largest navy as badly as the British did? Why? (9) How did Bismarck prevent a French war of revenge against Germany? (10) What advantages did France get from the alliance with Russia? What did Russia get? (11) Why did France and England settle their disputes? On what terms? (12) Why was Germany displeased by this settlement? (13) Ought Germany to have been included in the friendly group of imperialist states? Why? What was done to bring this about?

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OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE WAR

Austrian
motives
and pre-
parations

The outcome of the Balkan Wars had so greatly disturbed Austro-Hungarian statesmen¹ that they were perhaps glad of a pretext to attack Serbia. The people of Bosnia were very discontented, partly because of their growing desire for union with Serbia and partly because of the severity of the Austrian government. In spite of this, the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, went with his wife to visit Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. There on June 28, 1914, the archduke and his wife were murdered in the street by Serbian conspirators. Austria declared that the Serbian government knew of the plot, and neither reported it to Austria nor took effective measures to stop it themselves. The charge is now known to have been true,

¹See pp. 779-780.

although Austria could not prove it at the time. An Austrian attack on Serbia seemed to them justifiable. The German government (July 5, 1914) assured Austria that she would have full German support in whatever policy she chose to adopt toward Serbia. At this time Germany did not see the danger that punishment of Serbia would bring about a general European war. When the Kaiser finally realized what was about to happen, it was too late to stop the explosion.

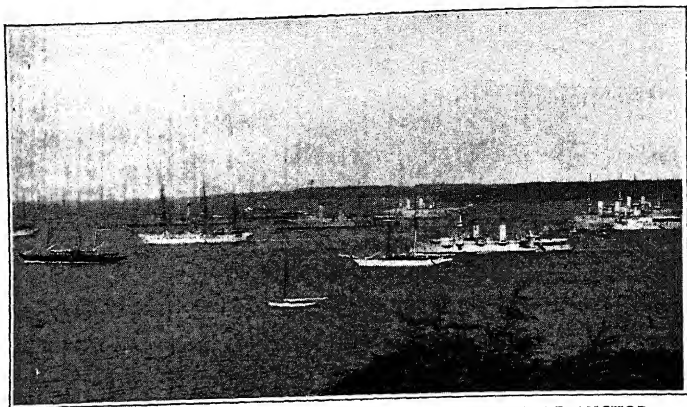
On July 23, 1914, Austria sent a note to Serbia demanding that the Serbian government should (1) forbid all anti-Austrian publications, (2) dissolve a certain political club which had taken part in the anti-Austrian agitation, (3) dismiss certain military and civil officers who had spread anti-Austrian propaganda, these officers to be named by Austria, (4) supervise closely the instruction given in the public schools, so that no remarks of an anti-Austrian character should be made by any teacher, (5) allow Austrian officials to enter Serbia and take part in the suppression of agitation against Austria-Hungary.

**Austrian
ultimatum
to Serbia,
July 23,
1914**

Serbia was given only forty-eight hours in which to reply to the note. Britain, France, and Russia advised Serbia to try to reach an agreement with Austria at once. The Serbian government accepted the first four demands and asked for a further explanation of what was involved in the fifth demand, promising to accept any form of coöperation that was in keeping with international law and friendly relations. The German emperor believed this reply removed "every reason for war," but Austria's answer was to break diplomatic relations with Serbia, and then declare war (July 28, 1914).

This action was very likely to bring about a great European war. If Austria were allowed to subdue Serbia, Russia would lose influence in the Balkans. On the other hand, war might give Russia her long-awaited chance to get control of the straits entering the Black Sea. Hence she was likely

to come to the help of Serbia by attacking Austria. If Austria did not subdue Serbia, the agitation for a greater Serbia might lead to the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into many separate states, leaving Germany nearly surrounded by unfriendly powers. If Russia got control of



A VIEW OF KIEL HARBOR AND GERMAN BATTLESHIPS AT ANCHOR

Why this ultimatum was likely to start a war

Constantinople and the straits, she would cut the road Germany was opening up to Mesopotamia. Hence Germany felt obliged to support Austria. France likewise felt obliged to support Russia; otherwise she could not count on Russian help in the future. It was clear that Russian help to Serbia would bring Germany in to help Austria and then France to help Russia. Britain did not want war and urged an international conference to arrange a peaceful settlement. A similar conference had gone far to prevent a general European war from growing out of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. All the great powers except Austria and Germany now agreed to take part in this conference.

Russian mobilization

While the diplomats were trying to find some way to avoid war, the army leaders in the continental countries were getting very impatient to begin mobilizing in order to get the advantage for their own countries. The Austrians

started by declaring war on Serbia. It might still have been possible to keep the war from spreading beyond the Balkans. Germany was now making every effort to arrange a peaceful settlement, but Russia began general mobilization (July 29, 1914). This forced Germany to do likewise or run desperate risks of defeat. It is evident that much of the blame for the beginning of the war must fall upon the military leaders of Russia.

France soon followed the example of Russia. The French armies were massed on the direct German frontier. This was the Alsace-Lorraine boundary, and the French hoped that if war came they would be able to dash in and recapture their lost provinces. On August 2 the German troops began to invade France. The Belgian frontier of France had been left almost unprotected, and on August 4 the Germans started their march into Belgium, breaking the treaty by which all the great powers agreed to maintain the neutrality of Belgium. Germany hoped to be able to force France to make a separate peace before Russia was ready to fight, and the best hope seemed to be to turn the French left flank by way of Belgium.

From the first appearance of trouble, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, worked hard to prevent the outbreak of a general European war,¹ but the German invasion of Belgium forced him to act. On August 2 Germany demanded a free passage across that country. The Belgian government refused permission and appealed to Britain at once for help, but the German armies continued to advance. The receipt of the news that Belgium had been invaded led Great Britain to declare war on Germany at once (August 5, 1914).

¹Sir Edward Grey told the German ambassador at London that if Germany would make any reasonable proposal showing that Germany and Austria were trying to keep European peace and that France and Russia would be unreasonable if they rejected it, he would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris. He went so far as to say that if France and Russia would not accept it, the British government would have nothing to do with the consequences.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Why did German-speaking Austrians approve of the ultimatum to Serbia? (2) Do you agree with the German Emperor's opinion of the Serbian answer? Why? (3) Why was the ultimatum likely to start a great war? (4) Why did the German leaders feel that they had to support Austria? (5) Why did the Russians insist that they must support Serbia? (6) Why did Great Britain enter the war? (7) Why did Germany violate the neutrality of Belgium?

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Soon after the war each belligerent government published a collection of official documents to show its innocence of responsibility for the war. Many of these publications, as we now know, were left incomplete or falsified, and so little dependence can be placed on them. Since 1919 much additional evidence has been made public.

Immediately after the Russian revolutions of 1917 the new government published considerable diplomatic correspondence to show the guilt of capitalistic governments in bringing on the war. Next the German socialist, Kautsky, made a collection of German documents which was published in English under the title *Outbreak of the World War*, by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1924. More important than these are the fifty-four volumes in which the diplomatic correspondence of the German Government since 1871 is set forth. An English abridgment of this is being published in four volumes entitled *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914*, selected and translated by E. T. S. DUGDALE (Harpers, 1928 ff.)

Aroused by the publication of this monumental German work disclosing a large amount of information ordinarily kept secret, the British government has undertaken to publish its diplomatic correspondence under the title *British Documents on the Origin of the War, 1898-1914*, edited by G. P. GOOCH and H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. Volume XI deals with the period June 28 to August 4, 1914. Lastly the French government has started a like work that promises to be most complete in nearly sixty volumes. In addition to these official publications, innumerable memoirs have

appeared giving the personal points of view of many men who were prominent in Europe during the decade of the war. A survey of the new evidence which had been made public up to 1927 may be found in G. P. GOOCH, *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy* (1927).

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THE EVENTS OF THE WORLD WAR

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1914

The German plan was to get around the left end of the French armies and so crush them. But the little Belgian army held back the mighty German hosts long enough for the French to shift some forces¹ and the British to land a small army in France. It required not four, but sixteen days for the Germans to cross Belgium, but they pressed on in such vast numbers that they could no longer be held back. The German soldiers were ordered to force their way through, cost what it might. The defenders fired fast and with deadly effect until their guns were too hot to hold. The slaughter of Germans was horrible, but on they rushed to the attack. The greatly outnumbered Belgian, British, and French forces had to give way until Marshal Joffre, the French commander, could gather enough men to make a stand.

It was a terrible retreat, with no help in sight. "They fought in the morning, they fought at noon, they fought at

**German
invasion
of Belgium
and France**

**Retreat
from Mons**

¹The French leaders had planned to invade and retake Alsace and so had put most of their soldiers on the Alsace-Lorraine frontier.

night. The officers kicked the men awake, fell asleep themselves, and were kicked awake in turn. There were men dragging and carrying their officers, horses falling dead in their tracks, and men harnessing themselves to the guns in order to save them. Motor transports moved toward the rear driven often by men sound asleep. For forty-eight hours no food, no drink, under a hot sun, choking with dust, and marching, marching, marching, until even the pursuing Germans gave it up, and at Vitry-le-François the Allies fell in their tracks and slept for three hours, men, horses, and guns—while the exhausted pursuers slept behind them.”¹ This retreat did almost as much to delay the Germans as had the Belgian resistance in the first day of the war.

Plight
of the
refugees

“Behind the armies the roads were full of French fugitives fleeing from the war. Pitiful and terrible sight! Here a whole family trudging along on foot, carrying in their hands a few little articles from their homes, and driving the cow before them. There a woman had piled what little she could save on a wheelbarrow and had perched the baby on top. Here two little children were tugging at their mother’s skirts while she directed a little cart drawn by the dogs used in Belgium and northern France for drawing light burdens. There children who had lost their fathers and mothers sat crying by the wayside until some of the fugitives noticed them and carried them on. Other more fortunate families with horses and carts or with automobiles were pushing on to Paris more rapidly. The roads and villages in all directions were full to bursting with a people compelled at a few hours’ notice to flee for their lives. It was such a spectacle as men had thought would never again be seen in history.”²

Battle of
the Marne

The Germans grew more sure of victory as they marched forward. But they too were dead tired, and their artillery and supplies could hardly keep pace. Their leaders left their right end unprotected, and there Joffre sent French and British armies to threaten their rear while others attacked

¹ Usher, *The Story of the Great War*, pp. 55–56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

in front. At last (September 5, 1914), Joffre ordered every French soldier to stand firm. Better die on the spot than retreat more. The Germans barely got away and made good their retreat to the hills north of the Aisne River,



TRENCH WARFARE ON THE WESTERN FRONT

where they dug trenches. This great battle of the Marne saved France from utter defeat and drove the Germans back nearly halfway to the Belgian frontier.

Then came a race in which both sides sought to extend their lines to the sea. The British and French won, though the Germans occupied most of Belgium. Both sides dug deeper trenches along a crooked line over four hundred miles long from Switzerland to the North Sea. In these trenches they were to stay with little change for nearly four years.

In August, 1914, the Russians had given great help to the western Allies by invading northeastern Germany and so forcing the Germans to send troops from the west to protect their own land. The Russians were at last badly defeated by the Germans, but they won great victories over the Austrians and reached the Carpathian summits. Austria was in desperate danger and Germany had to send help.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1915

Great
Russian
defeat

The Germans had failed in their attempt to crush France quickly. Next year they did their best to "knock out" Russia while they held back the Allies on the west. Vast hosts of troops and cannon were prepared. A terrible hail of fire was poured on the ill-prepared Russian soldiers, who often had little more to fight with than their bayonets. Their ammunition and food were poor and scanty, for many Russian government officers were traitors. Millions of Russian soldiers fought stubbornly, but in May they were forced to begin a great retreat. Flesh and blood could stand no more, and fortress after fortress fell before the great German cannon. Hundreds of thousands of Russians were taken prisoners. By October the Russians had lost all their gains of 1914, and the Germans held all Russian Poland and a strip of Russia. But they had not crushed the Russian armies nor had they forced the government to make a separate peace.

How Serbia
was over-
whelmed

Then the victors turned to invade Serbia (October 1, 1915). Bulgaria joined them. The brave Serbians fought desperately, though they had little artillery and ammunition and were heavily outnumbered. Attacked on three sides, the Serbians were gradually driven out of their little country. Only a pitiful remnant of their army escaped. The French and British sent help to Salonika, but too little and too late. Rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, 30,000 Serbian schoolboys led by their teachers, crossed the desolate mountains of Albania in winter. Only 15,000 of them reached the Adriatic shores, and many of these died later as a result of exposure and hunger.

Allied
war
plans of
1915

In 1915 the French and British tried in four great efforts to defeat Germany and help the Russians: (1) by attacks on the Western Front, in which they failed to break through the German trench lines, (2) by bringing Italy into the war, (3) by the Gallipoli expedition, and (4) by tightening the blockade of Germany.

Italy entered the war against Austria (May 23, 1915) to win the Trentino region in the southern Alps near Trent, and also the lands north of the Adriatic, including the city of Trieste, where most of the people were Italian in language and customs, but subject to Austria. Italy also wanted a share in the control of the Balkans and a strip of land along the eastern side of the Adriatic.¹ In 1915 the Italians made little progress against the strong Austrian defenses in the mountains.²

Italy
enters
the war
(1915)

The Turks, who had entered the war on the German side (November, 1914), closed the straits leading to the Black Sea, and thus were choking Russia. The British and French planned to seize the Gallipoli Peninsula and control of the Dardanelles, take Constantinople, and so open a route by which Russia could easily ship out her grain and import much-needed ammunition and military supplies. First the Allied warships attacked the Turkish forts and tried to force their way through the straits (February and March, 1915). They might have succeeded had they kept on in spite of losses, or if soldiers had been ready to land and attack at once. Not until over a month after the last naval attack did a large force of British and French troops land. In the meantime the Turks under German leaders had plenty of time to prepare. The British landed from small boats on a beach swept by a terrible fire. With wonderful bravery they charged up the steep slopes, but could not force their way far inland. The difficulties were too great and the troops were withdrawn (January, 1916).

British
and French
expedition
to seize
the Darda-
nelles

On the sea the British had had the advantage from the start. The few German cruisers that sailed the seas were soon destroyed and the great German navy was bottled up behind forts and mines. German submarines sank a few small British cruisers early in the war, but the British fleet

Tightening
of the
blockade of
Germany

¹ Austria offered to give Italy part of these lands at the close of the war if she would stay neutral, but Italy did not trust Austrian promises.

² See p. 677, note 2.

controlled the sea and at once cut off so much of the German overseas trade that they determined to find a way to strike back. They dared not fight the superior British fleet, so they proposed to sink by means of submarines and mines all ships sailing to or from the British Isles (February 18, 1915). Thus they expected to starve the British people into surrender. Britain and France then declared a blockade of Germany to keep out all food and all war materials such as copper, rubber, cotton, and petroleum products, and so starve out Germany.

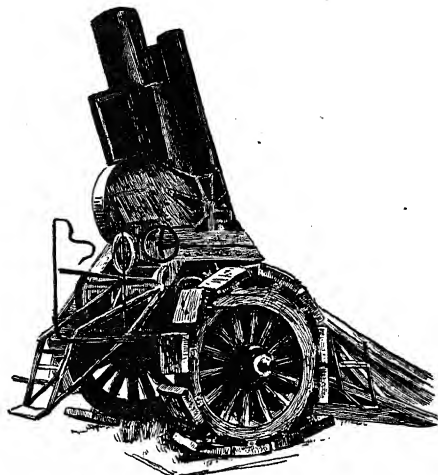
The German submarines sank many ships, most of them British. The sinking of the "Lusitania" (May 7, 1915), with the loss of over a thousand lives, including many women and children and citizens of the United States and other neutral nations, aroused very bitter feeling. The British people were stirred up to fight harder. President Wilson protested strongly against the sinking of passenger ships without warning them and letting the people get away safely in boats. Germany delayed answer to the protest while her newspapers rejoiced over this great triumph of cruelty. The "war of notes" lasted all summer, and several other ships were sunk with the loss of American lives. At last (September 1, 1915) Germany agreed not to torpedo "liners" without warning them and allowing time for the people on board to get into the boats. Submarine attacks became fewer.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1916

Attack on Verdun

Having failed once to crush either France or Russia, the Germans now struck again at France, this time at Verdun, the center and key of the French trench lines. This city had originally been surrounded by a circle of steel and concrete forts like those of Liège and Namur, which had been utterly wrecked by the great 42-centimeter siege cannon of the Germans. These enormous cannon were a great surprise which the Germans sprang at the outbreak

of the war, for no one believed that guns as heavy as these, firing shells over 16½ inches in diameter, could be moved readily enough for use in campaigns. But the French



A GERMAN SIEGE GUN

commander at Verdun had moved his heavy cannon from the stationary forts that he knew could be destroyed, had hidden them in the ravines for many miles around the city, and had prepared vast mazes of trenches and barbed-wire entanglements.

The Germans knew the strength of the place, but if it could be taken, the French line could be shattered and German control of the valuable iron mines of Lorraine would be assured. Secretly the Germans brought up great numbers of huge cannon and vast supplies of ammunition. When all was ready they poured on the defenders a withering fire which they thought no human being could survive, and then they sent their hosts to take the forts (February 23, 1916). The Germans controlled all the railroads leading to the city. They thought the defenders could be starved out because one automobile road was the only line of

transportation left. But the French hastily collected hosts of motor trucks and put them to work hauling artillery, ammunition, food, and reinforcements. Day and night for many months an endless stream of trucks only a few feet apart rushed at top speed into and out of Verdun over this one road. The German gains were great during the first few weeks. Millions of people prayed to God that Verdun be saved. Both Germans and French fought with terrible fury. "They shall not pass" became the French watchword. "With artillery, with machine guns, with rifle fire, and at last with bayonets and even with their bare hands, they fought back the finest troops of the German army and defeated them."¹ From March until July the fight went on. Verdun was ruined by cannon fire. Tons of explosives were rained upon the forts and trenches of the defenders. Poison gas and burning flames were thrown upon them. But every German attack was met and repulsed by the steady bravery of the French soldiers. In July the Germans gave up the attempt to take Verdun. They had not passed.

Austrian
drive at
Italy

In the meantime the Austrians (May and June) tried similar tactics against the Italians in the Trentino. The Italians had to retreat down the mountain sides until help could be sent. The Russians now attacked the Austrians on the east, driving them back with great losses, and Austria had to stop the attack on Italy to save her own lands. The Italians then won back what they had lost and pushed on in the northeast for good gains.

British
war prep-
arations

At the beginning of the war Germany had a trained army of 5,000,000 men and artillery and machine guns vastly superior to those of the enemy. Great Britain was only partly ready. Her navy made good at once, but there were only about 300,000 soldiers, many of them inadequately armed and poorly equipped. During 1915 the British did better, but the French armies still held most of the long line

¹Usher, *The Story of the Great War*, p. 178.

on the Western Front. By 1916, however, over 4,000,000 British soldiers were ready. The British colonies had sent much help. British factories had turned out vast supplies of cannon, explosives, and aeroplanes. France, too, had done her best.

By July, 1916, the French and British could keep up a heavier cannon fire than the Germans. They had so many aeroplanes that on a selected part of the front they could keep the German airmen from flying over the Allies' lines to direct the German fire. Just when the Russians were attacking and the Germans tiring at Verdun, the British and French began a great attack in the valley of the Somme River. It was like the German attack on Verdun, if not greater. Vast numbers of cannon deluged the German lines with their fire. Then the infantry took most of the first line of German trenches. The artillery was again advanced and pounded the next German trenches. Then the infantry charged and took them. These tactics were repeated as fast as supplies could be brought up. The British attacked eastward and the French northward against a large angle in the German trench lines. They kept on making gains until rainy weather in November stopped their advance. They planned to continue these attacks the next spring until they broke through the German lines.

**Battles of
the Somme
(July-
November,
1916)**

Encouraged by the successes of the Russians and western Allies, Romania entered the war against Austria (August 27, 1916). Her great object was to win the southeastern part of Hungary, a region where the Romanians are more numerous than the Hungarians or Germans. At once the Romanian armies marched into the desired land. Russia seemed likely to win Constantinople by crossing Romania and smashing through Bulgaria. But there was treason in Petrograd, and Russia did not seize the chance or even help Romania. Attacked on north, west, and south by superior numbers and artillery, the Romanians had to retreat. Before winter came, they held only the northeastern part of their

**Defeat of
Romania
(1916)**

own country. German and Austrian control of the Balkans was more secure than ever. The Allied armies at Salonika dared not advance northward with Greece half-hostile behind them, for the Greek army, commanded by King Constantine, who was under the influence of his German wife, might cut off their supplies.

War on
the seas
(1916)

During 1916 German submarines continued their attacks on Allied merchant ships. The loss of several American lives by the sinking of a passenger ship led to more notes of protest. Again Germany agreed to warn passenger ships before sinking them. On May 31, 1916, a great naval battle was fought in the North Sea. The German fleet came out and met the British cruiser fleet which attacked before the main British squadron could come up to support them. The British cruisers did some damage, but got rather the worst of it from the German battleships and cruisers. But when the British main fleet came up, the Germans suffered heavy losses and retreated at once behind their land forts and mines. Darkness helped them to get away without being destroyed. The great German fleet had failed to break the British control of the seas or end the blockade of Germany. Never again did it come out in force except to surrender (November, 1918).

Battle
of Jutland

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1917

Beginning
of unre-
stricted
submarine
war

In the spring of 1917 Germany was getting desperate. The blockade kept her from obtaining enough food, rubber, copper, cotton, and other needed war materials. The Allies were getting stronger and seemed about to drive the Germans out of France and Belgium. In January the German government offered peace if it could keep part of its conquests, but the Allies refused. The German leaders then decided to torpedo without warning any ship bound for the British Isles, and so force the Allies to accept a German peace.¹ This broke Germany's pledges to the United States.

¹Meanwhile the Allies had put cannon on their merchant ships to sink attacking submarines.

Almost from the beginning of the war, German agents had been doing acts of violence in the United States. They had plotted destruction of ships, factories, and canals. The German government had tried to induce Mexico to make war on us and to "draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her." The German invasion of Belgium and the reports of awful cruelty to Belgian and French women and children stirred bitter feeling in the United States. The cruelties of the German submarine war, especially the sinking of the "Lusitania," added to this. German interference with American relief work in Belgium under Mr. Hoover's leadership added to American ill will.

Motives
of the
United
States
in entering
the war

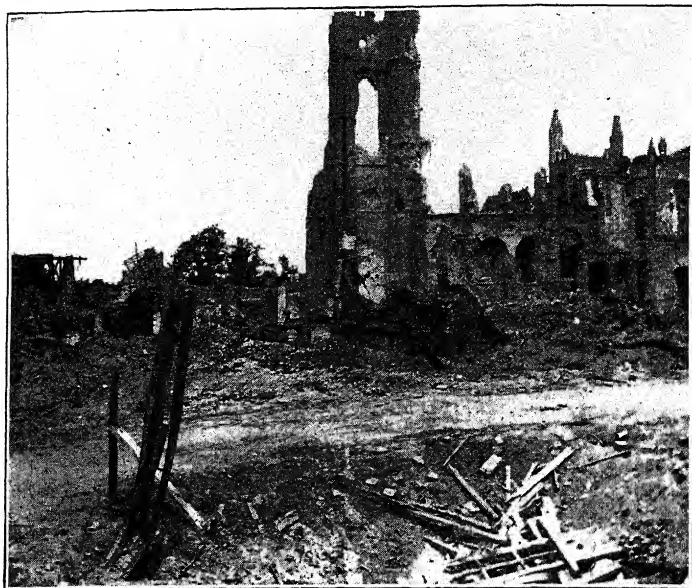
For a long time President Wilson merely sent protests to Germany. Then he tried to persuade both sides to agree on "peace without victory," but failed. Meanwhile American feeling was turning more and more strongly against Germany. Both sides had tried their best to influence American opinion by hired newspapers and public speakers. But the British understood the American people better and succeeded far better than the Germans. Powerful business interests also favored Britain and France, to whom they had sold vast quantities of food, clothing, and war supplies.

On receiving news of the new German submarine policy, the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany (February 3, 1917). Then, after a strong appeal from President Wilson to the American people to fight against the German government for popular freedom and the peace of the world, war was declared (April 6, 1917). Several other states followed this example. Germany was now at war not only with Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Japan, Romania, and Portugal, but also with the United States, Cuba, Panama, Brazil, Greece, China, and Siam. It became a war of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey against the rest of the world.

America
declares
war

With the help of the United States assured, the Allies now hoped to finish the war in 1917. In March the Germans,

attacked by the British and the French, retreated out of a great angle in their line. Before leaving this thousand square miles of French land, they seized everything of value,



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WAR'S DESTRUCTION IN NORTHERN FRANCE

War
on the
Western
Front

utterly destroyed the towns and villages, and even filled up the wells and cut down the trees. The land was made a desert. In April the British began a series of great attacks on the northern part of the Western Front. Important high ground, especially that at Vimy Ridge and at Messines Ridge, was taken, but the British advance was soon checked. In Flanders they kept hammering away all summer, but their gains were small and costly.

How the
Russian
Revolution
helped
Germany

The great preparations of the Allies were made fruitless by the breakdown of the Russian army. The sudden outbreak of revolution against the tsar (March, 1917) weakened discipline in the army. All Russia was so tired of the war

that the soldiers could hardly be kept at their duties, and great numbers of them now began to leave the front. The German armies advanced into Russia, seizing great stores of munitions that the Allies had sent to Russia with so much labor. Most important of all, strong German forces and supplies were no longer needed on the Eastern front. These were now shifted to the Western and Italian fronts, thus accounting for the slight progress made by the Allies in the west in 1917.

Through 1917 the Allies kept hoping that the Russian people would awaken and fight again, for the United States had to create a new army and could not send many troops until late in 1918. The German army leaders determined to strike hard in the west before the United States was ready to help, force France and Italy, or one of them, to seek a separate peace, and so win the war. Italy was destined to meet the first attack. The Italians were getting war-weary and losing confidence, and so, when some weak spots were found along their lines, the Austro-German armies were able to drive a great wedge directly through them (November 1917). The Italians had gained much land north of the Adriatic toward Trieste. From all this they had to fly in haste to avoid being cut off. They lost great quantities of needed cannon and munitions and many prisoners. Much of the land north and east of Venice was taken by the enemy and laid waste. But the Italian people kept up their courage. The soldiers fought desperately, and with some British and French help they at last were able to check the enemy at the Piave River.

**Italian
defeats
of 1917**

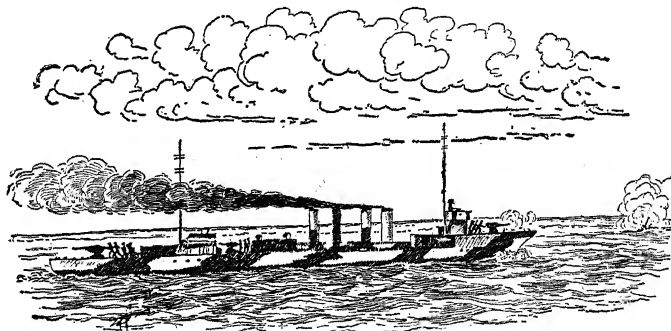
In two outlying fields the British won victories in 1917. The capture of Bagdad had been attempted in 1915, but the expeditionary force had been surrounded at Kut el Amara and forced to surrender. Now a large British army advanced into Mesopotamia and took the famous city (March, 1917). In Palestine, also, the British made great gains and took Jerusalem on December 10. At last, after seven

**British
victories
elsewhere**

hundred years of Mohammedan rule, the Holy City had fallen into Christian hands.

Failure
of the
German
submarines

During 1917 German submarines sank many ships. For a few months after the first of February the losses were dangerously large, but they failed to cut off the Allies' trade and so force them to make peace. The Germans



A SUBMARINE DESTROYER IN ACTION

built new and larger submarines as fast as possible; but the Allies found new ways to destroy them as well as better ways to protect merchant ships. The American navy joined the British in hunting and destroying submarines. The loss of ships speedily decreased, while Great Britain and the United States built new merchant ships with feverish haste.

The United States especially was getting ready for wholesale war making. Vast new shipyards were built, great numbers of submarine destroyers, rifles, machine guns, and cannon were manufactured, and preparations were made for still greater production, as well as for the manufacture of poison gas in hitherto unheard-of quantities. Hundreds of thousands of men entered camps for training and a small advance guard was sent to Europe.

Early in 1918 peace was made at Brest-Litovsk between Germany and the new Russian government, the Soviet Republic.¹ An armistice had been arranged in December,

¹See pp. 874-882.

1917. Though the German Reichstag (July, 1917) had stated its wish for a peace with "no annexations and no indemnities," the German leaders now imposed hard terms upon the Russians. The latter, too, stood for "no annexation and no indemnities." But most of the Russian soldiers had left the front. The Soviet government was helpless and the Germans forced the acceptance of a treaty giving up vast regions on the western and southwestern borders of the old Russian Empire.

**Bolshevist
Russia
makes a
separate
peace**

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1918

To retain her great gains, however, Germany had to defeat the western Allies before the United States could send large armies to France. The German leaders believed they had all the year 1918 in which to do it. Their plan seems to have been to split the British and French armies apart where they joined, to destroy each separately, and to take all northern France, including Paris. If France were thus forced to submit to German terms of peace, Italy would have to follow. They believed America and Britain would then stop fighting and allow Germany to dictate a treaty giving her at least a part of the lands the German troops then occupied.

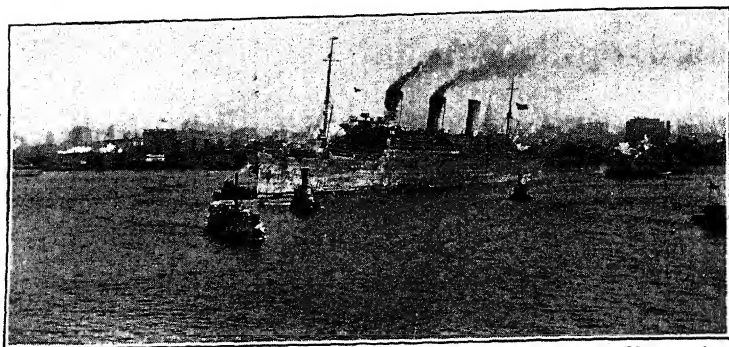
**How
Germany
expected
to win**

After massing vast supplies of cannon, poison-gas shells, and hosts of specially trained troops, the Germans began a terrific attack on a front of over fifty miles (March 21, 1918). The British troops were outnumbered nearly 5 to 1. Their lines were broken and they were forced to retreat with all speed. The Germans advanced so rapidly through the land they had laid waste in their retreat a year before that in ten days they had regained it all and more. They almost succeeded in breaking the connection between the British and the French, who also had to fall back. A short time later, the Germans again attacked farther north and drove a sharp wedge into the British lines. The German attacks continued but they were always stopped after some advance.

**First
great
German
drives**

After each check, the Germans waited two or three weeks to train troops and bring up munitions. Then they attacked again, keeping up these attacks against the French as well as the British until on May 31 they had reached the Marne River from which they had been driven in 1914. Next day they took Château Thierry, forty-three miles from Paris.

The British and French were so worn out by incessant fighting that they seemed incapable of driving the Germans back. The Americans were in France, but in this emergency could they do what their better-trained Allies had not done? A division of American regulars and another composed mainly of marines were rushed up, jammed together in motor trucks and freight cars. There was a terrible struggle, but the retreat of the French was ended and the Germans were stopped. On June 6 the marines went forward to take Belleau Woods, a forest full of German machine guns.



U. S. Official Photograph

THE "LEVIATHAN" LOADED WITH AMERICAN SOLDIERS
ON THE WAY OVERSEAS

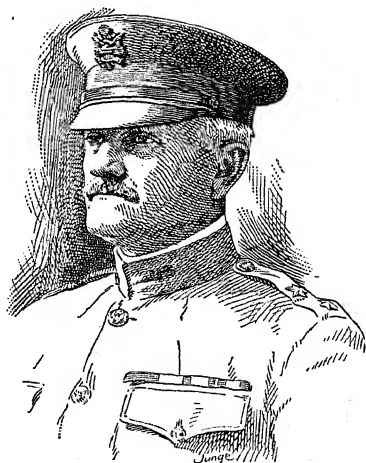
From tree to tree and from rock to rock they fought, doggedly holding their gains and advancing farther and farther against the best troops Germany could put against them. With little food, water, or rest, they hung on until other troops came to relieve them. No one could doubt American fighting ability.

The Germans had now driven into the allied lines a series of salients or pockets. Marshal Foch had been made commander in chief of all the allied forces. When the Germans forced him back, he retreated in such a way as

Foch's
plan



MARSHAL FOCH



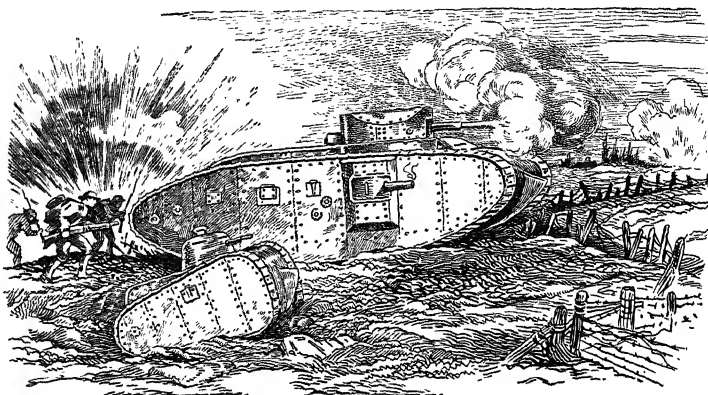
GENERAL PERSHING

to deepen the pockets. Then later he might be able to close the pockets and capture the Germans they contained. America had been aroused by the danger of German victory in the spring and now was sending 250,000 soldiers to France each month. The German submarines failed to prevent the transport of these vast numbers across the Atlantic. There were very few troop-ship losses. Great Britain loaned the needed ships to bring the soldiers and all the Allies worked feverishly to put in the field every man, every gun, and every aeroplane that could be made ready. By July the allied reserves were far larger than the German. The American soldiers in France now numbered over 1,000,000 and they had shown that they could fight and win.

With the growing reserve of men, Marshal Foch now dared to strike back. On July 15 the Germans started another drive southward across the Marne, but met a stiff

Allied
offensives
(July-
November,
1918)

defense. Then the Allies drove sharply at the sides of the pocket and on the west side cut into it rapidly and deeply, forcing the Germans to give way. The tide had turned. The Allies began to drive in the sides of the German pockets



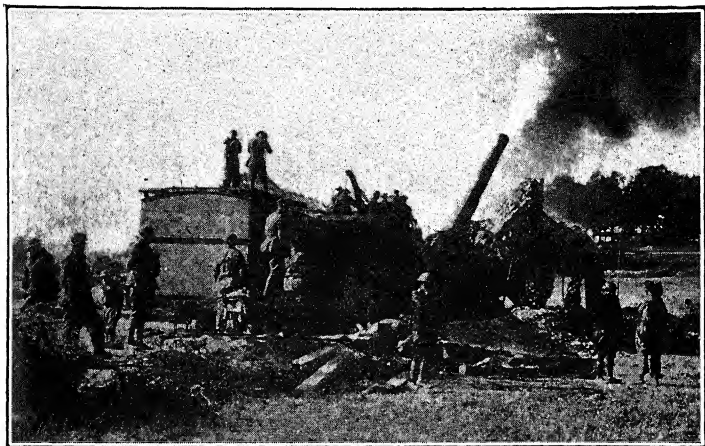
TANKS IN ACTION

in the north, and the pincer tactics succeeded. Marshal Foch did not drive constantly at any one point. Wherever any German weakness showed, there he struck, and the enemy never knew where to look for the next blow. The Allies now had many tanks,¹ both large and small. These were motor tractors running on huge caterpillar treads, and were armed with small cannon and machine guns and protected by steel armor like a warship. Machine-gun bullets rattled off their sides like hailstones. Only a direct hit by a cannon shot could destroy a tank. They could cross the trenches and shell holes and smash down barbed wire, spitting deadly fire into the German lines and spreading terror among the German soldiers. The large tanks moved rather slowly, but the small ones, operated by

¹Tanks were first used by the British in the battles of the Somme but were not fully developed until later. The Germans called them "Schützen-grabenvernichtungsautomobilen," i.e., "automobiles for the annihilation of firing trenches."

only two or three men, could move fast and could not easily be hit by the German artillery. They saved many lives from the deadly machine-gun fire in the pursuit of the retreating Germans.

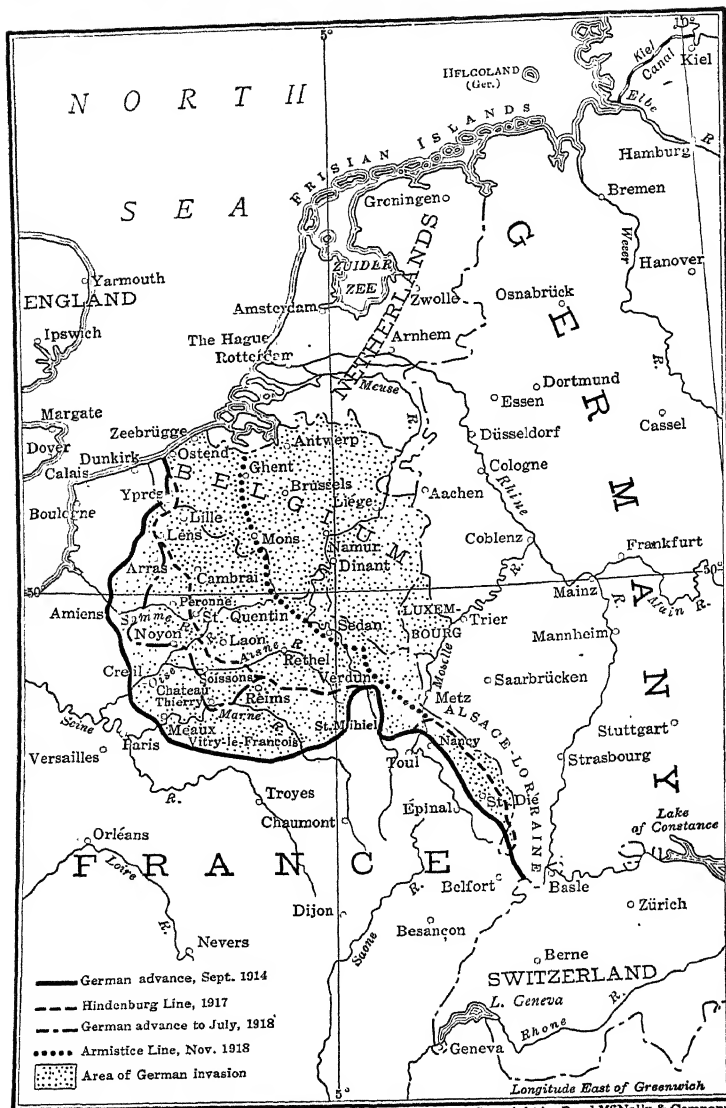
In September the French and Americans made a sudden attack on the German salient at St. Mihiel and wiped it out in short order. With this threat to Verdun out of the way, the French and American forces began a great northward drive from near Verdun into the Argonne Forest. A salient there driven into the German lines would do much to cut the main railroad from Lille to Metz, and would probably catch a great number of Germans and huge masses of war material in a trap from which the only opening was the narrow gap between Sedan and the Dutch frontier. But



U. S. Official Photograph

AMERICANS WORKING A MOBILE RAILROAD GUN IN THE SEPTEMBER DRIVE

the ground to be crossed was "a region of deep forests, high hills, and marshy valleys" carefully fortified by the Germans. The opening attack fell just short of complete success, and so the Germans had time to pour in reserves. An awful struggle followed. Through deep mud, in the face of



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desperate fire, the Americans struggled forward, often so tired they would sleep standing up when they had the chance. From September 26 to November 1 progress was slow, for it was like the Battle of the Wilderness in the American War between the States. Then the German defenses broke and the Americans pushed forward quickly. The main railroad was cut, and the German leaders saw they had to make peace at once. Buoyed up too long by promises of a victory that never came, the German people's determination to hold out faded fast when hope deserted them. In the Argonne battles 750,000 American soldiers had taken part, and 117,000 were killed or wounded.¹

In the meantime the British and Belgians had been attacking fiercely at the north, and all along the line Germans and their allies found no rest. In the Balkans, too, the Allied forces drove the enemy so far back that Bulgaria made ready to give up the fight. In Palestine the Turks were utterly defeated and driven from the land with the loss of nearly all their armed forces there. In Italy, too, the Austrians were driven back with huge losses.

The first break in the league of Central Powers was made by the Bulgarians, who (September 30) accepted an armistice that was about the same as surrender. Then Turkey and Austria followed. The final terms of peace were to be settled later, but the armistice terms gave full control to the Allies. Gradually the German people had been weakening. They were in great need—hungry, tired of war, stirred by socialist propaganda, and discouraged by the surrender of their allies. They had begun to doubt the infallibility of the Kaiser and feared an invasion of Germany by the Allies. These causes and the steady pounding on

**Break-up
of the
German
League**

¹In these battles "as at St. Mihiel, the American armies were enormously aided by French guns and aircraft, while French ammunition alone was available. Neither operation could have been made without its aid." (F. H. Simonds, "America Enters the War," in *These Eventful Years*, I, 302). It is important to understand this because otherwise it might appear that war preparations can be made quickly. The United States had been at war a year and a half and was nearly ready with adequate equipment for her troops.

the Western Front at last convinced the German leaders that they must yield. On November 11 armistice terms were signed. Germany yielded to Allied occupation all land west of the Rhine with control over the bridge crossings. She gave up most of her great warships and all her submarines. She surrendered great quantities of aeroplanes, locomotives and railroad cars, cannon and munitions, and other war material. She evacuated all occupied territory of the Allies. Most of her soldiers were sent to their homes. Germany surrendered and the great war was over.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) How did Germany expect to win the World War within one year? What prevented this? (2) What was the object of the Germans in the Russian campaign of 1915? Of the invasion of Serbia? (3) What were the main objects of the western Allies in 1914 and 1915? How and why did these change in 1916? (4) What motives led Italy to enter the World War? Why was Italian participation desired by the Allies? (5) Why did the Germans expect that victory at Verdun would win the war? (6) How did the British navy help to win the war for the Allies? (7) How and why did the German leaders expect their submarines to help them win the war? How did they actually help to defeat Germany? (8) Why did Russia stop fighting Germany in 1917? What effects did this have? (9) What were the objects of the great German "drives" of 1918? How were they checked? (10) Why did the United States enter the war? (11) What did America do to help win it? (12) What led the Germans to surrender in November, 1918? (13) State the terms of the armistice with Germany.

REFERENCES FOR READING

For the study of the World War most of the books and articles now available (1930) may be regarded as source material. The amount of it is so great that only a few titles can be given here.

C. J. H. HAYES, *A Brief History of the Great War*, is a scholarly account in one volume; R. G. USHER, *The Story of the Great War*, is a briefer and more popular account. Brief sketches may be

EUROPE, 1914-1927

found in F. L. BENNS, *Europe since 1914*, chaps. ii and iv; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, II, 667-725; and SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, (ed. 1929) 719-740. *These Eventful Years*, I, 228-385, gives accounts of the war by experts on both sides.

G. H. ALLEN, H. C. WHITEHEAD, AND F. F. CHADWICK, *The Great War*; F. H. SIMONDS, *History of the Great War*, in 5 vols., F. HALSEY, ed., *The Literary Digest History of the War*, in 10 vols., and *Current History*, 1914-1919, in 10 vols., are longer accounts of a general character. A great number of interesting articles about the war may be found in leading American and British magazines published during the war. The *Readers' Guide* will help the student to find the articles. Such magazines as *Atlantic*, *Century*, *Current History*, *Harpers*, *Independent*, *Literary Digest*, *Living Age*, *North American Review*, *Review of Reviews*, and *Scribner's* will be found in many libraries and will prove useful.

THE PEACE TREATIES AND THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE TREATIES OF PEACE

By the terms of the armistice Germany and her separate allies made complete surrender. The final terms of peace, however, were long delayed. As at the close of the Napoleonic wars, much had to be decided. The people of Alsace-Lorraine, the Danes of Schleswig, and many Poles had long been opposed to the German government. Czechs and Slovaks, Poles, Romanians, Serbs, Slovenes, Croatians, and Italians had worn the Hapsburg yoke. Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians had suffered cruelly under Turkish rule. The Turkish Empire seemed now very, very sick and its lands and people furnished many puzzling problems. German colonies had to be taken care of. War-weary people all over the world hoped strongly for some arrangement that would make future wars impossible. The people of France, Belgium, Italy, and Serbia demanded that the vast damage done to them and their property be

**Problems
of the
peace-
makers**

made good by the defeated nations. These and hosts of other problems were dealt with by a great Peace Conference that met in Paris (January 18, 1919).

Composi-
tion of the
Peace
Conference

The membership of the conference consisted of sixty-eight men representing all the states at war with Germany and her former allies. But arrangements for the Conference and the direction of affairs were in the hands of the Council of Ten composed of two representatives from each of the five Great Powers: the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. President Wilson was the chief representative of the United States. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando, prime ministers of France, Great Britain, and Italy, were the chief spokesmen of those states. This Council of Ten was in almost constant session. It appointed committees representing the great powers and some lesser ones to investigate and report on such matters as the responsibility for the war, the reparation to be made by Germany and her former allies for damage done during the war, and the League of Nations.¹ Many other committees of experts were sent out to obtain first-hand information. The full Peace Conference met only occasionally to hear reports and decisions of the Council of Ten and its committees. Important decisions were all made by the Great Powers secretly. No chance was afforded Germany to come between them as France had done in 1815.²

Causes of
dissension
between
the victors

In the hour of victory nearly every state that could scrape up any claims to indemnity or lands began to urge these with great clamor. Many asked for more than they could justly expect and decisions were difficult to make. There were frequent conflicts between politicians who stood for the old "land-grabbing" policies and the statesmen who wished to make a peace just and fair to both victors and vanquished. Dissension and delays were so great that during March and April, 1919, a Council of Four, comprising President Wilson and the three great premiers, took the

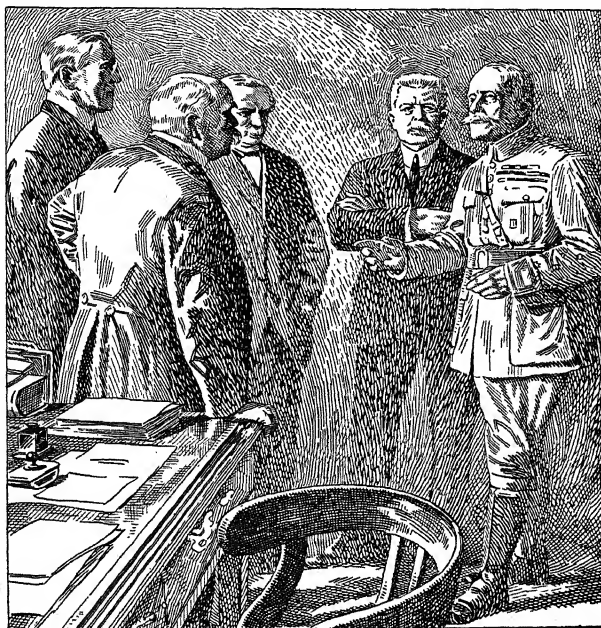
¹See pp. 867-869.

²See pp. 635-636.

place of the Council of Ten. Less and less news of their work was made public. The Council of Ten was changed into a Supreme War Council.

Finally the peace treaty with Germany was drawn up and handed to the German delegates (May 7, 1919). The Austrian treaty was presented to the Austrian delegates May 14. The German delegates protested against various terms of the treaty and delayed signing it as long as they could. But at last, under threat of advance of the Allied armies farther into Germany, the German government

The
treaties
of peace



Wilson Clemenceau Lloyd George Orlando Foch
THE "BIG FOUR" IN CONFERENCE WITH GENERAL FOCH.

accepted the terms with very little change, and the peace treaty was signed (June 28, 1919) with great ceremony in the Gallery of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles. Likewise

Territorial
changes

the treaty with Austria was signed September 10, 1919, and that with Bulgaria, November 27, 1919.¹

These treaties revolutionized European boundaries, making them more nearly accord with language frontiers. A new Poland was established, made up of lands that had once been Polish but had been seized by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The city of Danzig and near-by lands were put under international control to provide an outlet to the sea for the new Poland. The new republic of Czechoslovakia was set up to give independence to the Czechs and Slovaks.² Serbia and Montenegro were merged in a new state called Yugoslavia, which was to include also great numbers of Serbs, Croatsians, and Slovenes formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule. Romania received enormous additions to her lands both to the west and the east. Italy received the Trentino region, Trieste, and other lands north of the Adriatic. France received again Alsace and Lorraine, taken by Germany in 1871, and gained possession of the coal mines of the Saar Basin, northeast of Metz, as partial compensation for the wrecking of French coal mines by Germany during the war.³ Belgium received small bits of land just east of her former frontier, peopled by Belgians. The people of Schleswig, which had been taken from Denmark by force (1864), were given a chance to decide by their own votes whether to join Denmark or remain under German rule.⁴ Japan kept the Shantung Peninsula on the coast of China which she had taken from Germany, but in 1922 gave it back to China, from which country Germany had taken it.

¹Treaties with Hungary and Turkey were signed later.

²See p. 716.

³At the end of fifteen years the people of the Saar Basin who were inhabitants when this treaty was signed, are to vote to decide whether it shall continue to be governed by the League of Nations or belong to France or Germany.

⁴The vote in the northern part of Schleswig was held February 10, 1920, and resulted in overwhelming victory for Denmark, for 85 per cent of the people there were Danes. That region was at once transferred to Denmark. The vote in the central and southern parts was favorable to Germany.

Overseas German colonies and large parts of the lands of the old Turkish Empire were turned over to various powers to govern under mandates from the League of Nations, not for their own profit but for the advancement of the people of those regions. Great Britain received the larger part of such territories to govern, though France, Italy, and Greece had their share. Some former Turkish subjects, for example in Arabia, received partial independence.

In the treaty of peace Germany agreed to limit her national army to 100,000 and her reserve stock of war munitions of all kinds and her manufacture of the same to very small amounts. She surrendered most of her warships. She agreed to give up for trial all officers charged with offenses against humanity, including the kaiser himself. She agreed to furnish to France and Belgium a vast quantity of coal¹ in compensation for French and Belgian mines made useless, to turn over all her large merchant ships, and to pay a vast sum of money for damage done during the war. The exact amount was to be decided later by the Reparations Commission, a body of experts who were to learn how much Germany could pay. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was to be regarded as null and void.² As security for the observance of the treaty of peace the German land west of the Rhine with the bridges across the river was to be controlled by Allied troops at the cost of Germany for from five to fifteen years. In addition, no forts, soldiers, cannon, or military preparations of any sort were to be allowed in a strip of land fifty kilometers wide east of the Rhine.

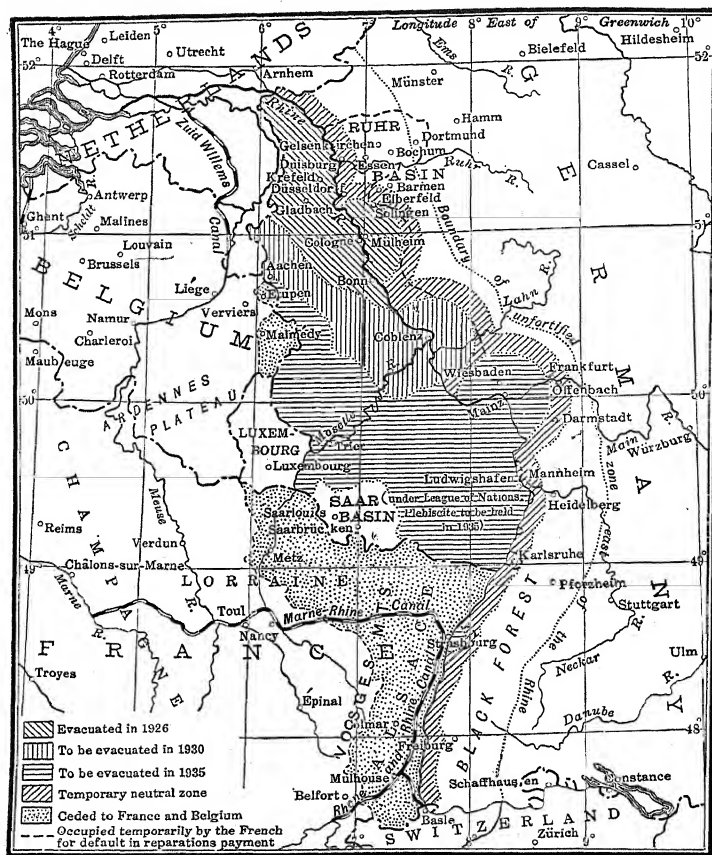
**Special
terms of
the German
treaty**

The treaties of peace also contained an agreement to set up a League of Nations. This league was to include all the states that had been at war with Germany. It was expected that eventually all the nations of the world would

**The League
of Nations**

¹France was to get 7,000,000 tons of coal a year and Belgium 8,000,000 tons a year for ten years. Italy was to receive an amount gradually increasing from 4,500,000 tons a year at first up to 8,500,000 tons a year from 1924 to 1929. Many other materials besides coal were to be delivered to the Allies for a number of years.

²See pp. 854-855, 878.



EFFECTS OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY IN THE RHINE REGION

become members. Each would send representatives to a sort of international parliament. The league would reduce the armies and navies of the world, would protect¹ the

¹The famous Article 10 of the League Covenant reads, "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

weak states from attack by the strong, and would punish any state that made war without great effort to settle the dispute peaceably. The league was to manage various lands put under international control, such as Danzig and the Saar Basin, and to supervise the management of various colonial lands held under mandates from the league. The great powers that defeated Germany were to be the leading members of the league and through their control of its executive council would have greatest influence on its policies.

The treaty of peace with Austria, like that with Germany, disarmed Austria for the future and bound her to pay heavy reparations for damage done during the war. The exact amount was to be fixed later by the Reparations Commission. Jewels, works of art, and other valuables taken from other countries by the Hapsburg rulers of Austria were to be returned to their rightful owners. The Austrian republic's boundaries were so drawn that the new state is a mere shadow of the old Austria. Its union with Germany was forbidden except with the consent of the Supreme War Council of the Allies.

**Treaty
with
Austria**

The treaty with Bulgaria cut down Bulgarian territory somewhat and bound her to deliver to Yugoslavia 50,000 tons of coal each year for five years and to pay \$445,000,000 in gold in semiannual installments as partial reparation for damage done in the war.

**Treaty with
Bulgaria**

The treaty of peace with Turkey, signed at Sèvres, left Constantinople in Turkish hands, but made a neutral zone of the whole region surrounding the straits leading to the Black Sea, to prevent any one power from closing them to international trade. The outlying parts of the former Ottoman Empire were all cut away, and even part of the coast of Asia Minor was taken from the Turks.

**The Sèvres
Treaty**

EFFECTS OF THE WORLD WAR

In many respects a new Europe emerged from the great war. The peacemakers tried to satisfy the national ambitions of the victors, and new states with new names made

**Changes
of names
in Europe**

their appearance on the map. The Russian Empire changed its name and government, becoming the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.), often called Soviet Russia. Many changes in names of cities and towns also appeared on the maps.¹ These new names will be used in the text, and should be noted as the study of post-war Europe is carried on.

**Political
effects
of the war**

The war struck a hard blow at kings. The German revolution which hastened the end of the war forced the kaiser and many lesser German monarchs from their thrones. The Russian tsar, the Austrian emperor, and the Turkish sultan were driven out. Several republics were set up, and most monarchies that survived were more dependent upon the people's goodwill. In Germany and Czechoslovakia, genuine democratic governments were set up, and there women were given, not only full voting rights, but practically all other rights the same as men. But in many other European countries dissatisfaction with democratic government showed itself clearly, and dictators were able to seize supreme power with little opposition from the majority of the people. In fact, so corrupt had politics become in many cases that people welcomed the rise of an efficient, though despotic, ruler. Most famous of these dictators was Mussolini, in Italy, who built up a powerful organization of enthusiastic followers, marched on Rome, and took control of the government (1922). The king continued to reign, but he did not rule. In 1923 a dictator took full control of the Spanish government, and in 1929 the king of Yugoslavia seized dictatorial powers.

**Economic
and social
changes**

After the war, there was a definite trend toward social reforms. Several states provided insurance against sickness, accident, and poverty in old age. Trade unions gained heavily in membership and won more power. An

¹In many cases commercial and anglicized forms of the names had been in general use in America. Maps are now showing the official native form of the names. Many names were changed to native forms in the new countries, also.

International Labor Bureau was set up by the League of Nations to promote agreements which would better the conditions of labor.

These gains to the artisans were partially offset by a great increase in the cost of living. From 1914 to 1920 the cost of clothing, food, and fuel more than doubled in most European countries, and prices did not return to the early levels. During the war and the years immediately afterward, many governments issued such vast amounts of paper money that its value fell fast and far. By 1924 the money of Germany, Austria, and Russia became valueless and new monetary systems had to be set up to provide stable currency. These rapid declines in the value of money ruined many middle-class people who had invested in bonds and mortgages, in savings banks, and in life insurance policies. The savings of a lifetime might now be enough to buy only one good dinner. Such people had to go to work or starve. People who received annual salaries likewise suffered. All sorts of laborers were greatly injured, for they could not get their wages increased as fast as prices went up. But those who had borrowed were able to repay with cheap money, and the farmers profited greatly for a time.

The high
cost of
living

Paper
money
inflation
and its
effects

Nearly everywhere in Europe the peasants were better off after the war. In Soviet Russia the landlords' estates were seized and divided among the peasants. In the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania like changes were made, but with less violence and to a smaller extent.

Break-up
of the
great
estates

The governments of European states involved in the war had to borrow so heavily to meet gigantic war costs that their debts became terribly burdensome. For years after the war the annual interest on the British debt was over £30 per man in the British Isles, while the average earnings were only £125 per man each year. In 1922 over half the French government's receipts from taxes had to be used to pay interest on the national debt. The taxes were very high and heavily burdened all classes of the people.

Great
increase of
national
debts

Great
increase
in the
wealth
of the
United
States

Another economic change of momentous importance came as a result of the war. Before 1914 the people of the United States owed large sums to European capitalists who had invested heavily in American railroads, factories, and farms. So vast a quantity of foodstuffs, cotton, and manufactured goods were sold to European governments at high prices that by 1919 these debts to Europe were nearly all paid, and Europe owed America \$12,000,000,000 besides. The United States had become the richest country in the world, and by 1925 American investments in Latin America, Canada, and Europe were greater than the British. The foreign trade of the United States had increased to an enormous volume. In consequence of these changes the United States became more and more involved in world affairs. Even a minor dispute between two distant states, or a change in the tariffs of any country, affected American interests as never before.

Extension
of American
trade and
interest in
world
affairs

American
interests
in Latin
America

The business interests and trade of the United States in Latin America were greatly increased. Armed forces were sent to Nicaragua (1927) to end civil war, it was announced, and see that the Nicaraguan people's decision was fairly recorded in an election. In 1915 United States forces were sent to Haiti to maintain order, and remained there. Critics said that American intervention was directed chiefly toward supporting American business interests in seizing and holding control of the economic resources of weak states. The American people have followed the history of disturbances in Mexico since 1912 with great interest, for many Americans had made extensive investments there. They have learned with considerable satisfaction of the trend toward more peaceful conditions there in recent years.

President
Hoover's
visit to
South
America

Before his inauguration as president, Mr. Hoover went on an extensive visit to several countries of South America. This visit did much to promote friendly relations between the United States and the Latin American peoples, in whose welfare and prosperity the United States was greatly inter-

ested. This was the first time that a chief executive of the United States took such pains personally to learn of conditions in Latin America.

The war greatly changed the international alliances that had preceded it. Soviet Russia was hated by the Allies, and the Franco-Russian alliance was no more. France had counted on the United States and Britain to guarantee the settlements made by the treaty of peace. When the United States refused to ratify the peace treaties that President Wilson had signed, France was left in the lurch. Fearing a possible war of revenge by Germany,¹ she sought allies on every side and made treaties of alliance with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

**Changes in
international
alliances**

**French
alliances**

Yugoslavia and Romania joined Czechoslovakia in an alliance called the Little Entente to protect themselves against the restoration of the old Austria-Hungary by a war of revenge. Poland agreed with its policies.

**The
Little
Entente**

Throughout 1919 many little wars continued after the great war had ended. There was fighting between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Romania and Hungary, and Poland and Soviet Russia. Various armies supported by the Allies fought to overturn the Soviet government, but before 1921 all these had been beaten. In Asia Minor the war between Turkey and Greece lasted until 1922.²

**Lesser
wars
after the
World War**

Europe was full of bitter hatreds that died away slowly. Elaborate military and naval preparations continued to be made. In 1924 the standing armies of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Poland totaled 640,000 men, while France had 650,000. From 1919 to 1921 the United States and Japan built many new fighting ships and fears were expressed that this rivalry might lead to war over problems of the Pacific.

**Continu-
ance of
military
and naval
preparations**

¹This fear was due partly to the stationary population of France. In 1913 France had 382,000 male births and Germany 975,000. This gave Germany the prospect of two and a half times as many army recruits in 1933 as France. See page 710.

²See pp. 891-892.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES TO LIMIT NAVAL ARMAMENTS

The Wash-
ington Arms
Conference
(1921)

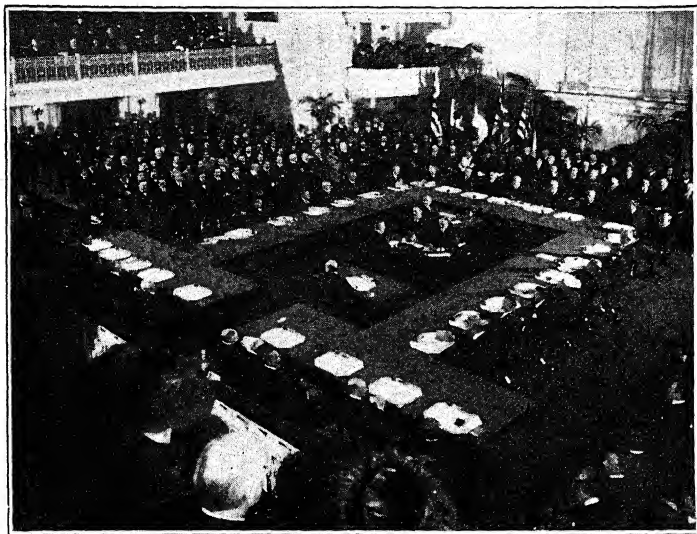
Fortunately powerful forces worked for peace. In 1921 President Harding of the United States asked Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, and others to join in a conference at Washington for the limitation of naval armaments and for the settlement of Far Eastern questions. Immediately after the conference opened Charles E. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, proposed that the great naval powers of the world limit their capital ships¹ to approximately those then completed or nearly so, and scrap all other battleships. He said the United States would be satisfied to have only as many battleships as Great Britain. Japan was asked to limit her battleships to three-fifths, and France and Italy to one-third, the American strength. Japan insisted that, if she agreed, the United States must promise to build no more forts or naval bases in the Pacific, which meant that we could not defend our island possessions in case of war. The United States promised, and a Five-Power Treaty was signed by the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy, setting up the ratio of 5:5:3 for the first three and 1.67 each for France and Italy. This limitation of battleships was to last for ten years. In 1931 each country would have the right to start replacing old ships.

How the
problems
of the
Pacific
were
solved

By another treaty the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan agreed to respect one another's island possessions in the Pacific, and to confer with one another in case of dispute over them. This treaty took the place of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which was now ended, removing a possible danger of war between America and Britain. In a third treaty all the governments at the Washington Conference promised not to seek special privileges in China

¹A capital ship was defined as a warship that had a displacement of over 10,000 tons and carried guns larger than eight-inch caliber.

to the disadvantage of others, or to take away the sovereign rights of China. This established the principle of "the open door," meaning the maintenance of Chinese independence with equal chances for the trade of all nations, for



Harris & Ewing

SCENE AT THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

which the United States had long stood. Several other decisions about Chinese affairs were made. By settling disputes that might become dangerous, the Conference had lessened the risk of war over problems of the Pacific.

The Washington Conference had failed to end competition in the building of ships other than battleships. It was soon pointed out in Congress that the United States was far weaker in cruisers than Britain and ought to build many new ones of 10,000 tons. It was urged that the vast increase of American foreign trade since the war justified equality with Britain in number of cruisers. In 1927 President Coolidge invited Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to negotiate an agreement limiting the fighting ships not

**The Geneva
Conference
(1927)**

included in the Washington Treaty. France and Italy refused; Britain and Japan accepted. The conference was held at Geneva, Switzerland, but no agreement was reached and the naval rivalry continued.

The London
Naval Con-
ference
(1930)

In October, 1929, Mr. MacDonald, the new British prime minister, made a special trip to America to discuss naval limitation with President Hoover and asked the United States, France, Italy, and Japan to join in a conference in London in January, 1930. Conflicting interests made a general settlement difficult. The British wished a navy stronger than the French and Italian together. France demanded more ships than Italy — Italy demanded equality with France. The United States wished equality with Britain. Britain needed many smaller cruisers as well as a good fleet of 10,000-ton ships. The United States needed large cruisers and claimed the same tonnage as the British. The latter answered that this was not fair, because two large cruisers were stronger than three small ones.

Why a
general
settlement
was
difficult

The French delegates stated that France needed a navy of 725,000 tons. If Italy had the same, Britain claimed that she would have to increase her navy by 300,000 tons. To have parity with Britain, the United States must do likewise. The French said they would lower their naval demands if the conference would guarantee the security of France, which neither the United States nor Britain was willing to do.¹

The
Treaty of
London
(1930)

The claims of France and Italy could not be reconciled, and so the conference at last drew up a treaty including them only in part. This was signed April 22, 1930. All five powers agreed to very strict permanent rules to make the use of submarines in war more humane. The United States, Great Britain, and Japan agreed to limit all classes of their fighting ships. They promised to build no new

¹Another suggestion was that all five powers agree to join in discussing the best ways to prevent war, if it were threatened. This would strengthen the Pact of Paris (see page 872), but the American Senate was unlikely to ratify such an agreement.

battleships until 1936 and to scrap nine immediately—five British, three American, and one Japanese. France and Italy agreed to the “naval holiday.” A compromise allowed Britain a little larger tonnage in cruisers than the United States, if she wished many smaller ones. Japan was allowed about 70 per cent of the British cruiser tonnage. Other warships were limited in about the same proportions. In case France and Italy later built many new cruisers, Britain and the other two were allowed likewise to add to their navies, thus safeguarding British interests in the Mediterranean. The treaty was to be effective up to 1937. It allowed the United States to build many new cruisers, for we had fewer than Britain in 1930. In other respects the treaty saved heavy expense to the United States.

Agreements to limit naval armaments were not the only steps taken to lessen the risk of war. As the years passed war hatreds and fears tended to weaken. The temporary settlement of the reparations question by the acceptance of the Dawes Plan¹ helped spread a new feeling of confidence. One result was the signing of the Security Treaties at Locarno, Italy, October, 1925. Since 1920 several international conferences had been held, but no general agreements reached beyond those attached to membership in the League of Nations. Now at last the leaders of France, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain realized that they could not afford a war, and so guaranteed the frontiers between Germany on the one hand and France and Belgium on the other, as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles. The three powers mutually promised not to attack or invade each other except in self-defense, and to arbitrate their differences. If one of them should break this agreement, Britain and Italy agreed to throw their strength in against the aggressor. Besides these treaties several others were signed at the same time, among them arbitration treaties between Germany and Czechoslovakia, and between Germany and Poland.

¹See pp. 917-918.

Germany
admitted
to the
League of
Nations

These agreements greatly strengthened the League of Nations and marked an improvement in the relations between France and Germany. They led to the admission of Germany to the League, September 8, 1926, thus giving Germany "equal rights as a new Great Power." Under the influence of the Locarno spirit France made arbitration treaties with Romania and Yugoslavia (1926-1927) and proposed to the United States a mutual agreement "to renounce war" as an instrument of national policy and to arbitrate all disputes between the two countries.

The Pact
of Paris,
(1929)

The American Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg, suggested instead of this a general treaty of like character, to be signed by all the powers. Several reservations were drawn up limiting the agreement, but were not made a part of the treaty. Then the representatives of fifteen states met in Paris, August, 1928, and signed the general treaty renouncing war—the so-called Pact of Paris. In a few weeks thirty states, including Soviet Russia, had signed the treaty, and it was proclaimed effective in July, 1929. Of course this treaty really provided no machinery for settling disputes.

Organiza-
tion and
work of
the League
of Nations

In its first ten years, the League of Nations actually settled several disputes that might otherwise have led to wars. It also failed to solve several problems referred to it. Its membership includes nearly all the nations of the world except the United States and Soviet Russia. Each member has one vote in the annual League Assembly, but the Council of the League is composed of one representative from each of the five great member powers, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, and nine others chosen by the assembly for three-year terms. The British dominions—Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the Indian Empire, and the Irish Free State—have separate membership. The League's large permanent staff of secretaries, always on duty at its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, renders much service in gathering information and putting it into shape to be used.

Associated with the League, but not a part of it, is the Permanent Court of International Justice sitting at The Hague, often called the "World Court." This was founded in 1921. The United States gave its adherence to it in December, 1929. This court consists of a group of judges chosen from the most distinguished in the whole world, and sits permanently. It is quite different from the earlier Hague Court of Arbitration, whose judges had to be called together for each special case referred to the Court for settlement by arbitration. During its first ten years the new World Court settled several international disputes and gave numerous opinions on questions of international law. Its machinery is much less cumbersome than were the special conferences of diplomats which tried to deal with disputes before 1914.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Compare and contrast the problems of the Peace Conference (1919) with those of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15). (2) Compare the manner of settling disputed questions, the motives guiding the leaders, and the character of the settlements made with those of the Congress of Vienna. (3) What new states were set up in 1919? Why? (4) What boundary changes were made and why? (5) What arrangements were made to compel Germany and her allies to make good the damage done during the war? Were these payments a war indemnity like that exacted by Germany from France in 1871? Why? (6) How was the League of Nations to be formed and governed? What was it to do? Has it accomplished all that was expected of it? (7) Explain how the World War changed the conditions of life of the middle classes, the artisans, and the peasantry of most European countries, and why. (8) How and why did the war change the governments of Europe? (9) How and why was the United States more involved in world affairs as a result of the war? (10) How did the war alter the system of international alliances? With what results? (11) Give an account of the efforts made to limit military and naval armaments since 1919, showing what success has been attained and why. (12) Was the United States justified in making the concessions to Japan that

secured the acceptance of the naval ratios adopted in 1921? Give your reasons. (13) Why were the Locarno treaties better for France than her treaties of alliance with Poland and Czechoslovakia? (14) Of what value was the Pact of Paris to the cause of international peace? Why not more? (15) Compare and contrast the work of the League of Nations and the World Court, giving your reasons.

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THE NATIONS AFTER THE WORLD WAR

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE HISTORY
OF SOVIET RUSSIA

How to
study the
effects of
the war

To understand all the effects of the World War, it is necessary to study the history of the various European states that survived the war or were created by it. We will begin with the giant of Eastern Europe—Russia.

Abuses
of the
Old Régime

Like the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution was preceded by an unjust Old Régime.¹ The tsar's government was utterly corrupt. It imposed an almost crushing burden on the common people, especially those in the country. The peasants paid entirely too much of their earnings to the government and the church. Their holdings of land were entirely too small to provide a living and so many had to work at low wages for the great landlords who held most government offices and reveled in "graft." Many others crowded into the towns and there worked in the factories and mines, often from twelve to fifteen hours a day at very low wages. Much of this sounds like France before 1789.

The Revolution was prepared for by the awakening which came with the Revolution of 1905-1906 and by the

¹See pp. 549-553.

persistent agitation of the liberals among all classes of Russians. A number even of the privileged class, the nobles, helped. Everywhere missionaries of freedom preached and taught that the Old Régime must go. Knowledge of the democratic governments of Western Europe and America crept through the country. Even the ignorant peasants thought and talked about the need for liberty. The Industrial Revolution, by bringing more people close together in the towns, helped along this educational campaign.¹ Several groups were formed, somewhat like our political parties. The Cadets, or Constitutional Democrats, worked to set up a limited monarchy like that of Great Britain. The Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionists both wished to set up a socialistic republic and put it in control of all industries. The latter were more radical and won a firmer hold on the peasants by promising them more land. The Peasants' Union demanded "the whole land for the whole people."

Preparations for the Revolution

After the outbreak of the World War, a war which the Russian people at first regarded as theirs, it began to be clear that many of the tsar's officers were traitors as well as thieves. The war awakened national patriotism and helped to educate the common people and to give them new leaders. The defeats of the Russian armies made the awakened common people and the soldiers feel that their hated oppressors were betraying them to Germany. In fact, a large pro-German party with much influence at the tsar's court was working to make a separate peace with Germany.

Influence of the war

On February 14, 1917, a special committee of defense met at Petrograd.² The members stated that in parts of the country the people were nearly starving while in others they had plenty of food. The government was blamed for mismanagement. The same day the nobles' congress met at Moscow and demanded reforms and a more democratic

Beginnings of the Revolution

¹See pp. 630-632, 761.

²The old name, St. Petersburg, was of German origin, and so, early in the war, the Russian form of the name, Petrograd, was adopted. This was later changed to Leningrad, in honor of the first head of the Soviet Republics.

government to save the empire and the throne. When the Duma met at the close of February, 1917, the members at once attacked the government. Laborers went on strike, and the hungry people of Petrograd broke into rioting. The tsar tried to dissolve the Duma (March 11), but the members refused to leave. In the next three days there was fierce fighting in the streets of Petrograd between the laborers and the government police and soldiers. Three hundred thousand of the troops in the city went over to the people, and the Duma leaders set up a temporary government. Tsar Nicholas II abdicated on March 15, 1917.

**Work of
the provi-
sional gov-
ernment**

The provisional government was led by the liberal noble Prince Lvov, the Cadet Miliukov, and the Social Revolutionist Kerensky. They restored the constitution of Finland, gave Poland the right to manage her own affairs, repealed the laws against the Jews, and gave the people freedom. They announced that they would continue the war against Germany and her allies.

Throughout Russia the socialists formed soviets or committees of laborers in every trade and also of the soldiers. Chief of these was the Petrograd Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. This body actually had more power than the provisional government. The Council favored giving all the land to the peasants and the factories to the laborers who worked in them. Its members worked to win over the army and discipline soon broke down. The Council demanded a general peace at once without indemnity or land annexation by either side. Germany was clever enough to claim that this was her aim also. Among the socialists, one group, the Bolsheviks, wanted at once to carry out the whole of Marx's¹ ideas. Another, the Mensheviks, or moderates, wanted to go more slowly.

The moderate liberals, Lvov and Miliukov, would not go far enough in revolution to suit the socialists. They represented the middle class or bourgeoisie rather than the

¹ See p. 692.

laborers. Soon they were forced out, and control was taken by the socialists (May 16, 1917). First Kerensky became war minister and then head of the provisional government (July 20, 1917). His task was terribly difficult. He was opposed to making a separate peace with Germany for fear it would mean ruin to the Revolution. He wanted peace but only through an Allied victory. But the Russian people were very tired of a war for which they had been very badly prepared. They did not understand the danger of disarming Russia in the face of the Germans. Kerensky had the army make another attack on the Germans. Some gains were made, but the soldiers soon rebelled against orders to fight. The Germans won back all they had lost, for the Russian soldiers were deserting by thousands and the army breaking up. The soldiers would no longer obey their officers. They believed the socialist teaching that all common people were brothers, and so made friends with the German soldiers opposed to them. To keep the Russians fighting, Kerensky urged the western Allies to state their war aims. Thus he hoped to prove they were fighting only for democracy and liberty. They refused.

Anarchy spread rapidly throughout the land. Few obeyed the orders of the government, and those who had arms took what they wished by force. Locomotives on the railroads had long been breaking down and few new ones had been built. Hence few trains could run. The peoples on the edges of Russia—the Finns, the Poles, the Ukrainians, and others—declared themselves independent. The Bolsheviks attacked Kerensky for his moderate policy, while the conservatives under General Kornilof tried to overthrow him and set up the tsar again. The Germans seized the fortress seaport of Riga without a fight. Kornilof failed, but an armed revolt of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd overturned Kerensky's government (November 7, 1917).

The new Bolshevik government was headed by Lenin, with Trotsky as foreign minister. They at once formed the

Policies
of the
Bolsheviks

"Red Guard" or revolutionary army to make war on the property owners of Russia. Their program was to make a separate peace at once, to take over all factories and mines, to seize all the land and divide it among the peasants, and to call a convention to make a new constitution. They proceeded to set up a soviet government. The workmen in each trade sent deputies to an urban soviet in each town. The peasants chose deputies to their village soviet. Each of these soviets then sent deputies to a series of soviets representing larger districts. The workmen and, very indirectly, the peasants were represented in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. This body chose a Central Executive Committee. It, in turn, appointed the Council of People's Commissars, a group of about seventeen heads of government departments resembling the British cabinet. This body had practically dictatorial power, for its members saw to it that only friendly believers in communism were chosen to membership in the higher groups. No one who hired laborers for profit or had an income aside from his labor, could vote. The soviet government was a "dictatorship of the proletariat"—a despotism claiming to act for the common people.

Soviet
government

Treaty of
Brest-
Litovsk
(March 4,
1918)

The new dictators soon made an armistice with Germany and Austria and disbanded the army, except the Red Guard. Then Germany forced the defenseless soviet government to sign a disastrous treaty of peace, giving up valuable land to Germany and Turkey, recognizing the independence of the Ukraine in southwestern Russia, which had seceded under German influence, and promising a huge war indemnity. The Soviet government gave up 66,000,000 people and 500,000 square miles of land, including some of its best coal fields and wheat lands and important industrial regions.

Effects of
this treaty
on the
World War

This treaty gave Germany another good chance to win the war. The western Allies had to meet the attacks of the whole German and Austrian armies instead of only half, as in 1914, 1915, and 1916. There was, therefore, much

bitter feeling against the Bolsheviks, whose withdrawal from the war had brought about this result.

The new soviet government had still other difficulties. Its followers were only a minority of the Russian people. They were opposed by (1) those who wished to restore the Old Régime, (2) those who wished a constitutional monarchy—mainly the middle class and the liberal nobles—and (3) the moderate socialists. The Czech soldiers who had deserted from the Austrian to the Russian armies were encouraged by the western Allies to fight the Bolsheviks. This was because they wished to restore an eastern battle line to divide the German armies again, and to keep the Bolsheviks from winning Siberia and seizing the arms and munitions sent to Russia for use against Germany. They sent expeditions (including Americans) to Archangel and to Siberia and gave help to all anti-Bolshevist armies in Russia.

**Difficulties
in setting
up the new
Socialist
régime**

The Bolsheviks answered by enlarging their Red Guard, or revolutionary army, by wholesale arrests and executions of their opponents, and by seizing all their property. The tsar himself was executed (July, 1918). The German ambassador in Moscow was murdered (July, 1918), as well as the German commander in the Ukraine, where Germany had expected to get vast food supplies. The Red Guard fought Germans, Czechs, and the Allies.

**Bolshevist
measures
against
their
enemies at
home and
abroad**

After the end of the war with Germany, fighting continued in many parts of Russia. The Allies would let no food or supplies get into the country, for the Bolsheviks tried to spread their form of government and their radical ideas over all the world, sending their agents out to stir up revolts against the democratic as well as the monarchical governments. During the summer and fall of 1919 it looked as if the various anti-Bolshevist armies in Russia would win. One pushed forward to within a few miles of Petrograd. In the south they cut Soviet Russia off from the Black Sea. In the east they held Siberia and threatened to push westward. On the north they held the ports. But

**Continuation
of the
war in
Russia
(1919)**

**Victories
of the anti-
Bolsheviks**

the threatened overthrow of the Revolution with foreign help and the probable restoration of the Old Régime roused the Russian people to fight for their soviet government. The Red armies beat back their enemies and soon recovered control of most of the former Russian Empire except Poland and the Baltic States, whose independence was recognized. In the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and other outlying regions soviet republics were set up, and in 1923 all were joined in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, mainly under the controlling influence of the parent soviet republic. Most governments throughout the world (except the United States) officially recognized the U. S. S. R., and many made trade agreements with it in order better to sell their manufactured goods in Soviet Russia.

**Policies
of the
Bolsheviks**

As soon as they got control, the Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, began to reorganize the government according to the ideas of Karl Marx. They seized all the factories and mines (the railroads were already government owned and so fell into their hands), drove out the former owners and their superintendents, and turned the industries over to committees of the laborers to run. All private property was confiscated. The peasants were told to go and take the land they wanted, though the new soviet government was to be its owner.

**Breakdown
of Russian
industry
and trans-
portation**

The results were disastrous to the production of goods. One of the ablest communist experts (U. Larin) states that Russian factories and mines produced in 1919 less than 2 per cent of what they had produced in 1913. Many laborers preferred talk to work and now were free to indulge themselves. Others were drawn into the armies to fight the invaders. Able managers were lacking, for the old ones had been driven out or killed. The Russian railroads were fast breaking down. Few locomotives were in running order, most cars needed repairs, and the tracks were unsafe ¹

¹In fairness it should be added that the industrial decline was partly due to the war.

ASIA, 1927

The government issued such vast amounts of paper money that it became almost worthless. In the summer of 1922 the soviet government officially quoted the United States dollar at 2,500,000 rubles. Before the World War the dollar would buy two rubles.

As the factories produced few goods and the money was worthless, the peasants refused to sell food to the city people. The soviet government then sent armed men to take it. Hence the peasants stopped raising any more food than they themselves needed. In 1921 Russian farmers produced only about 5 per cent of the pre-war crops.

**Decline
in food
production**

Lenin saw that a new economic policy must be adopted. In 1921 the soviet government legalized private trading and stores began to open in the cities. The great industries were kept under government ownership, but most small ones were put under private control. The extreme socialists had tried to kill capitalism as well as the capitalists; but now they had to allow new capitalists to arise.

The change was made barely in time. The leaders of the soviet government now set to work actively to restore prosperity. Their country had vast wealth in its soil, forests, and mines, but lacked means to develop it. Very few bankers would lend to the soviet government. Therefore, to get the credits in foreign countries needed for the purchase of machinery and manufactured goods, Soviet Russia had to raise far more wheat for export. For this purpose the government tried hard to train the peasantry to farm more scientifically. At the same time the factories and mines and the railroads were operated more efficiently so as to satisfy the needs of the people. To develop the country better the soviet government provided more institutions for higher education and started to stamp out illiteracy, but was much hampered by lack of money. Communism was taught in all the schools but no religious teaching was allowed, for the soviet government was bitterly opposed to all religion. By decree of 1929 atheists alone had the right

**Progress
under the
soviet
government**

to teach their beliefs, though people were not forbidden to believe any creed they wished

Foreign
policies of
Soviet
Russia

For several years after they got control of Russia, the Bolshevik leaders did much to promote a world revolution. Especial efforts were made to convert the Chinese people to Bolshevism and get them to fight western capitalism, but without complete success. Relations between the rulers in control of North China and the U. S. S. R. were badly strained in 1929. In November the soviet government sent a considerable army into Manchuria to recover control of the main railway line across that region. Its forces were withdrawn immediately after victory was won and no declaration of war was made. The United States, however, officially warned the soviet and Chinese governments not to violate the anti-war Pact of Paris.

POLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES

The Russian Revolution gave the Finns and the peoples along the Baltic their chance for freedom. Four new independent states were set up, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland.

Poland
reëstab-
lished after
the World
War

South of the new Baltic states is Poland, reëstablished as a result of the World War. Had Germany or Russia been victorious, it is most unlikely that Poland would have been given independence, for Austria, Prussia, and Russia had shared in the partition of eighteenth-century Poland. All three were now powerless, and France needed a friendly strong state on Germany's east border to serve the purposes of the former Russian alliance. The treaties of peace gave Poland liberal frontiers and a population of about 27,000,000. Unfortunately, the eastern frontier was left indefinite and this uncertainty encouraged Polish leaders to advance their troops to Kiev, far to the southeast in Russia (May, 1920). The Russians made a vigorous counter-attack, drove the Poles back almost to Warszawa (Warsaw) (August, 1920), and proposed terms of peace that threatened to make Poland

a Russian vassal. France sent able generals, and the western Allies sent munitions. The Poles rallied and forced the Russians back, fixing the boundary far to the east, so that numerous non-Polish people are included in the new Poland.

The new Poland faced difficulties on every side. It needed the port of Danzig as its best chance for an outlet to the sea. Because of its German population the treaty makers did not give Danzig to Poland, but made it a free city under supervision of the League of Nations. To reach Danzig, a corridor of land was given to Poland which cut off the German province of East Prussia from Germany.

**Difficulties
and prob-
lems of the
new Poland**

Danzig

Geographers believed the people of Upper Silesia (the extreme southern tip) were more Polish than German, and the treaty provided for a decision by popular vote in that region. This vote, taken March 20, 1921, resulted in a majority for Germany in the total vote, though in almost half the districts the Poles secured a majority. Before the war the region had produced one-fourth of Germany's coal and contained extensive factories. Britain was inclined to agree with Germany's claims that it meant ruin to cut Upper Silesia from Germany. The French favored Poland. In the meantime Polish irregular troops entered, took possession, and defied Germany and the allied powers. The question was referred to the Council of the League of Nations, which decided to divide the industrial region between Poland and Germany, giving the former about one-third the total area with nearly half the population, three-fourths of the coal, all the zinc, and nearly all the iron. This settlement proved to be very unsatisfactory to Germany and trouble threatened.

Silesia

Another problem of the new Poland was the fusing into one state of Poles who had lived under three different governments. Far more serious was the inclusion in Poland of large numbers of Ruthenians (or Ukrainians) who hated the Poles cordially. There was also a considerable Jewish population which felt little loyalty to Poland. Economic

**Racial and
economic
problems**

problems were serious, too. A large part of the land had been fought over and laid waste time after time, and so much property had been destroyed that recovery of prosperity was slow. With French encouragement and help, Poland kept up a very large army, though the country badly needed the money to rebuild and equip factories, mines, and railroads, and to restock and provide machinery for the farms.

In spite of all these difficulties, the new Poland made good progress. The country has rich deposits of salt, potash, zinc, lead, oil, coal, and iron. It has large areas of good soil, though too large a proportion of the people are tenants on great estates. The government began to divide up many of these estates so as to provide more farms. The government is republican, similar to that of France, with two legislative bodies, a Senate and a Diet, both elected by universal suffrage, but political parties have been so numerous that the cabinet system of government could not work smoothly. In the election of 1928 thirty-four different political parties had candidates. In 1926, a dictatorship was established in Poland by Marshal Pilsudski, a Polish army leader, who sought to strengthen the government and do away with political corruption. The president was deposed and a candidate chosen by Pilsudski was put in his place.

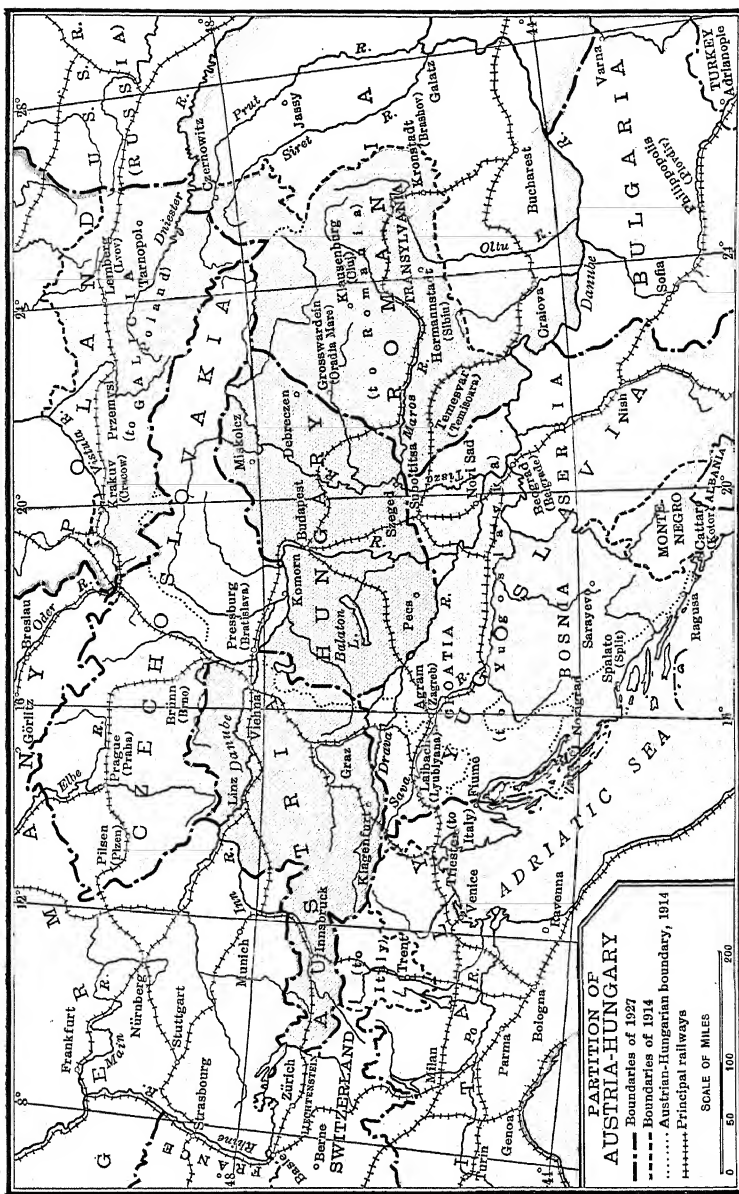
AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

**Fate of
Austria-
Hungary**

The old Austria-Hungary was split up into several states. Poland, Rumania, Serbia, and Italy each took portions, a new state, Czechoslovakia, was set up, and Austria and Hungary were left separate and too weak to be dangerous.

**Austrian
republic**

Six millions of the German-speaking Austrians were put under the government of a new Austrian republic, the Hapsburgs being driven into exile. This state had to meet the hostility of most of its neighbors. One-third of its people live in Wien (Vienna), where it is hard for so many to find employment. Austria now has almost no coal,



little iron, and has to import practically all the raw materials for her factories, though 40 per cent of the total industrial population of the old empire lived in Austria. Austria tried to pay for what was needed by issuing paper money in vast amounts. The result was to reduce its value almost to nothing and thus to cause great misery to nearly everyone who had saved money in the past. At first, people of the neighboring countries often refused to sell the Austrians anything they needed, but in course of time this hostility died down. The treaty of peace with Austria called for large reparation payments, but the poverty of Austria was so great that not only was there little prospect of Austrian payment, but several of the allied powers combined (1922) to make a large loan to Austria in order to help the republic get on its feet. Quite naturally the Austrian Germans would like to be annexed to Germany, but this was forbidden by the peace treaties, for neither France nor Czechoslovakia would be willing to allow such an addition to the strength of Germany if it could be prevented.

At the close of October, 1918, revolution broke out in **Hungary** Hungary and an attempt was made to set up a republic separate from Austria. In two weeks the king had abdicated and a great Magyar nobleman, Count Karolyi, had been chosen temporary president of the new republic. He tried to give Hungary and its dependencies liberal government, but was overthrown by a Bolshevik revolution (March, 1919) led by Bela Kun, who in turn was overthrown by a Romanian invasion (August, 1919). The Romanian troops did not withdraw until they had plundered the country, already badly damaged by the Bolsheviks, and then only at the insistence of the Allied Powers. In Hungary a violent reaction against Bolshevism followed. A national assembly was elected (January-February, 1920) which soon declared Hungary a monarchy and encouraged Charles IV, an exile in Switzerland, to return and reign. He tried twice, but the Allied Powers and the several states that

had received former Hungarian lands vetoed it, and he was finally taken to the island of Madeira, where he died (1922).

By the treaty of peace, Hungary was cut down from a state of 125,000 square miles with a population of 21,000,000 to 35,000 square miles with 8,000,000 people. Nevertheless Hungary was not so badly off as Austria, because Hungary had no city as large as Wien and could feed its people from its own farms. The Hungarian leaders in power persistently refused to allow a republic or to give the common people full freedom of speech or the press. The condition of the peasants continued very bad. In 1920 nearly three-fourths of them had almost no land, while 40 per cent of the land was in estates of more than 1,400 acres each. Some measures were later taken to better these conditions but without full success.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Struggle for inde- pendence

The most important of the new states of Central Europe is Czechoslovakia. The Czechs, or Bohemians, once independent,¹ had been ruled by the Hapsburgs for centuries. For over seventy-five years before the World War the Czech people had been growing more and more anxious to control their own local government, but had always been denied this privilege. In 1914 they hated to fight their fellow Slavs, the Russians and the Serbs. It is said that over 300,000 Czechs deserted to them during the war. Wholesale shootings and hangings followed, but could not arouse any loyalty to the Hapsburg state. Some able Czech leaders, especially Masaryk, a professor at the University of Prague (Praha), and his former student, Benes, escaped from Bohemia during the war and did all they could to persuade the Allied leaders that the Czechs deserved independence. In the summer of 1918 the Allied Powers recognized them as independent allies. The folly of the Austro-Hungarian leaders in trying to cement their unwieldy

¹See p. 381.

empire by force alone was more and more evident. Even the emperor Charles at last saw it in October, 1918, but too late. The Hapsburg empire was doomed.

At the Peace Conference, Benes secured favorable treatment for the new state, of which he became minister of foreign affairs. Its boundaries included 55,000 square miles (about the same area as New York state), with a population of 14,000,000. Of this population 4,000,000 were German-speaking, scattered along the German frontier, 750,000 were Magyars, and 400,000 were Ruthenians. Besides the Czechs, there were the Slovaks, near relatives but long separated from them. Germans and Czechs hated each other cordially; but if the Germans had been excluded, the new state would have had frontiers very hard to defend. Hence the boundary follows the historic mountain frontiers of old Bohemia.

Czechoslovakia had many difficulties. Geographically, the country was unusual in form, being 600 miles long from west to east and only 50 to 175 miles across from north to south. There were no main railroads running through to the eastern end. Racial problems were serious. The Magyars hated the dominant Czechs, and even the Slovaks were restless under their control. The Slovaks and the Ruthenians of the extreme east had had little education and no experience in self-government. Over three-quarters of the Ruthenians were illiterate in 1919, and the Slovaks were only a little better off. Both had suffered severely from Magyar oppression before the war. Another thing that disturbed the Czechs was the fear that a Hapsburg might be restored to rule in Austria and Hungary and so endanger their safety.

**Problems
and diffi-
culties**

These problems the Czech leaders attacked promptly. In a series of treaties made by Benes, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania formed an alliance to keep the peace in their neighborhood, preserve customary business conditions, and fight any changes dangerous to them. Poland did not become a full member of this Little Entente,

**Czech
policies
toward
racial
minorities**

but coöperated with them. In 1921 the Little Entente's determination to fight did much to keep the ex-emperor Charles of Hapsburg from being made king of Hungary. After that, the Little Entente remained the watchdog of peace in Central Europe.

To solve their racial problems the Czech leaders depended upon fair-dealing toward the minorities and such a union of all groups of the people that all would become patriotic citizens of their state. Government officers had to learn the language of the people among whom they were stationed. Everyone was given a chance to get an education, and special schools in their own languages were provided for the minorities. At first there was much discontent, but fair-dealing produced its reward in more and more friendly relations among all the groups. In 1929 a new law gave a large measure of local self-government to each group.

**Form of
government**

The government of the Czechoslovak Republic was modeled largely on that of France. Its leaders believed thoroughly in democracy. All women as well as men twenty-one years of age were not only allowed, but were compelled, to vote for deputies to the lower house of Parliament. At the first election thirteen women were chosen deputies. Complete religious equality was guaranteed to all.

**The
Little
Entente**

The new government soon took up a badly needed reform of the land system. A few vastly wealthy men owned immense estates while hosts of peasants owned no land at all and had little chance to obtain any. A law of 1919 gave the state the right to take and divide up estates of over six hundred acres, paying a fair price for the land and selling it on an installment plan in farms of about twenty-five acres each. This plan was to be applied first to the largest estates of over 12,000 acres. Other laws gave labor the eight-hour day, made the accident and sickness insurance systems more liberal, and gave laborers better protection from oppression.

**Land
reforms**

Possessing supplies of coal and iron, a rich soil, large industrial cities, and above all an industrious and intelligent

people, Czechoslovakia very soon became a prosperous and progressive state. She is the second largest beet-sugar producer in the world, and her glassware is widely sold. Her rulers have done their best to place the finances of the new state on a sound credit foundation by making income from taxation equal or exceed expenses.

THE BALKAN STATES

The war produced almost as decisive changes in the Balkans as in East Central Europe. Serbia, which had already been greatly enlarged as a result of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, now expanded into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The name means the "Kingdom of the South Slavs." In this state were united Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and other provinces taken from the broken Austria-Hungary. The campaign to unite the South Slav peoples of these provinces under one government had been going on for years before the World War broke out. The ruling classes of Austria-Hungary fought it. Victory in 1918 brought difficulties with Italy, whose leaders planned to annex, not only Trieste and Fiume, but the whole Dalmatian coast. At the Peace Conference (1919) President Wilson championed the cause of the South Slavs against Italy, thereby almost breaking up the Conference, which ended without settling the quarrel between Italy and Yugoslavia. Later (November, 1920) they settled the boundary by a treaty giving Yugoslavia most of Dalmatia, but not the port of Fiume, which was given to Italy by another treaty (1924). About 500,000 Yugoslavs were included in the land given to Italy. A national constitution was drawn up for Yugoslavia, providing for a limited monarchy with a single legislative body elected by popular vote, and the cabinet system of government. The Croats demanded more local autonomy than the new government allowed and made so much disturbance that King Alexander abolished parliamentary government (January, 1929) and made

States
included
in Yugo-
slavia

Italy and
Yugoslavia

himself dictator. The country badly needed railroads and most of its 12,000,000 people had little education. Hence, despite their industry, progress was slow.

New
Romania
democratic

Resources

Romania was more than doubled in size as a result of the war, for she won not only Transylvania and other near-by lands from Austria-Hungary, but also the province of Bessarabia from Russia. The new Romania was far more democratic than the old, for the peasantry insisted upon their rights, and most great estates were broken up and sold to small peasant holders. But the peasants were very ignorant, about 70 per cent being illiterate. Romania has vast wealth in her rich soil, extensive forests, and deposits of coal, iron, copper, lead, and petroleum, but the development of these resources was slow. Both Romania and Yugoslavia were keenly interested in preventing Hungary from recovering the lands they won at the close of the war. The fact that the great majority of the people in the annexed provinces were Serbs or Romanians who were formerly illtreated by the Magyars, did not prevent Hungary from trying to win back her losses. Hence Yugoslavia and Romania felt that they must keep up large armies, the expense of which delayed their economic recovery.

New
government
in Bulgaria

Bulgaria, which had joined the Central Powers in 1915 and fought hard against Serbia and Romania, was penalized by the treaty of peace and forced to pay for the damage done to her neighbors. Defeat in the war brought the Peasant party into control of the government. Bulgaria was a land of small farms and few industries and the leaders of the farmers determined to prevent their exploitation by the middlemen of the towns. They stood for universal education and genuine democracy. A decree was made (1920) that all men, women, and children must give ten days of labor to the state, and no one was allowed to buy exemption. Thus a vast amount of useful work was done for which the state could not have paid and which, therefore, would otherwise have been left undone. The government imposed

**THE NEAR EAST
IN 1927**

++++ Railways
--- Indefinite boundaries

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400

Map showing the Near East in 1927, including countries like Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, and Egypt, along with major cities and geographical features like the Mediterranean Sea, Persian Gulf, and Red Sea. The map also indicates railway lines and indefinite boundaries.

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severe punishment on those who had led Bulgaria into the war on the German side and had brought about the national humiliation. Unfortunately this progressive and energetic government was overturned by violence (June, 1923) and middle-class rule was restored.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Before the close of the World War the Ottoman Empire had been pared down on all sides, and the Treaty of Sèvres (making peace between the Allies and the Turks) left it only the interior of Asia Minor. But the Allied Powers were so slow in deciding its fate that a capable Turkish officer, General Mustafa Kemal Pasha, was able to revive Turkish patriotism. Kemal and his followers disregarded the Sultan at İstanbul (Constantinople), who was under Allied control, and persuaded the Turks to fight to prevent any of Asia Minor and Thrace being taken from them. Parts of the Treaty of Sèvres had already been carried out, for France had received Syria to rule for the League of Nations, and Britain assumed control in Mesopotamia, where she helped set up certain Arab kingdoms. Britain also took charge of Palestine, where some Jewish leaders hope to make a home for Jewish people.

Ottoman
Empire
under
Kemal

Only force could have persuaded the followers of Kemal to accept the treaty, and none of the Great Powers wished to spend the money or send troops. Greece was willing to go ahead with the task, hoping to obtain not only Thrace but the western and northern shores of Asia Minor where numerous Greeks lived. At first the Greeks were extremely successful, winning Thrace and the western coast of Asia Minor and penetrating to within fifty miles of Ankara (Angora), the Turkish capital. But France and Britain disagreed in their policies toward the Greeks and Turks—France making a separate peace with the Turks, while Great Britain backed Greece only half-heartedly. The Greeks grew tired of war burdens and in August and September

The Greek
war against
the Turks
(1921-1922)

(1922) when the Turks took the offensive, the Greek army fell back rapidly, losing İzmir (Smyrna), most of which was burned to the ground. Vast numbers of fugitives died in the fire or at the hands of the Turks. Kemal's army then advanced toward İstanbul and almost came to blows with a small British force guarding the neutral zone of the straits.

**Treaty of
Lausanne**

The Turks were finally persuaded to enter a conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, which was to settle the Near Eastern question (November, 1922). There the Turks had great advantages—they were in no hurry to make peace since they knew the Allied Powers were divided in interests and all wanted peace at almost any price. At last a treaty was signed (July 24, 1923) to take the place of that of Sèvres, which the Turks would not accept. By the Treaty of Lausanne, the Turks kept İstanbul and part of Thrace and all of Asia Minor, while recognizing the loss of the rest of the former Ottoman Empire. The sultan no longer rules, for Turkey is now a republic, and though the Turks are back in İstanbul, freedom of navigation through the straits is guaranteed. In Greece the ruin of the Greek army (1922) was followed by a change of kings, the government really being carried on by some army officers. Later (1924) the monarchy was overturned and a Greek republic set up.

ITALY AFTER 1918

**Post-war
problems**

The lesser states and the new states were not the only ones having serious after-war problems to solve. At the close of the war Italy was in serious difficulties. Over six hundred thousand of her men were dead, and almost two million more had been wounded. A large part of the province of Venetia had been laid waste. Italian finances were in a bad state, for all the coal and most of the iron for making munitions had to be imported, and so war materials cost Italy more than they did Great Britain or other countries. Before Italy went into the war she was promised certain territories to the north and northeast, but at its

close President Wilson opposed the terms agreed upon because they injured Yugoslavia. Finally Italy accepted somewhat less than her leaders had counted on. In Albania and Asia Minor, too, Italy was disappointed in her hopes for more land. As a result Italy has been inclined, since the war, to be less friendly to France and more friendly to Germany than might be expected.

Italian home conditions have been greatly troubled since the war. The people suffered from the enormous increase in the cost of living, which had mounted by January, 1919, to nearly four times what it was in 1914. The government tried to help by selling bread below cost, thus running still more deeply into debt. The extreme socialists said the trouble was due mainly to the greed of the rich capitalists. Many strikes took place, with some violence. The government did little to suppress disorder and seemed to be afraid of those who planned to set up Bolshevism in Italy. Organized workmen in the iron and steel mills seized by force a number of factories, planning to conduct them for their own advantage (1920). For some time the government did nothing to stop this experiment in communism, but the workmen themselves found they could not carry on the business successfully. At last the prime minister, Giolitti, called a conference of owners and laborers at which an agreement was reached for the latter to give up the factories.

**Economic
troubles**

The Italian people in general grew disgusted with continual disorders, and an organization of former soldiers was formed to deal with the Communists who had won control of some city governments and were terrorizing the middle classes. This fighting organization became known as the Fascisti, from the word *fascēs*, the Latin word for the bundle of rods surrounding the ax once carried by the old Roman consul's attendants as a sign of his authority. In many towns fights between the Fascisti and Communists became so common that the situation amounted almost to civil war. It seemed to more and more Italians that their government

**Rise of
the Fascisti**

was worthless. Members of Parliament thought more of getting jobs for their friends and of making no enemies than they did of getting the country on its feet. The people were demanding aggressive leadership, which the politicians did not give. In October, 1922, the Fascisti in Congress at Naples determined to go to Rome to get rid of the old-time politicians. Full of enthusiasm for their leader, Mussolini, they were prepared to fight if necessary to get control of the government. It was unnecessary, for the king called Mussolini to Rome to form his own ministry. "Mussolini became prime minister not by the grace of the Chamber of Deputies, but by the grace of an organization outside parliament, ratified by a strong public opinion."¹

Program
of
Mussolini

Parliament gave him dictatorial powers, and he started out with a program of economy and efficiency in all government work and diligent support of national interests abroad. The electoral system was changed so as to give the political party that got the largest vote two-thirds of the seats and divide the other third among all other parties. This would do away with cabinets with members from two or three different parties. The Fascisti won the next election (1924). Towns and cities were then deprived of their locally elected officers and put under the control of others appointed by Mussolini who was "Head of the Government" and permanent commander of all its armed forces.

Fascist
labor
policies

An ally of Mussolini organized a great number of laborers into syndicates or unions of a new type hostile to socialism. These were combined into a general federation and soon these fascist syndicates were recognized by the employers' federation as sole representatives of their employees. In 1926 a new labor relations law was made providing for state control of the syndicates, forbidding lockouts and strikes, and setting up a special labor court to settle disputes between employers and employees. Both were organized and could make collective contracts binding on all, whether members

¹Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, II, 1038.

or not. Employers and employees in like industries were united into seven corporations to settle disputes, increase production, and find work for the unemployed. All were under the Ministry of Corporations headed by Mussolini himself. In 1927 the government issued a "Charter of Labor" stating the rights and duties of labor.

Next year the right to nominate candidates for parliament was put in the hands of the national federation of employers and employees. The Grand Council of the Fascist Party headed by Mussolini then made up a list of candidates on which the people voted "Yes" or "No." Only a few voted "No" in 1929. This only slightly disguised despotism was efficient. Previous governments spent vastly more than they took in. The new government cut expenses and created a surplus. The railroads formerly lost money; now they made good profits. Production of goods was increased. The laborers were satisfied, for the country was prosperous.

The corporate
state

Another great achievement of the Fascisti was the settlement of the Roman question. Ever since 1870 the Pope had been hostile to the Italian government which had taken Rome from him. Time had lessened but not healed the Pope's bitter feeling. At last (1929) negotiations between Mussolini and the Pope resulted in an agreement. The Vatican City, ruled by the Pope, was recognized as a fully independent state, though containing only about a hundred acres and less than five hundred people. Italy recognized the Roman Catholic religion as the only state religion in the land and agreed to enforce the canon law. Religious instruction was made compulsory in the schools. The Pope received a large sum in money and government bonds as compensation for the loss of temporal power. This settlement of the long quarrel greatly pleased most Italians.

Settlement
of the
Roman
Question,
(1929)

FRANCE AFTER 1918

After the war the French people continued to hate Germany bitterly.

**French
politics**

The elections of 1919 in France gave overwhelming victory to the moderates and conservatives who were working together. The socialists and the radical parties lost heavily in the Chamber of Deputies. Many socialists had favored making peace with Germany on the best possible terms a year or two before the war ended. But the more determined enemies of Germany remained in political control until 1924, when an election gave victory to the radicals, who were more likely to make a compromise settlement of the reparations question. This and reconstruction were the chief problems of France just after the war.

**French
war losses**

French war losses were heavy—1,364,000 men were killed and about 700,000 crippled for life. Of her young and middle-aged men, 57 per cent were dead. In addition, the war had shocked and strained the nerves of the whole people and so lowered their endurance. Property damages were enormous, and most of the factories in northeastern France, the chief manufacturing section, were ruined. Coal mines were wantonly damaged by the Germans, apparently so that French recovery from the war would be slow. Vast numbers of houses had been destroyed and great areas of land were so torn by explosives as to be unfit for tillage. The national debt was increased from about 34,000,000,000 francs to nearly 268,000,000,000 francs. In 1922 the interest alone took 51.2 per cent of all the government's income.

**French
war gains**

Over against her war losses France showed some gains. Alsace and Lorraine were French again, and gave France excellent potash and the greatest supply of easily mined iron ore in Europe. The Saar Basin provided her with coal to make up for the losses due to German destruction, but this coal does not make the best quality of coke for smelting iron ore. To build vast steel industries, France must import much coke from Germany. Germany, in turn, bought in France about one quarter of the iron ore she needed. Thus France and Germany were made mutually dependent.

Recon-
struction
of the
devastate
regions

Notwithstanding her losses and her heavy burden of debt, France at once began reconstruction of the devastated regions at government expense, the money being borrowed from French investors with the expectation that Germany would be made to pay for all this reconstruction. In 1924 France had finished most of the work except the dwelling houses, but had received from Germany far less than was agreed upon. In 1921 the French people paid an average tax bill of \$86 for every person in France. This was in marked contrast to the German tax bill of \$15 per capita that year. Probably some wealthy Frenchmen could pay higher taxes, but most of the people already carried too heavy a load, and felt very bitter toward the Germans.

Again and again urgent demands had been made on Germany for payment of the sums promised, but always with the same result—insufficient payments and delays. At last, after the Reparations Commission officially declared Germany had not delivered the promised wood and coal (December 25, 1922, and January 9, 1923), French and Belgian troops entered the Ruhr Valley. This small region, filled with mines, steel mills, and gigantic factories, was the industrial heart of Germany. It supplied 80 per cent of Germany's black coal (not including lignite). Holding this region, the French could shut off supplies from the rest of Germany and so, they believed, compel the Germans to make a determined effort to pay reparations. In the meantime the cost of the occupation would be met, so the French thought, by sending coal and coke and other products to France. The French premier announced that France would leave the Ruhr when Germany had paid her debts.

Effects
of the
invasion

The German government urged the business men and laborers of the Ruhr not to work for the French, and paid them to remain idle. This passive resistance for a long time kept the French from gaining any profit from the Ruhr to pay the cost of the occupation. At last, in the autumn of 1923, the French made an agreement with the German

"big business" men to start work again, and early in 1924 they were getting considerable profit from the Ruhr. The Ruhr episode, unfortunately, did much to embitter Franco-German relations, but there can be little doubt that it brought the German leaders to a realization of the absolute need of reaching an agreement with France regarding reparations payments. At last France and Germany were brought together in agreement and the French withdrew the last of their troops from the Ruhr (October, 1925).

French colonial empire

France enlarged her colonial possessions somewhat as a result of the war, for she gained Syria in Asia and some of the former German colonies on the west coast of Africa, including part of Togo and the Cameroons. French penetration into Morocco went steadily on notwithstanding a serious revolt of the natives against both the French and the Spaniards (1926) which was subdued with difficulty. One of the French projects was a great railroad across the Sahara Desert to connect Algiers with their colonies on the South Atlantic coast.

Economic progress of France

French industry increased greatly in the decade after the war. The new factories that replaced the old ones of the devastated regions were much larger and entirely modern. The owners adopted many new ideas in business management and made goods on a very large scale. French steel production in 1926 was 80 per cent greater than in 1913. French exports of all goods in 1926 were worth 50 per cent more than those of 1913. The government reformed its tax system so that its income equaled expenditures and the franc was fixed in value at 25.19 to the dollar. France was well on the road to recovery from the terrible war.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

For several years after the war Great Britain and many parts of the empire were very uneasy. Just after its close, a general election was held at which a combination, or

coalition, of Conservatives and Liberals led by Lloyd George won an overwhelming victory. This same coalition had carried on the government during the later years of the war. The Labor party, however, won more seats than ever before.

Meanwhile serious economic troubles began, just as after the great victory over Napoleon in 1815. As war work slowed down, great numbers of workmen were left unemployed. Returned soldiers and sailors sought their old positions, often without success. Large groups of workingmen insisted on higher wages and shorter hours of labor. Some of their demands were granted immediately; others only after strikes had tied up industry for some time. Such demands were not unnatural, for British laborers had secured much higher wages during the war because of the labor shortage.

**Economic
troubles**

In addition, there was widespread unrest resulting from the war. Eight hundred thousand Englishmen had lost their lives and hundreds of thousands more were disabled. Ex-service men now found it very hard to settle down to peace-time work.

The business slump right after the war did not last long, and trade was good through 1919 and half of 1920. Then came the great depression in business. Exports of goods made in Great Britain totaled in 1921 only half those of 1913. Many factories had to shut down.

**Great
post-war
depression**

The inevitable result was unemployment on a vast scale. In January, 1921, there were 1,039,000 unemployed, in April, 1,615,000 (not including the striking miners), and in June, 2,185,000, besides 1,144,000 working only part time. After the summer of 1921, conditions gradually improved. But there were still over a million unemployed in 1929. Before the depression set in, a general scheme of insuring all laborers against unemployment was put in operation. But the money so far paid in by the insured was not enough to provide for these exceptional conditions. The government, however, continued to pay a "dole" of about

**Serious
unemployment**

\$3.50 a week to every unemployed workman. This was a heavy burden to the taxpayers and had a bad influence on the men who received the "dole." Many of them obtained relief from other sources, and so received almost as much as their wages when employed. Naturally they soon lost any desire to get work.

Taxation

Meanwhile all who owned property paid exceptionally heavy taxes. The rich paid as much as 75 per cent of their incomes in taxes of various kinds. The war had increased the national debt over £6,000,000,000, and the interest and payments to reduce it were extremely burdensome. This load was gradually lightened, for British government finances are sound. But heavy taxation helped keep the cost of living high.

The coal, iron, and steel industries were seriously affected by the depression. For about ten years after 1920 they made little or no profit for their owners. The laborers in those industries had to accept lower wages if they got work at all. For a time (1925) the government gave money collected from the taxpayers to enable the coal mines to be operated without loss and pay good wages. Taxes were too high to keep this up long. When the subsidy was ended, the coal miners stopped work rather than accept lower wages, and a general strike was called to support them. Both strikes failed, but the coal industry remained in difficulties. Other industries, such as the making of cotton and woolen cloth and machinery, made very little profit for a decade. In general the basic industries that gave Britain her supremacy in world markets in the nineteenth century were in a bad way. But such businesses as the electrical and chemical industries and the making of automobiles, furniture, and soap were prosperous. They depended mainly on the home market and were located chiefly in the South, rather than close to the coal mines of the North.

The causes of these economic changes were many. Oil and electricity produced by water power partly displaced

British coal in many countries that were formerly heavy buyers. The extensive growth of cotton manufacturing in India, China, and Japan cut British exports of cotton goods to about half those of 1913. The spread of the industrial revolution over the world took away the markets for British iron, steel, and textiles. Many French and German factories, built since the war, were equipped with the latest machinery. Their owners used the most efficient methods of operation and cut their costs of production to the lowest point. British manufacturers were not quick to do these things. Moreover, many countries that had formerly bought heavily in Britain were too poor now to pay for so much. Germany had formerly been a very good customer, but her obligation to pay reparations made her cut her imports of British goods.

Causes
of the
depress

Even before 1914 Britain habitually imported more than she exported, but her invisible exports, that is, the income from vast foreign investments and foreign payments for the services of her bankers, insurance companies, and merchant ships, far exceeded the deficit and left large sums for further investment abroad. During the war nearly half their twenty billion dollars invested abroad was spent for war materials. After the war the British people imported more than before and exported so much less that it took nearly all the invisible exports to pay the bills. If exports could be heavily increased and unemployment stopped, or if large emigration could take away the surplus population, the old British economic supremacy might be restored. In the meantime Britain must depend more on her new and prosperous home industries and home markets and count on her invisible exports to meet the deficit in exports of iron and steel, coal, and textiles. From the post-war depression a new economic prosperity must arise in the land where the industrial revolution started.

The socialists told the laborers that government ownership of all factories, mines, and railroads would give them what

Rise of
Labor
party

they wanted. The trade unions backed the rapidly growing Labor party standing for national ownership of all the means of production and confiscation outright of a portion of all large fortunes.

As a result of the election at the close of 1923 the Labor party increased its representation in the House of Commons from 144 to 193. The Liberals (numbering 158) and the Laborites joined forces for the time and forced Stanley Baldwin, the Conservative prime minister, and his cabinet to resign. Then James Ramsay MacDonald became the first Labor prime minister (January, 1924). The Laborite cabinet could stay in office, however, only as long as the Liberals would support it. The Laborites proposed a treaty with Soviet Russia by which the British government would guarantee a loan to Russia, and they failed to punish a London communist newspaper for seditious utterances published in it. For these reasons, the Liberals gave their support to the Conservatives and MacDonald was defeated. The latter asked for a new election, in which the Conservatives won a decided victory (October 29, 1924). Baldwin headed a new Conservative cabinet which was pledged to social reform but opposed to socialism. Liberal representation in the Commons sank to the lowest in many decades.

Work of
the Con-
servative
Cabinet

In the next five years the Conservatives made several important laws. A new trade union law took away part of the great independent power that the unions had gained. A new pension law provided for widows', orphans', and old age pensions to be paid for by the government, the employers, and the laborers. Another law (1928) gave the vote to all women twenty-one years of age on equal terms with men. Hoping to lessen unemployment, the Conservative Cabinet gave tariff protection to many industries and relieved the great basic industries of about three quarters of their local tax burdens. In spite of these measures and the new industrial progress in the South, there were almost two million out of work at the close of 1928.

The problem of unemployment was the big issue of the election of May, 1929. In the three-cornered fight, the Labor Party won 289 seats in the House of Commons, though it did not get a majority over the Liberals and Conservatives, should they combine. Baldwin and his cabinet resigned, and MacDonald was asked to form a second Labor Cabinet. But no revolutionary steps were taken, partly because of the moderation of the Labor Party's leaders and partly because they needed the votes of the 58 members elected to Parliament as Liberals.

The
election
of 1929

Britain emerged from the war with a considerably enlarged over-seas empire. German Southwest Africa, German East Africa, parts of the Cameroons and Togo, several island possessions in the Pacific, Palestine, and Irak (Mesopotamia) came under British control. These lands gave England vast supplies of raw materials for her factories and new opportunities for profit by trade.

Post-war
troubles
of the
British
Empire

In several parts of the empire, however, unrest was spreading, and especially in the dominions that were not self-governing. The Allied propaganda for self-determination of peoples helped make the people of India and Egypt desire more self-government. Egypt had been under actual British control since 1881, though nominally ruled by its khedive. The British had rescued the peasants from cruel and oppressive rule. Poor as well as rich had obtained water for their crops without bribery. But the British were disliked by the former native ruling class, which was now no longer allowed much chance for "graft." A small educated class of Egyptians also wanted independence. In December, 1914, Egypt was declared to be a British protectorate. This move bitterly disappointed the Egyptian nationalists, who had so often heard it said that the British were in Egypt only temporarily. During the war many Egyptian peasants were put to work digging trenches and building roads for the British. Grievances arose and the peasantry grew to dislike the British. In answer to vigorous

Egypt

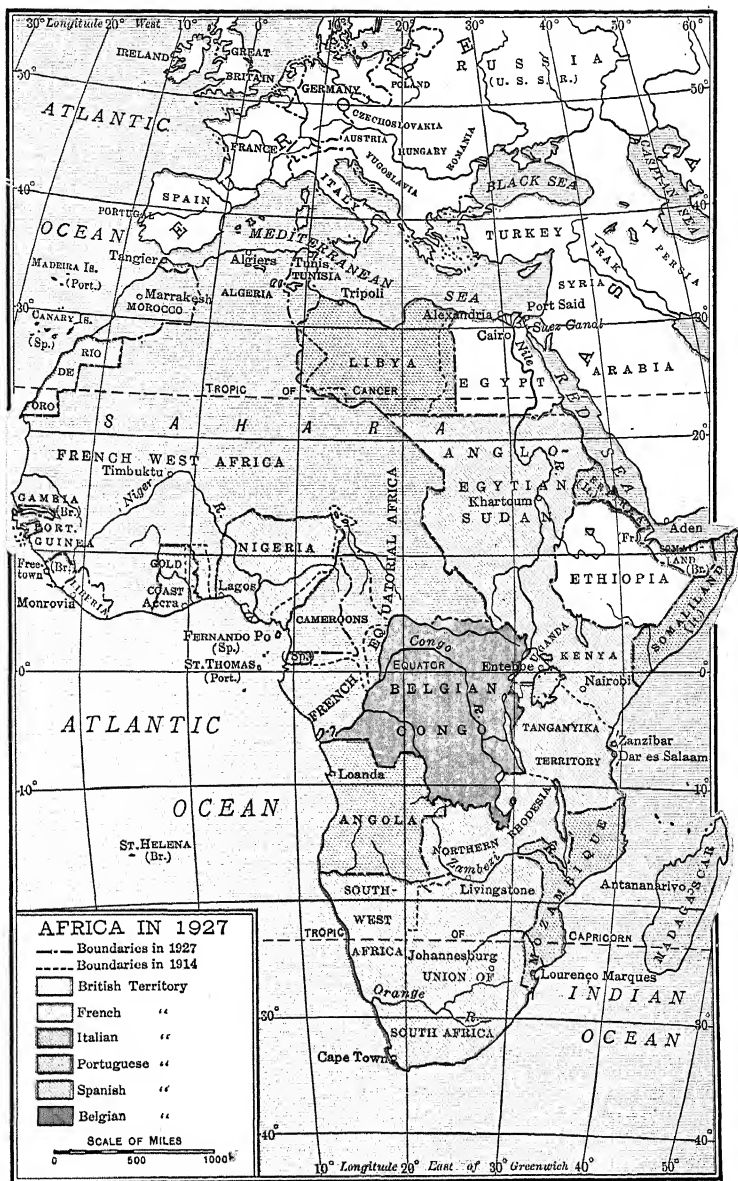
demands for independence, the nationalist leader, Zaghlul Pasha, and three friends were arrested by the British (March, 1919) and taken to Malta. These arrests led to many acts of violence in Egypt. British investigators recommended self-government, and so the British government declared Egypt an independent state under the rule of its own sultan (1922), reserving, however, British control of the Suez Canal Zone and the Sudan. The Egyptian leaders demanded the withdrawal of these reservations, but were refused (1924). Communication with India, Australia, and New Zealand through the Suez Canal is too vitally important to allow control of it to pass to possible enemies.

**The Indian
Empire**

Perhaps the most difficult British imperial problem since the war has been the growth of discontent in India. Its vast population is so divided in religion, in race, in language, and even in government, that there is no such thing as a united Indian nation. During the World War the people of India showed great loyalty, and Indian troops fought in Europe. But toward the end of the war discontent grew, partly owing to Mohammedan feeling that the war on the Turks was harming their religion, and partly because educated Indians felt that they deserved more self-government.

**Government of
India Act
(1919)**

In answer to these desires, Parliament (1919) made a law giving each of eight large provinces a governor, appointed by the viceroy, an appointed executive council, and a legislative council almost all of whose members would be elected by the voters. A great many matters, such as local government, agriculture, education, and public works, were to be managed by ministers chosen by the elected members. Some matters, such as justice and police, were kept from their control for a time. The vote was given to about 5,000,000 in the eight provinces chosen for this experiment. For the whole Indian Empire a legislature of two houses was established, the majority of whose members were to be elected by the voters. The object of these measures was to give the people a certain amount of self-government and



so train them for more later. Moderates were favorable, but the radical nationalists led by Gandhi, a highly educated and successful native lawyer, boycotted the elections as well as all English goods. Gandhi preached and practiced passive resistance and civil disobedience, aiming at the overthrow of British rule in India. His campaign led to serious riots in 1930.

The greatest Indian problem is the poverty of the peasantry crowded on the flat lands near the rivers, who are wholly dependent on agriculture. Less than 10 per cent of the people of India live in cities. When the rainfall is too light, crops fail and terrible famines occur. In some localities there are many small irrigation works but as a whole the country needs far more.

Poverty of
the Indian
people

The fact that British control of India stopped the almost constant warfare that had formerly existed between local princes when India was under native rule helped to promote loyalty to Britain. British exports to India were greater than to any other country except France. British statesmen would like to keep that trade and might grant more extensive self-government to India, should the popular demand continue very strong.

Only one of the self-governing dominions was a source of worry after the war ended. It was natural that some of the Boers should regard the outbreak of the war in 1914 as a chance to defeat England. Most of them felt satisfied with the self-government that had been given them (1909),¹ and many of them, led by their own generals, Botha and Smuts, had fought against the Germans. Including colored natives, South Africa put 230,000 men into British service. But at the close of the war a strong nationalist movement grew among the Boers. Its leaders hoped to set up a fully independent South African Republic. Smuts and his friends argued that, within the British Empire, Boers and English in South Africa had complete freedom. Political

South
Africa

¹See p. 752.

strife between these groups continued active for years, but the chief problem in South Africa is the negro problem, the number of native Africans, Asiatics, and mixed European and other races being $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as the number of white Europeans. One hundred and fifty thousand East Indians had already settled in South Africa by 1927, and the whites were determined to keep any more from entering. This determination was resented in India. If a large number of new white settlers could be attracted to South Africa, white domination would be more easily assured.

**Problem
of Ireland**

Very close at home was another hard problem Britain had to solve—Ireland. For nearly two years after the outbreak of the World War, Ireland remained quiet, though the Irish showed less enthusiasm for the war than the English. In the meantime a new movement for Irish independence, called Sinn Fein, was getting very strong. Had Ireland received Home Rule promptly according to the Bill of 1912, the majority might have been satisfied. But many Irishmen felt that they had been tricked by the failure to put Home Rule into immediate effect and feared they would be forced into the British army. The leaders of Sinn Fein could see nothing but Ireland's grievances. German agents encouraged the Irish discontent and promised help, but the British navy prevented it. April 24, 1916, the Sinn Feiners in Dublin seized the post office and several other buildings in the center of the city. An Irish republic was proclaimed, and there was hot fighting for several days. But the British rushed troops in, smashed the rebels' strongholds by artillery fire, and forced their surrender, April 30. Small risings in a few other places in Ireland also failed.

**Sinn Fein
revolt**

Before this time the British government had been lenient with Sinn Fein, hoping to keep down open disloyalty. Now they had fifteen of the rebel leaders executed for treason. All others who had taken part in the rebellion were later pardoned, but the death of the few leaders had made them seem like martyrs for Irish freedom. Sinn Fein won more

and more followers. At the same time many Englishmen were embittered against Ireland by the Irish revolt, for they felt that this was a stab in the back at a time when they were fighting a desperate struggle with Germany. Conscription was adopted in England (1916), but it was not applied to Ireland for fear of stirring up revolt. During the dark days of the great German offensive (1918) conscription came near being extended to Ireland in spite of bitter protests that the Irish would not tolerate it unless given Home Rule, while the Ulster leaders still stood firm against being included in an Ireland governed by Home Rule.¹

At the election just after the war ended, Sinn Fein candidates were chosen almost everywhere in Ireland except in Ulster. But instead of taking seats in the British Parliament, they organized the Dail Eireann, or Irish Parliament, drew up a solemn Declaration of Independence, and began actually to govern the country. The British government failed to suppress this rebel government.

**Irish
Parliament
organized**

In December, 1920, the British Parliament voted a Government of Ireland Act, setting up one Parliament for Ulster and another for the rest of Ireland, with a central council of representatives from both to keep peace between them. Eamon de Valera, who had been elected "president of the Irish Republic," denounced this plan, but Ulster accepted it and organized a new government for northern Ireland. The Sinn Feiners won the elections held in the South, taking 124 out of 128 districts, but they refused to organize a Parliament according to the law.

At last, early in July, 1921, a truce was arranged to end the war. Negotiations went on and finally, just as there seemed no hope of lasting peace, a treaty was made (December 6, 1921) between the Sinn Fein representatives, led by Michael Collins, and Lloyd George, the British prime minister. Ireland was made a Free State within the British Empire with all the independence possessed by Canada or

**The Treaty
making
Ireland a
Free State**

¹See pp. 739-740.

Australia, while Ulster was left at liberty to join the Free State or to keep her existing government. Both Irish governments were to guarantee religious liberty to their people. The British Parliament promptly ratified this treaty, but there was bitter opposition in the Dail Eireann.

**Irish Free
State
set up**

Most Irishmen thought this a reasonable settlement, or at least were willing to accept it as the best obtainable. De Valera and some friends held out for full independence and fought Collins and his colleagues, but the Dail ratified by a small majority. It was decided to draw up a constitution to be submitted to the voters with the treaty, but the republicans did not trust the voters and started a guerilla warfare against the Free State government which continued through most of 1922. Finally, however, the republicans were forced to submit (1923).

The Free State was actually governed by a ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies elected by the people. Northern Ireland remained separate, keeping thirteen representatives in the British Parliament as well as a parliament of its own. The Free State was governed better and more economically than before. A better educational system was provided and the poor relieved with less waste. Further land purchase laws were made and agriculture and industry stimulated. Gradually most Irishmen became better satisfied with this settlement of the Irish question.

**Canada as
a nation**

The other self-governing dominions of the British Empire had their own problems, but did not suggest secession. Canada's magnificent contributions to imperial defense in the World War have already been commented on. During the last years of the war, Canada, like the other dominions, sent her prime minister to the Imperial War Cabinet and to the Peace Conference in 1919. There Sir Robert Borden insisted that Canada and the other dominions sign the treaty separately and receive separate representation in the League of Nations assembly. The British government accepted the

principle that each of the great dominions was to be "a distinct national unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations." In 1923 the Canadian government negotiated a treaty directly with the government of the United States.

Canada met difficult economic problems at the close of the war. Soldiers were demobilized and the disabled cared for. The war had quadrupled the Canadian national debt. Before the war, expensive new railroads had been built by the government or by private companies with government guaranty. These were needed to develop the country, but until population grew there was not enough business to make them profitable. In consequence, the government had to pay the deficits of all except the Canadian Pacific, and later took over the task of operating them. Railroad deficits and war debts made taxes very heavy, but Canada set bravely to work and carried the load.

**Canadian
economic
problems**

It will be remembered that in 1900 the states of the Australian continent had been united in a commonwealth under a federal form of government, having a parliament of two houses and the cabinet system of choosing the executive. Australia is as large as the United States and has vast resources in farms and in minerals of all sorts, but its population is as yet scanty. In 1900 there were about three and three-fourths million people, in 1925 almost six million with about fifty thousand natives. The laws make Australia a white man's country—colored persons are not admitted. The government, either state or federal, owns almost all the railroads and all telegraphs and telephones. The wealth of Australia is widely distributed among its people, for there are over three million bank depositors, and almost a million own their own homes. The war debt is heavy but the resources of the country are so vast that it causes little worry. The Australian people are loyal to the British Empire, though they have their own interests which they are determined to advance. They are especially concerned in keeping the Japanese out of Australia.

Australia

New
Zealand

The people of New Zealand, like the Australians, responded nobly to the call for soldiers in the World War, and the money spent for war purposes quadrupled the public debt. The population has grown rapidly. Immigration of colored people is carefully restricted. New Zealand's progress in business prosperity and in education has been steady, and the future of the country looks bright.

GERMANY AFTER THE WORLD WAR

Revolu-
tion of
1918

By October, 1918, the German commander, Ludendorff, realized that peace had to be made to save Germany from invasion, and insisted that the government propose an armistice. But until the very end, the German people were kept in ignorance of the numerous and serious defeats of the German armies. The people had suffered terribly for four years and, when the facts became known, their will to resist was broken. Revolt broke out first on November 4, 1918, among the sailors and soldiers at the great naval port of Kiel and from there spread rapidly through the country. Some socialists had always opposed the war; the majority had assisted it. Now they all joined in demanding the abdication of the kaiser (November 8, 1918). The chancellor then resigned, the kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland, and on November 9 Germany was proclaimed a republic.

Establish-
ment of the
republic

The German socialists were divided into three groups: (1) The Majority Socialists were moderates, desiring genuinely free government first and only later the establishment of the socialist economic system. (2) The Independent Socialists were less numerous but determined to put the extreme program into effect at once. For a short time these two combined and gave Germany such democratic reforms as universal suffrage for women as well as men, and freedom of the press and of public meetings. But the Independents believed that now was the time to take over all industry, in accordance with the socialist creed. (3) The Communists, the extreme radicals, wanted to set up the

dictatorship of the proletariat as in Russia. They withdrew from the government, and serious riots followed in which two Communist leaders were killed (January, 1919). A National Assembly was elected in which the Social Democrats failed to win a majority over the other parties combined, and so they had to unite with the middle-class groups, the Democratic party and the Center, thus postponing the setting up of socialism in Germany. In March (1919) the new government faced a determined revolt of the Communists, and suppressed it only with the help of the old imperial army after a week of terrible street fighting in Berlin. The reactionary elements were encouraged, and a year later the army seized control of Berlin and tried to overthrow the republic. All the socialists united to fight the reactionaries. A great strike was called and organized labor stopped work. Within a week the army plot was crushed and its leaders put to flight.

In the meantime the National Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage, had worked out the constitution of the German Federal Republic, still called the *Reich* (or *Empire*). Each separate state must be a republic with a democratic government. Eight little states were combined into one fair-sized one and another joined to a neighbor, so there were now seventeen instead of twenty-five federal states in Germany. In imperial Germany the kaiser and the Bundesrath ruled; now the Reichstag chosen by all German men and women was made supreme. The chancellor and the cabinet ministers must have the support of a majority of the Reichstag or resign. The upper house, now called the Reichsrath, still represents the state governments, but it has only a partial veto power over bills voted by the Reichstag. The president of the republic is chosen by universal suffrage for a term of seven years. He is far less a figurehead than the president of France, for he is supreme commander of the army and can suspend parts of the constitution in time of danger. Nevertheless he is kept in

Constitution
of
the new
republic

check by the cabinet under Reichstag control. The separate states do not have presidents, but are ruled by cabinets.

**Social
welfare
laws**

The makers of this democratic constitution planned also to extend democracy to industry. They planned a series of workingmen's councils starting with one in each factory and working up to provincial councils and then to a national economic council which was to be composed of representatives of capital, labor, the professions, and the public, and whose duty it was to help parliament in making laws regarding business. A law of 1920 provided for councils in each factory having twenty or more laborers, to be chosen by them and to have a share in hiring and dismissing workmen and in settling questions of factory management. These did not have control, but gave laborers more voice in management than before. The National Economic Council was established, but at first accomplished little, for it merely recommended to the government and had no power to act. Several other laws were made for the purpose of bettering conditions among industrial laborers, but very little could be done to put industry under control of the national government or to abolish the capitalistic system. The socialists were not able to keep political control so as to carry out such projects, even if they thought it wise.

**Political
parties**

The old political parties have continued, though generally under different names. Several openly favored the restoration of monarchy. Others were lukewarm in favor of the republic. Only the Majority and Independent Socialists would fight for it. The Communists were bitterly hostile to it. Most of the time after 1919 no one party had a clear majority, and so most cabinets were composed of members of two or three different groups. One weak cabinet followed another in rapid succession, and all were largely dominated by business interests.

**Economic
changes**

In German business two important changes have come about since the war: (1) the very rapid growth of trade unions and (2) the rise of gigantic corporations combining

tremendous power and resources under single control. In 1914 perhaps a quarter of the town laborers were union members; in 1924 over four-fifths of them had joined.

The greatest leader of giant business combinations was Hugo Stinnes (died 1924), who built up the so-called "vertical trust." The aim of the older system of business combination was to form a union of all concerns producing the same articles and thus to stop competition. The new type, called a "vertical trust," tries to control every product that goes into the making of its goods, from the raw material to delivery of the finished product to the consumer, as well as every operation that is concerned, directly or indirectly, in the manufacture and sale of the article. Stinnes even included in his plan not only newspapers but paper and pulp mills, for he saw the need of influencing public opinion through the newspapers. His combination employed nearly 800,000 laborers. His sixty or more newspapers always worked for conservative policies, big business interests, and monarchy. He and other business magnates controlled a political party called the German People's party, which belied its name, for it seldom favored the common people's interests. Several other giant combinations with vast power, acting with that of Stinnes, still controlled most of the business of Germany. Quite evidently the republic did not hamper the growth of vast "trusts."

The great trusts

The growth of these great combinations has been due largely to economic causes. During the war manufacturers and merchants made vast profits and later seized the opportunity to make still more from paper-money inflation. Before the war ended the imperial government had issued seventeen billion paper marks that could not be redeemed in gold. By the close of 1919 there were thirty-five billion in circulation, and later the total mounted to almost unbelievable amounts. Before the war one American dollar would buy 4.2 marks. By November, 1922, it took 9,000 marks to buy one dollar and by September 12, 1923, the dollar was

Wholesale paper-money inflation and its causes

**Causes
of the
inflation**

worth 100,000,000 marks. Successive German governments had issued more and more paper marks with almost no gold behind them until the mark was practically worthless.

Some war expenses had been paid in this way. As a result of the blockade, Germany, after the war, was bare of such raw materials as wheat, rubber, copper, and cotton, which had to be brought overseas. Huge quantities of paper marks and German bonds were sold to foreign speculators to pay for these raw materials. Vast sums in paper were paid to the bakers by the government to keep down the price of bread, and to government employees, including railroad men, to meet demands for higher wages as the cost of living soared. Freight and passenger rates were not raised nearly fast enough to meet the rising cost of running the railroads. The government paid large sums to shipbuilders to help them build a new German merchant fleet. Heavy payments for expenses of the Allied armies of occupation and some reparations payments took large sums. At last, when the French occupied the Ruhr, the German government paid out large sums for many months to enable the laborers to live while refusing to work for the French and also to compensate the owners of Ruhr industries for their losses due to idleness. These last payments caused the German mark to drop until it was nearly worthless.

**Effects
of the
inflation**

The big business men and landowners profited tremendously by this inflation. They shipped their products by rail at ridiculously low rates. They paid their laborers in money that was worth far less than before. Wages were raised, but the rise was always far slower than the decline in the value of the mark and the rise in prices. Business men and landlords could and did pay off their mortgages and other debts in money worth only a small fraction of what they had borrowed. A farmer could pay all his debts incurred before the war with the price of a load or two of grain.

These gains were offset by the ruin of persons who had invested in bonds with a fixed rate of interest, put money

in savings banks, or depended on fixed salaries. Prices of everything advanced with tremendous speed. Merchants often marked up the price of their goods twice a day. Government officials found that their salaries would not buy more than a small fraction of what they had before the war. Hosts of middle-class people found themselves reduced to poverty. They learned in time that it was no use to try to save money—better to spend it immediately. Thrift had been a great German virtue—now it was penalized. While the savings of middle-class Germans were disappearing, the credit of the government was being wrecked. Sufficient taxes were levied, but by the time they were paid, their value was slight. The government's resources dwindled, and it seemed clear that Germany could not possibly make further payments for reparations which had been agreed upon.

By the Treaty of Versailles Germany had agreed to pay reparations to the victorious powers to restore property injured or destroyed and to pay for pensions to their soldiers. But the treaty did not specify the exact amount to be paid. That was to be decided later by the Reparations Commission composed of representatives of the victorious powers. Until the total amount of the reparations was fixed, the German people had good reason to endeavor to appear as poor as possible, so they would not be forced to pay a large sum. Arguments between the Allied Powers dragged on until May, 1921, when the total to be paid by Germany was fixed at 132 billion gold marks divided into bonds of three series, the first two totaling 50 billion gold marks to be delivered in 1921, and the third amounting to 82 billions, not to draw interest or be issued by the Reparations Commission until it was convinced that Germany could pay 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent of the principal each year. Payments on the first two series required 3 billions a year, and just as soon as she could pay more, Germany would be required also to pay 6 per cent a year on the third series, amounting to almost 5 billions more each year.

**The
reparation:
question**

Thus German leaders had a strong incentive to appear unable to pay promptly.

How
reparations
can be
paid

In fact, the transfer of such vast sums from one country to another is tremendously difficult. There are only three ways in which it can be done: (1) by shipment of gold, (2) by rendering services such as carrying foreign goods in ships, and (3) by exporting products. The first was impossible in this case because the bill was entirely too large. The treaty forced Germany to give up most of her ships, and so Germany could pay little by carrying goods. Almost the only way she could pay the reparations was by exporting an almost impossibly large quantity of goods. Her territories and resources had been cut down by the treaty, though her mines, factories, and fields had not been ruined by war. To sell the necessary vast amount of goods abroad, German prices must be lower than those of competitors. To undersell competitors, German capitalists must accept low profits and laborers must work for low wages. If the Germans cut prices enough to get a vastly increased export trade, their competitors would probably lose their accustomed export trade and have to close their factories. The leading nation likely to be so affected was Great Britain, while France, which would profit most from German payments, would suffer little from German competition. Hence many British leaders were quite willing to let Germany cancel most of the reparations bill.

Extent to
which
Germany
had paid
reparations

Several times in 1921 and 1922 the German government claimed to be unable to pay the sums agreed upon, and was allowed to delay. The French believed the Germans could pay if they wished, while in Britain and America many people were thinking the contrary. The Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr Valley (January, 1923) was the result of these frequent delays and defaults. It greatly embittered the Germans against the French and greatly injured Germany without bringing much profit to France. By October, 1923, German industry and trade came near a

collapse. Many German leaders finally came to the conclusion that Germany must make serious sacrifices to maintain the unity of Germany and to prove to the world her intention of keeping her agreements, and also that France and Germany must coöperate for the common interests of both.

**Dawes
Commis-
sion and
its report**

An international commission, headed by an American business man, Charles G. Dawes, worked for months investigating the reparations problem and made a series of important recommendations (April, 1914): (1) Germany should start a new bank to issue stable money in place of the existing bad money. This bank should be helped by a large international loan. (2) For the first four years Germany should pay less than had been demanded before, but each year after that she should pay two and a half billion gold marks a year, and more if possible. (3) The money to pay reparations should come one-half from ordinary government income and one-half from interest paid for mortgages on German railroads, factories, and mines (to be delivered to the Allies), and from special taxes on tobacco, liquors, and sugar, to be put under Allied control. (4) Payments by Germany should be made with German money to an agent for reparations payments. Its exchange into foreign money should be managed by a transfer committee, and made only so far as it could be done without forcing down the value of the new German money. The Ruhr and other German resources seized for non-payment should be restored in order to give Germany a fair chance to pay.

This plan did not fix the amount to be paid by Germany but provided a means by which confidence could be restored both in Germany and in the countries expecting to collect from her. After much discussion the recommendations of the Dawes Commission were accepted by the governments chiefly interested. The international loan was made, and an American, Seymour Parker Gilbert, appointed reparations agent; that is, practically the dictator of payments. The French withdrew from the Ruhr, and the business

German
economic
recovery

recovery of Germany began. Much had been done to restore German railways, open new mines, and build new factories and merchant ships since 1920, but many German factories were still out-of-date in 1924. To rationalize their industry, that is to install the newest machinery and the latest business methods, was absolutely necessary if enough German goods were to be sold abroad to pay reparations. This required enormous borrowing abroad. Confidence in German recovery provided the loans (totalling \$4,400,000 from 1924 through 1928) and German industry became extremely efficient. The always industrious and thrifty German people worked very hard, and German business largely recovered its pre-war markets. The reparation payments required by the Dawes Plan were made promptly.

Germany was restless, however, because the total reparation bill was still the impossibly heavy one fixed in 1921 and because the Dawes Plan put so many foreigners in control of German affairs. This had been needed in 1924 to give the outside world confidence that the Dawes Plan would be carried out, but it was very galling to German pride. Near the close of 1928 another committee of financial experts was appointed further to consider the reparations questions. From its chairman, Owen D. Young, an American financier, it was called the Young Committee. After four months of work the experts made their report in June, 1929.

The
Young
Plan

They urged that Germany agree to pay an average of a little over two billion gold marks a year for thirty-seven years and smaller sums for eighteen years more. The total present-day value of these annual payments, discounted as a banker would do it, amounted to about forty-five billion gold marks, a very reasonable sum in comparison with the hundred thirty-two billions fixed in 1921. Part of the annual payment absolutely must be made by Germany, but she might postpone payment of about two-thirds for two years if necessary. It was expected that

German government bonds would later be issued for the total present value of the unconditional annuities and sold to private investors. This would enable the French government to pay off a part of its heavy debt. Foreign control of German finance was to be withdrawn and payments were to be made to an international bank in the management of which Germany was to have a share. The allied military occupation of German lands west of the Rhine was to end before July, 1930. One advantage of this plan, it was urged, was that France was certain to receive enough from Germany each year to make the payment due to the United States and Britain on account of her debts to those governments and Britain would get enough from Germany and her former allies indebted to her so as to meet her obligations to the United States. The report met with some opposition, but at last all the governments concerned signed the agreement (1929) and the Young Plan went into effect. The reparations question seemed at last to have been settled.

THE REVOLT OF THE EASTERN NATIONS

British difficulties in Egypt and India (see pp. 903-905) were phases of a general spirit of revolt against European domination that spread across North Africa and all Asia after the World War.

Most serious of the risings in North Africa was that of the natives of the Riff, a region in Northern Morocco, who drove the Spanish soldiers to the coast towns (1923) and then turned against the French. It took 280,000 French and Spanish troops finally to check 60,000 natives, but superior resources won. In Algeria and Tunis the natives gave less trouble, for some self-government was granted. Italy had serious trouble to master the interior tribes of Tripoli. Egypt secured independence from Britain (see p. 904). The Turks under Mustafa Kemal's leadership vigorously asserted their independence and won back control of Asia Minor (see p. 891-892).

**Risings in
northern
Africa**

Discontent
of the
Arabs

The natives of Arabia and Syria were much dissatisfied with the way the land was divided into separate states. In Palestine, where Britain had promised to set up a Jewish national home, nearly 90 per cent of the people were non-Jewish and resented outside control. In 1929 the Moslems made armed attacks on the Jews which forced Britain to take severe measures. The French had to meet several armed outbreaks in Syria (1925-1927) which they put down only after much destruction of property and slaughter of the natives.

Persia
and
Afghanistan

In Persia a weak government dependent on the British was overturned by a military revolt led by an able Persian, Riza Khan, resembling Kemal the Turk (1921). He made himself hereditary Shah (1925) and with some foreign help went far toward modernizing Persia. The Amir of Afghanistan tried to modernize his country too fast to suit his people and was overthrown by a popular revolt (1929). Soviet Russia encouraged these Moslem states of the Middle East in their stand against western domination and made treaties with Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan.

Chinese
grievances

The Chinese people had ample grievances against Europeans and the Japanese who had followed European states in making their citizens resident in China exempt from Chinese laws, seizing Chinese seaports, and exploiting the resources of China for foreign advantage. The tariff of China was fixed and collected by foreign powers who kept their soldiers on Chinese soil at many points.

How China
got these
wrongs
righted

At the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Arms Conference China demanded complete freedom from all foreign control, but secured only partial satisfaction. This was partly due to the civil war that had been going on for some time. The old empire had been overturned and a republic set up (1911), but the liberals were driven out of Parliament at Peking. Then they set up a temporary government at Canton in the South. With two governments claiming supreme authority the military leaders in

various provinces got control. For a time conditions were almost feudal, but the nationalists of the South pushed forward, took Peking (1928), and got control of nearly all China. This government was recognized by the League of Nations (1928). Anti-foreign demonstrations had been frequent and now the government set to work to gain full independence for China. Practically all the world recognized China's right to make its own tariff. A new legal system on western models was set up (1930) and several European states gave up their special privileges and zones of influence. The others were requested to do the same. Only continuance of civil strife prevented the complete success of the nationalist government.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

(1) Explain the causes of the Russian Revolution. Compare and contrast them with the causes of the French Revolution. (2) Explain the objects of the various revolutionary parties in Russia. (3) Why and how did the Bolsheviks get control of the government? (4) What effects has the Russian Revolution had up to the present? To what extent has communism succeeded or failed? Give proofs. (5) Compare and contrast the main events and outcome of the Russian Revolution with those of the French Revolution. (6) Describe the system of government of Soviet Russia. Compare and contrast it with ours. (7) Against what disadvantages has Poland had to work since 1919? What favorable conditions have helped Polish development? (8) Did Austria deserve the hard treatment received in the peace terms? Give your reasons. Explain the conditions that have greatly hindered the Austrian Republic from winning economic prosperity. (9) Contrast the policies of the Czechoslovak government toward its racial minorities with those of the Austro-Hungarian governments before 1914. Could the war have been avoided had the Czech policies been followed earlier? Why? (10) What great advantages had Czechoslovakia during the first post-war decade? (11) Compare and contrast the economic resources and problems of Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria, giving your reasons. (12) Explain

the potential causes of future war in the Balkans. (13) Explain the causes of enmity between Yugoslavia and Italy. Which do you believe is right? Give reasons. (14) Do you approve of Mussolini and his policies in Italy since the war? Why? (15) Explain the reasons for the French invasion of the Ruhr. Did it pay France? Why? (16) Why did France make such great economic progress after the war? (17) Explain the reasons for the extensive unemployment in Britain since the war. What effects has this had? How can Britain recover her old economic supremacy? (18) Explain the objects of the British Labor Party. How soon are they likely to be attained? Why? (19) Give an account of the problems confronting the British in Egypt, India, and South Africa. (20) Criticize favorably and unfavorably the settlement of the Irish question made in 1921, giving your reasons. (21) How have the status and relationships of the great British self-governing dominions been changed since 1914? With what effects? (22) To what extent was the German Revolution of 1918 a genuinely popular movement? Give your arguments. (23) Describe the form of government of the German Republic. What has it done for the artisans? (24) Explain the causes and effects of the German paper money inflation. (25) Why did Germany not pay the reparations agreed upon up to 1924? How did the Dawes Plan make payments easier? (26) How was the Young Plan superior to the Dawes Plan?

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- *Molley's Rise of the Dutch Republic* (Harper)
- GUÉRARD, A. L. *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century* (Century)
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- HARRISON, F. *William the Silent* (Macmillan)
- HASSALL, A. *Louis XIV* (Putnam)
- HAYES, C. J. H. *A Brief History of the Great War* (Macmillan)
- HAZEN, C. D. *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule* (Holt)
- HEADLAM, J. W. *Bismarck* (Putnam)
- *History of Twelve Days* (Detailed account of the diplomatic correspondence just preceding the outbreak of the Great War) (Scribner)
- HOWE, F. E. *Socialized Germany* (Scribner)
- HURD, A. AND CASTLE, H. *German Sea Power* (Scribner)
- JOHNSON. *The Age of the Enlightened Despot* (Macmillan)
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- KING, B. *History of Italian Unity* (2 vols.) (Scribner)
- LAVISSE, F. *The Youth of Frederick the Great* (Griggs, Chicago)
- LECKY, W. E. H. *England in the Eighteenth Century* (8 vols.) (Appleton)
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- MACLEHOSE, S. *Last Days of the French Monarchy* (J. Maclehose and Sons)
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- ORTH. *Socialism and Democracy in Europe* (Macmillan)
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- SEIGNOBOS, Ch. *History of Contemporary Civilization* (Scribner)
- SETON-WATSON, R. W. *Racial Problems of Austria-Hungary* (Constable, London)
- SIMONDS, F. H. *History of the World War* (5 vols.) (Doubleday)
- SLOANE, W. G. *Napoleon Bonaparte: a History* (4 vols.) (Century)
- SLOSSON, E. E. *Chats on Science* (Century)
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- TAINÉ, H. A. *Ancient Régime* (Holt)
- THAYER, W. R. *The Dawn of Italian Independence* (2 vols.) (Houghton Mifflin)
- *Life and Times of Cavour* (2 vols.) (Houghton Mifflin)
- THOMPSON, H. *Age of Invention, A Chronicle of Mechanical Conquest* ("Chronicles of American Science," Yale University Press)
- TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE. *The Old Régime and the Revolution* (Harper, out of print)
- TOWER, C. *Germany of To-day* (Holt)
- TRAILL, H. D. *William III* (Macmillan)
- TREVELYAN, G. M. *England under the Stuarts* (Putnam)
- *Garibaldi and the Thousand; Garibaldi and the Making of Italy; Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (Longmans, Green)
- TURNER, E. R. *Ireland and England in the Past and at Present*
- USHER, R. G. *The Story of the Great War* (Macmillan)
- VON BERNHARDI, F. *Germany and the Next War* (Arnold, London)
- WALPOLE, SPENCER. *History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War to 1858* (6 vols.) (Longmans, Green)
- *History of Twenty-five Years* (edited by A. C. L. Yall) (4 vols.) (Longmans, Green)
- WENDELL, B. *The France of To-day* (Scribner)

HISTORICAL FICTION

Many teachers believe that the reading of good historical fiction helps arouse the interest of high-school pupils. To help them select such books the following list is appended. It is by no means complete and more extended bibliographies may be found in Ernest A. Baker, *A Guide to Historical Fiction*, and Jonathan Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales*.

- AINSWORTH, W. H. *The Tower of London* (Dutton). The time of Queen Mary Tudor.
- ALLINSON, Anne. *Children of the Way* (Harcourt, Brace). A story of the early Christians at Rome.
- AMINOFF, LEONIE. *Revolution; Love; Ambition* (Dutton). Napoleonic period.
- ATHERTON, G. *The Conqueror* (Macmillan). The American Revolution.
- AUSTEN, Jane. *Pride and Prejudice* (Oxford World's Classics). Eighteenth-century England.
- BARRÈS, M. *Colette Baudoche* (Doran). Story of a French girl in Metz under German rule.
- BARRINGTON, E. *The Chaste Diana* (Dodd, Mead). Eighteenth-century England.
- BAZIN, RENÉ. *The Children of Alsace* (Brentano). Alsace under German rule since 1870.
- BENSON, R. H. *Come Rack! Come Ropel* (Dodd, Mead). Elizabethan England.
- BIRMINGHAM, G. A. *The Bad Times* (Methuen). The early Home Rule movement.
- BLACKMORE, R. D. *Lorna Doone* (Dent, Everyman's Library). Monmouth's rebellion, 1685.
- BULWER-LYTTON, E. *Harold* (Everyman's). Last days of Saxon England.
- *The Last Days of Pompeii* (Everyman's). Roman life in the first century A.D.
- *The Last of the Barons* (Everyman's). Wars of the Roses.
- BRONTË, CHARLOTTE. *Shirley* (Everyman's). First effects of the industrial revolution.
- CHAMBERS, R. *Cardigan* (Harper). American Revolution.
- *Little Red Foot* (Doran). American Revolution.
- CHURCH, A. J. *The Burning of Rome* (Macmillan). Imperial Rome of the first century.
- *The Count of the Saxon Shore* (Putnam). Britain at the time of the German invasions.
- CHURCH, A. J. *To the Lions* (Putnam). The early Christians.
- *A Young Macedonian in the Army of Alexander* (Putnam).
- CHURCHILL, W. *Richard Carvel* (Macmillan). The American Revolution.
- COOPER, J. F. *The Last of the Mohicans* (Burt). A story of the American Revolution.
- CRAIK, D. M. *John Halifax, Gentleman* (Macmillan). England in the industrial revolution.

- CRUMP, IRVING. *Og, the Son of Fire* (Dodd, Mead). Prehistoric times.
- DAVIS, W. S. *The Friar of Wittenberg* (Macmillan). A story of the reformation in Germany.
- *A Friend of Caesar* (Macmillan). Rome in the time of Julius Caesar.
- *God Wills It* (Macmillan). A story of the crusades.
- *Life on a Medieval Barony* (Harper). Very interesting description of medieval life.
- *The Victor of Salamis* (Macmillan). Athens in the Persian Wars.
- DICKENS, CHARLES. *Barnaby Rudge* (Everyman's). The Gordon riots (Eighteenth century England).
- *Little Dorrit* (Oxford); *Nicholas Nickleby* (Oxford); *Oliver Twist* (Grosset). Social and economic evils of the early and middle nineteenth century in England.
- *A Tale of Two Cities* (Allyn and Bacon). The French Revolution.
- DISRAELI, BENJAMIN. *Coningsby*; *Sybil* (Longmans, Green). England in the first half of the nineteenth century.
- DIX, B. M. *A Little Captive Lad* (Macmillan). Cromwell's time.
- DOYLE, A. C. *Exploits of Brigadier Gerard* (Murray). The Napoleonic Wars.
- *Micah Clarke* (Harper). Monmouth's Rebellion.
- *Sir Nigel*; *The White Company* (Murray). The Hundred Years' War.
- DUMAS, A. *La Comtesse de Charny*; *The Whites and the Blues* (Burt). French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.
- *The Three Musketeers*; *Twenty Years After* (Everyman's). War and court life in France in the seventeenth century.
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- ELIOT, FRANCES. *Romance of Old Court Life in France* (Putnam). Sixteenth-century France.
- ELIOT, GEORGE. *Romola* (Doubleday). Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century.
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- ERCKMANN, EMILE AND CHATRIAN, A. *The Conscript of 1813*; *Waterloo* (Grosset). The Napoleonic Wars.
- *A Man of the People*. France in the time of Louis Philippe.
- FAIRLESS, M. *The Gathering of Brother Hilarius* (Dutton). Cloister life in England in the fourteenth century.
- FARRAR, F. W. *Darkness and Dawn* (Longmans, Green). Rome in the time of Nero.
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- HARRISON, H. *A Lad of Kent* (Macmillan). A smuggling story of the time of George III.

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 — *Ninety-three* (Crowell). The French Revolution.
 — *Notre Dame de Paris* (Crowell). Fifteenth century Paris.
 JOHNSTON, MARY. *The Fortunes of Garin* (Houghton Mifflin). England under the Norman kings.
 KINGSLEY, CHARLES. *Alton Locke; Yeast* (Everyman's). Economic and social unrest in mid-nineteenth century England.
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 — *Puck of Pook's Hill* (Macmillan). Roman conquest of Britain.
 KIRBY, W. *The Golden Dog* (Page). Quebec under French rule.
 LEVER, CHARLES. *Charles O'Malley; Tom Bourke of "Ours"* (Macmillan). Napoleonic Wars.
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 MAJOR, C. *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall* (Macmillan). Queen Elizabeth's time.
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 — *Snarleygown the Dog Fiend* (Dutton). Time of William III.
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 — *Walter of Tiverton* (Appleton). Medieval England.
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 — *The Red City* (Century). American Revolution.
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- *When Knights Were Bold* (Houghton Mifflin). Interesting description of medieval life.
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- *War and Peace* (3 vols.) (Everyman's). Russia and Napoleon.
- TURGENEV, I. S. *Fathers and Sons* (Everyman's). Modern Russia.
- TWAIN, MARK. *The Prince and the Pauper* (Harper). Time of Edward VI.
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- *Little Duke* (Macmillan). The feudal age.
- *Unknown to History* (Macmillan). Mary, Queen of Scots.
- ZOLA, E. *The Attack on the Mill* (Heinemann). Franco-German War, 1870.

SUGGESTIONS FOR Figures refer

TOPICAL REVIEWS pages

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A PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

THE ABBREVIATIONS USED.

<i>ang.</i>	anglicized	<i>Hung.</i>	Hungarian	<i>Port.</i>	Portugese
<i>Ar.</i>	Arabic	<i>Ir.</i>	Irish	<i>Rom.</i>	Romanian
<i>D.</i>	Dutch	<i>It.</i>	Italian	<i>Russ.</i>	Russian
<i>Fr.</i>	French	<i>Lat.</i>	Latin	<i>Sp.</i>	Spanish
<i>Ger.</i>	German	<i>Pol.</i>	Polish	<i>Turk.</i>	Turkish

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

ā as in age	g as in go	th as in then
ā as in senate	i as in ice	th as in thin
â as in care	ī as in if	tu as in nature
ǎ as in am	ŋ as in ink	ū as in use
ă as in account	in as in sing	û as in unite
a as in arm	ō as in old	û as in urn
a as in ask	ó as in obey	ű as in up
â as in sofa	ô as in orb	ű as in circus
ch as in chair	ô as in odd	ú as in menu
du as in verdure	ö as in soft	
ē as in eve	ö as in connect	<i>Foreign sounds:</i>
è as in event	õ as in food	κ as in German ich
ě as in end	õ as in foot	ŋ as in French bon
ē as in recent	oi as in oil	zh like z in azure
ē as in maker	ou as in out	

<i>Abdul Hamid</i> (ab'dōōl hà-mēd')	<i>Ahuramazda</i> (ā'hōō-rá-máz'cl)
<i>Abelard</i> (āb'ē-lard; <i>Fr.</i> , ā'ba'lar')	<i>Aisne River</i> (ān)
<i>Aboukir Bay</i> (ā'bōō-kēr')	<i>Ajaccio</i> (ā-yāt'cho)
<i>Achilles</i> (ā-kīl'ēz)	<i>Alaric</i> (āl'ā-rīk)
<i>Acre</i> (ā'kēr)	<i>Albigenses</i> (āl'bi-jēn'sez)
<i>Actium</i> (āk'tī-ūm; āk'shī-ūm)	<i>Alcibiades</i> (āl'sī-bī'ā-dēz)
<i>Aden</i> (ā'dēn; ā'dēn)	<i>Alcuin</i> (āl'kū-in; āl'kwīn)
<i>Adrianople</i> (ā'dri-ān-ō'p'l; ād'rī-ān-ō'p'l; <i>Turk.</i> , <i>Edirne</i> (ē-dīr'nē)	<i>Alesia</i> (ā-lē'sī-ā)
<i>Aediles</i> (ē'dīlz)	<i>Alexius</i> (ā-lēk'sī-ūs)
<i>Aegospotami</i> (ē'gōs-pōt'a-mī)	<i>Algeciras</i> (āl'jē-sēr'ās; <i>Sp.</i> , āl'hā-thēr'ās)
<i>Aeschylus</i> (ēs'kī-lūs)	<i>Allah</i> (āl'ā; <i>Ar.</i> , āl-lā')
<i>Aëncourt</i> (āj'in-kōrt; <i>Fr.</i> , ā'zhān'kōōr')	<i>Alsace</i> (āl-sās'; <i>Fr.</i> , āl'sās')
<i>Agricola</i> (ā-grīk'ō-lā)	<i>Alva</i> (āl'vā; āl'vā)
<i>Agrippa</i> (ā-grīp'ā)	<i>Amon</i> (ā'mōn)
<i>Ahriman</i> (ā'rī-mān)	<i>Amundsen, Roald</i> (ā'mūn-sēn)
	<i>Amur River</i> (ā-mōōr')
	<i>Anabasis</i> (ā-nāb'ā-sīs)

Angora (an-gō'ra; ăn'gō-ra), *Turk.*

Ankara

Anjou (an'zhoo'; ang., ăn'jōn)

Ankara (ăn'kâ-ra)

Antigone (ăn-tig'ô-nê)

Antioch (ăn'ti'ôk)

Antiochus (ăn-ti'ô-kûs; *Lat.*, ăt-ti'ô-kûs)

Antonines (ăn'tô-ninz)

Antoninus Pius (ăn'tô-ni'nûs pi'us; *Lat.*, ăt'tô-nê'nûs pe'ûs)

Apelles (a-pêl'êz)

Aphrodite (ăf'rô-dî'tê)

Aquiline (ăk'wi-tân')

Aragon (ăr'â-gôn; *Sp.*, a'râ-gôn')

Aramaic (ăr'â-mă'ik)

Arameans (ăr'â-mê'ânz)

Arbela (ar-bê'lâ)

Archangel (ark'ăn'jêl); *Russ.*, *Arkhangelsk* (ărk'ăn-gêl'sk)

Archimedes (ar'ki-mê'dêz)

Archons (ar'kônz)

Ares (ă'rêz)

Argonne Forest (ăr'gôn')

Aristarchus (ăr'is-tăr'kûs)

Aristides (ăr'is-ti'dêz)

Aristophanes (ăr'is-tôf'â-nêz)

Aristotle (ăr'is-tôt'li)

Arles (ăr'l; ang., arlz)

Armada (ar-mă'da; ar-mă'da)

Artemis (ar'te-mis)

Artois (ăr'twa')

Asquith (ăs'kwîth)

Assignats (ăs'ig-nâts; *Fr.*, ă'se'nyâ')

Assisi (as-sê'zê)

Assur (ăsh'ûr)

Asturias (as-tôo'rê-ăs)

Athens (ă-thê'nâ)

Atrium (ă'tri-ûm; ang., ă'tri-ûm)

Attica (ăt'i-kâ)

Attila (ăt'i-lâ)

Auerstadt (ou'êr-shtêt)

Augsburg (ôgz'bûrg; *Ger.*, ouks'-bôrk)

Austerlitz (ôs'têr-lîts)

Austrasia (ôs-tră'shâ)

Arignon (ă've'nyô'n')

Azov (ă'zôf; ă-zôf')

Bayeaux (bâ'yû')

Belfort (bêl'fôr')

Belleau Woods (bê'lô')

Bellini (bêl-lê'nê)

Benes (bê'nash)

Bengal (bên-gôl')

Beowulf (bâ'ô-wôôlf)

Berchtold, Count (bêrk'tôlt)

Berne (bêrn)

Bessarabia (bês'â-ră'bi-ă')

Birmingham (băr'mîng-ăm)

Blanc, Louis (blan)

Blücher (blü'kêr; ang., blôô'chêr; blôô'kêr)

Boccaccio (bô-kă'chî-ô; bôk-kă'chô)

Boeotia (bê-ô'shî-ă')

Boleyn, Anne (bôô'lîn)

Bolívar (bôl'i-văr; *Sp.*, bô-lê'-var)

Bologna (bô-lôn'yâ)

Bolshevik (bôl'shê-vîk; bôl'shê-vêk')

Boniface (bôn'î-făs)

Bordeaux (bôr'dô')

Bosnia (bôz'nî-ă)

Botha (bô'tâ)

Bouillon (bôô'yôn')

Bourbon (bôôr'bûn; *Fr.*, bôôr'-bôn')

Bourgeoisie (bôôr'zhwâ'zê')

Bouvin (bôô'ven')

Bramante (bra-măn'tâ)

Brandenburg (brăn'dên-bôôr'k)

Bremen (brêm'ên; *Ger.*, bră'mên)

Brest-Litovsk (brêst'lyê-tôfsk')

Bubonic Plague (bû-bôn'îk)

Bucharest (bôô'kă-rêst'; bû'kă-rêst'); *Rom.*, *Bucuresti* (bôô-kôô-rêst'î)

Buckingham (bûk'îng-ăm)

Budapest (bôô'dă-pêst'; *Hung.*, bôô'dô-păst)

Bundesrat (bôôn'dês-rât)

Burgundian (bûr-gun'dî-ăn)

Burgundy (bûr'gûn-dî)

Byzantine Empire (bîz'ăn-tîn; bî-zăn'tîn; bîz'ăn-tîn)

Byzantium (bî-zăn'tî-ûm; bî-zăn'-shî-ûm; bî-zăn'shî-ûm)

Cádiz (kă'dîz; *Sp.*, kă'thêth)

Cairo (kî'rô)

Calais (kă'lâ'; ang., kăl'â)

Caliph (kă'lîf; kăl'îf)

Callimachus (kă-lîm'ă-kûs)

Bagdad (băg'dăd)

Balearic Islands (băl'ê-ăr'îk)

Ballista (bă-lîs'tâ)

Basle (bă'z'l; bāl)

Bastille (băs-têl'; *Fr.*, băs-tê'y)

Cameroons (kăm'ēr-ōōnz'): Now part of *French Equatorial Africa*
Camorra (kā-mōr'ā; *It.*, kā-mōr'-ra)
Cannae (kān'nī)
Canossa (kā-nōs'sā)
Canton (kān'tōn; kǎn-tōn')
Capetian (kā-pē'shǎn)
Capua (kǎp'ū-ā; *It.*, kā'pwā)
Carbonari (kār'bō-nā'rē)
Carnot (kār'nō')
Carolingian (kār'ō-līn'jī-ān)
Cartesian (kār-tē'zhǎn)
Carthaginians (kār'thā-jīn'ī-ānz)
Carthusian (kār-thū'zhǎn)
Cassander (kā-sǎn'dēr)
Castile (kās-tēl')
Catalan (kāt'i-līn)
Catalonia (kāt'ā-lō'nī-ā)
Cato (kā'tō; *Lat.*, kā'tō)
Cavaignac (kā'ven'yāk'; *ang.*, kā-vān-yāk')
Cavour, *Count Camillo di* (dē kā'-vōōr')
Cawnpore (kōn'pōr')
Cervantes (sēr-vān'tez; *Sp.*, thēr-vān'tās)
Chaeronea (kēr'ō-nē'ā)
Chalcedon (kāl-sē'dūn)
Chaldeans (kāl-dē'ānz)
Chalons (shā'lōn')
Chambord (shān'bōr')
Champagne (shām-pān'; *Fr.*, shān'-pān'y')
Champaigne, Philippe de (shān'-pān'y', fē'lēp' dē)
Charlemagne (shār'lē-mān; *Fr.*, shār'lē-mān'y')
Charles Martel (mār'tēl')
Charles of Anjou (ān'zhōō'; *ang.*, ān'jōō)
Chartres (shār'tr')
Chartreuse (shār'trūz')
Chateau Thierry (shā'tō' tī-ēr'y; *Fr.*, tyā'rē)
Choiseul (shwā'zūl')
Chosen (chō'sēn')
Cilicia (sī-līsh'ī-ā)
Cimabue (chē'ma-bōō'ā)
Cimbri (sīm'bri; kīm'bri)
Cimon (sī'mōn)
Cleisthenes (klīs'thē-nēz)
Clemenceau (klā'mān'sō')

Clermont (klēr'mōnt; *Fr.*, klēr'-mōn')
Clovis (klō'vīs)
Cluny (klu'nē')
Cnossus (nōs'ūs)
Code Napoléon (kōd'nā'pō'lā'ōn')
Cohort (kō'hōrt)
Colbert (kōl'bār')
Colet, John (kōl'ēt)
Cologne (kō-lōn'); *Ger.*, *Cöln* (kūln)
Colonus (kō-lō'nūs)
Colosseum (kōl'ō-sē'ūm)
Comitia centuriata (kō-mī'tī-ā kēn'tū-rī-ā'tā)
Comitia curiata (kō-mī'tī-ā kōō-rī-ā'tā)
Comitia tributa (kō-mī'tī-ā trī-bōō'tā)
Commodus (kōm'ō-dūs)
Concordat (kōn-kōr'dāt)
Conde (kōn'dā')
Confucius (kōn-fū'shī-ūs)
Conon (kō'nōn)
Constantine (kōn'stān-tīn)
Constantinople (kōn'stān'tī-nō'p'l); *Turk.*, *Istanbul*
Conti, Maria (kōn'tē)
Copernicus (kō-pūr'nī-kūs)
Corsica (kōr'sī-kā)
Cortes (kōr'tēz); *Sp.*, *Cortés* (kōr-tās')
Cos (kōs)
Coucey-le-Chateau (kōō'sē-lē-shā-tō')
Coup d'état (kōō dā'tā')
Crassus (krās'sūs)
Crecy (krā'sē')
Cunctator (kūnk-tā'tōr)
Curiae (kū'rī-ī)
Curie, Madame (kū'rē')
Curule aedile (kūr'ūl ēd'il)
Custoza (kōōs-tōt'sā)
Dacians (dā'shǎnz)
Dail Eireann (dāl'ār'īn)
Dalmatia (dāl-mā'shī-ā; dāl-mā'-shā)
Dante (dān'tē; *It.*, dān'tā)
Danton (dān'tān')
Danzig (dan'tsik)
Dardanelles (dār'dā-nēlz')
Darius (dā-rī'ūs)
Delian (dē'lī-ān)
Delos (dē'lōs)

- Delphi* (děl'fi)
Demeter (dě-mē'tēr)
Demos (dē'mōs)
Demosihenes (dě-mōs'thē-nēz)
Descartes, René (dā'kart')
De Valera, Eamon (dē vāl'ēr-ā, ē'ā-mŭn)
Diaz (dē'ās; *Sp.*, dē'áth)
Diderot (dēd'rō')
Diocletian (dī'ò-klē'shăn)
Dionysus (dī'ò-nī'sūs)
Disraeli (dīz-rā'li)
Domesday Book (dōmz'dā)
Dominicans (dō-mīn'i-kānz)
Domitian (dō-mīsh'ī-ăn)
Don Quixote (dōn kē-hō'tā)
Doric (dōr'ik)
Draco (drā'kō)
Dublin (düb'līn); *Ir., Baile Atha Cliath* (bā'le ā'whā klē'ā)
Ducrest (dū'krē')
Duma (dōō'mā)
Dunwich (dūn'ich)
Dupleix (dū'plāks'; dū'plēks')
Duquesne (dōō'kan')
Dürer, Albrecht (dū'rēr)

Ecclesia (ē-klē'zhī-ā; *Lat.*, ē-klā'-sī-ā)
Einhard (īn'hart)
Elba (ēl'bā)
Elbe (ēl'bē)
Emigres (ā'mē'grā'; *ang.*, ěm'ī-grāz)
Entente Cordiale (ān'tānt' cōr'-dyāl')
Epaminondas (ē-pām'ī-nōn'dās)
Ephesus (ēf'ē-sūs)
Ephors (ēf'ōrz)
Epicurus (ēp'ī-kū'rūs)
Epirus (ē-pī'rūs)
Erasmus, Desiderius (ē-rāz'mūs)
Eratosthenes (ēr'ā-tōs'thē-nēz)
Essen (ēs'ēn)
Etruscans (ē-trūs'kānz)
Eucharist (ū'kā-rīst)
Euclid (ū'klīd)
Eugene (ū-jēn'); *Fr.*, *Eugène* (ū'-zhēn')
Euripides (ū-rīp'ī-dēz)
Exchequer (ēks-chēk'ēr)

Fabliaux (fā'blē'ōz')
Faerie Queen (fā'ēr-ī)

Fasces (fās'ēz)
Fascisti (fā-shē'stē; fā-shīs'tē)
Ferry, Jules (fē'rē')
Fiume (fyōō'mā)
Flaminius (flā-mī'nī-ūs)
Florence (flōr'ēns); *It.*, *Firenze* (fē-rēnt'sā)
Foch, Marshal (fōsh)
Fontainebleau (fōn'tēn'blō')
Formosa (fōr-mō'sā)
Forth (fōrth)
Franche Comté (frānsh'-kōn'tā')
Franciscan (frān-sīs'kān)
Franconia (frān-kō'nī-ā)
Franz Ferdinand (frānts fēr'dī-nānd)
Frederick Barbarossa (bār'bā-rōs'sā)

Galerius (gā-lā'rī-ūs)
Galileo (gāl'ī-lē'ō); *It.*, gāl'ē-lā'ō)
Galli, Ernesta (gāl'le)
Gallic (gāl'ik)
Gallipoli (gā-līp'ō-lē)
Galvani (gāl-vā'nē)
Gama, Vasco da (gā'mā, vas'-kō dā)
Gambetta (gām-bēt'ā; *Fr.*, gān'-bēt'ā)
Gandhi (gānd'hē; gān'dē)
Garibaldi, Giuseppe (gā'rē-bāl'dē; *ang.*, gār'ī-bāl'dī)
Garonne (gā'rōn')
Gascony (gās'kō-nī)
Gastein (gā'stēn)
Gaugamela (gō'gā-mē'lā)
Gautama Buddha (gō'tā-mā, gou'-tā-mā bōō'dā, bōōd'ā)
Gendarmerie (zhān'dār-mē-rē)
Genghiz Khan (jēn'gīz kán')
Genoa (jēn'ō-ā); *It.*, *Genova* (jē'-nō-vā)
Giolitti (jō-lēt'tē)
Giotto (jōt'tō)
Girondists (jī-rōn'dīsts)
Goethe (gō'tē)
Gracchus, Caius (grāk'ūs, kā'ūs; *Lat.*, grā'kūs, kā'yūs)
Gracchus, Tiberius (grāk'ūs, tī-hēr'-i-ūs; *Lat.*, grā'kūs, tī-bē'rī-ūs)
Granada (grā-nā'dā)
Granicus (grā-nī'kūs; grā-nē'kūs)
Grenoble (grē-nō'b'l)
Grevy, Jules (grā'vē')
Guelph (gwēlf)

Guillotine (gīl'ō-tēn)
Guise (gu-'ez'; gēz)
Guizot (gē'zō')
Gustavus Adolphus (gōōs-tā'vōōs
 ā-dūl'fōōs; gūs-tā'vūs ā-dōl'fūs)
Gustavus Vasa (gōōs-tā'vōōs vā'-
 sā; gūs-tā'vūs vā'sā)
Habeas Corpus (hā'bē-ās kōr'pūs)
Hades (hā'dēz)
Hadrian (hā'drī-ān)
Hamilecar Barca (hā'mīl-kār bar'-
 kā; hā-mīl'kar bar'ka)
Hammurabi (hām'ōō-ra'bē)
Hannibal (hān'ī-bāl)
Hanseatic League (hān'sē-āt'īk)
Hapsburg (hāps'būrg; Ger., haps'-
 bōōrk)
Hargreaves, James (hār'grēvz)
Hasdrubal (hās'drū-bāl)
Hecataeus (hēk-ā-tē'ūs)
Hellenistic (hēl'ēn-īs'tīk)
Hellespont (hēl'ēs-pōnt)
Helots (hēl'ōts)
Helvetians (hēl-vē'shānz)
Hephaestus (hē-fēs'tūs)
Hera (hē'rā)
Herculeaneum (hūr'kū-lā'nē-ūm)
Herodotus (hē-rōd'ō-tūs)
Herophilus (hē-rōf'ī-lūs)
Herzegovina (hēr'tsē-gō-vē'na)
Hestia (hēs'tī-ā)
Himalayas (hī-mā'lā-yāz)
Hindu Kush (hīn'dōō kōōsh')
Hindus (hīn'dōōz; hīn-dōōz')
Hippocrates (hī'pōk'rā-tēz)
Hittites (hit'its)
Hochkirch (hōk'kīrk')
Hohenstaufen (hō'ēn-shtou'fēn)
Hohenzollern (hō'ēn'tsōl'ēr'n)
Holbein (hōl'bīn)
Holstein (hōl'shtīn)
Holyrood (hō'lī-rōōd; hōl'ī-rōōd)
Hondi, Hendrik de (dē hōnt')
Hongkong (hōng'kōng')
Hospitalers (hōs'pī-tāl-ērz)
Hugh Capet (hū'gā-nēt; kā'pā')
Huguenots (hū'gē-nōt)
Hyperides (hī-pēr-ē'-
 dēs)
Iliad (īl'ī-ād)
Illyria (ī-lī'rī-ā)
Imperator (īm-pēr-ā'tōr)
Inquisition (īn'kwī-zīsh'ūn)

Interregnum (īn'tēr-rēg'nūm)
Ionia (ī-ō'nī-ā)
Ionic (ī-ōn'īk)
Islam (īs-lām'; īs'lām; īz'lām)
Isocrates (ī-sōk'rā-tēz)
Issus (īs'ūs)
Istanbul (ē'stām'bōōl)
Izmīr (īz-mēr')
Jacobin (jāk'ō-bīn)
Jager, C. (yāg'ēr)
Janus (jā'nūs)
Jena (yā'nā)
Jesuits (jēz'ū-īts)
Joan of Arc (jōn ōv ark')
Joffre, Marshal (zhō'fr')
Johannesburg (jō-hān'nēs-būrg;
 yō-hān'ēs-būrg)
Joliet (zhō'lyā'; ang., jō'lī-ēt)
Jugurtha (jōō-gūr'thā)
Junker (yōōŋ'kēr)
Kaldi (kāl'dī)
Kant (kant; ang., kānt)
Karnak (kār'nāk)
Károly (kā'rō-lyē)
Kassites (kās'its)
Kerensky (kēr'ēn-skē)
Khedive (kē-dēv')
Kiel (kēl)
Kiev (kē'yēf)
Koch, Robert (kōk)
Koniggratz (kū'nīk-grēts)
Koran (kō-rān'; kōr'ān)
Kornilof (kōr'nē'lōv)
Kossuth, Louis (kōsh'ōōt; kō-
 sōōth)
Kratein (krā'tān)
Kruger, Paul (krū'gēr)
Krupp (krōōp)
Kun, Bela (kōōn, bē'lā)
Kut el Amara (kōōt'ēl-ā-mā'rā)
Laconia (lā-kō'nī-ā)
Ladin (lā-dēn')
La Fontaine (lā fōn'tēn')
Laissez-faire (lē'sā'fār; lā'sā-fār)
Landsturm (lānt'stōōrm'; lānt'-
 shtōōrm)
Landwehr (lānt'vār')
Langwedoc (lang'dōk')
Laocoon (lā-ōk'ō-ōn)
Larin, U. (lā'rēn')
La Rochelle (lā rō'shēl')
Lassalle, Ferdinand (lā'sāl')

- Lateran Council* (lăt'ēr-ăn)
Latium (lă'shĩ-ăm; *Lat.*, lă'ti-ăm)
Lausanne (lô'zăn')
Lavoisier (lă'vwă'zyă')
Legnano (lă-nya'nô)
Leibnitz (lĩp'nĩts)
Leicester (lēs'tēr)
Leiden (lĩ'dēn)
Leipzig (lĩp'sĩg; *Ger.*, lĩp'tsĩk)
Lenin (lēn'in; *Russ.*, lyě'nēn)
Leningrad (lēn'in-grăd; *Russ.*, lyě'-nēn'grăt')
Leon (lă-ôn')
Leonidas (lē-ôn'ĩ-dăs)
Lepidus (lē'pĩ-dús)
Lettre de cachet (lēt'r' dē kă'shě')
Leuctra (lũk'tră)
Leuthen (loi'tēn)
Levant Company (lē-vănt')
Leviathan (lē-vĩ-ă-thăn)
Liberum veto (lĩ'bē-rũm vē'tô)
Lichnowsky (lĩk-nũv'skē)
Liège (lē-ēzh')
Lille (lĩl)
Limerick (lĩm'ēr-ĩk); *Ir.*, *Luimneac*
 lũm'năgh)
Lisbon (lĩz'bũn); *Port.*, *Lisboa*
 (lēzh-bô'ă)
Lithuania (lĩth'h-ă-nĩ-ă)
Locarno (lô-kăr'nô)
Lollards (lôl'ărdz)
Lombards (lôm'bărdz; lũm'bărdz)
Lombardy (lôm'băr-dĩ; lũm'băr-dĩ)
Lope de Vega (lô'pă dă vă'gă)
Lorraine (lô-răn')
Lothar (lô-tăr')
Lotharingia (lô-thă-rĩn'gē-ă)
Louis (lôô'ĩs; lôô'ĩ; *Fr.*, lôô'ē')
Louisburg (lôô'ĩs-bũrg)
Louis Philippe (lôô'ē fē'lēp')
Lowre (lôôv'r)
Loyola, Ignatius (lô-yô'lă; loi-ô'lă)
Lübeck (lũ'bēk)
Lucerne (lũ-sũrn')
Ludendorff (lôô'dēn-dôrf)
Lugdunum (lũg-dũ-nũm)
Lusitania (lũ-sĩ-tă-nĩ-ă)
Lützen (lũt'sēn)
Luxembourg (lũk'sēm-bũrg; *Fr.*,
 lũk'săn'bôor')
Leov, Prince (lvũf)
Lycophron (lĩ'kô-frôn)
Lyell, Sir Charles (lĩ'ēl)
Lyon (lē'ôn')
- Lysander* (lĩ-săn'dēr)
Lysias (lĩs'ĩ-ăs)
Lysimachus (lĩ-sĩm'ă-kũs)

Macedon (mă'sĩ-dēn)
Machiavelli (mă'kya-vēl'le; măk'-
 ĩ-ă-vēl'ĩ)
MacMahon, Marshal (măk'mă-
 ôn')
Madame (mă'dăm'; mă-dăm')
Madeira (mă-dē'ră; mă-dă'ră)
Mafia (ma-fē'ă)
Magdeburg (măg'dē-bôork)
Magenta (mă-jēn'tă)
Magna Carta (măg'nă kăr'tă)
Magyars (môd'yôrz)
Mahomet (mă-hôm'ēt)
Main River (măn; *Ger.*, mĩn)
Mainz (mĩnts)
Majuba Hill (mă-jôô'bă)
Mantineia (măn'tē-nē'ya)
Mantua (măn'tu-ă); *It.*, *Mantova*
 (măn'tô-vă)
Marathon (măr'ă-thôn)
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (mar'-
 kũs ô-rē'lĩ-ūs ân-tô-nĩ'nũs; *Lat.*,
 măr'kũs ou-ră'lĩ-ūs ân-tô-nē'nũs)
Mardonius (măr-dôn'ĩ-ūs)
Maria Theresa (mă-rĩ'ă tē-rē'să)
Marie Antoinette (mă-rē' ân'twă'-
 nēt')
Marius (mă-rĩ-ūs; *Lat.*, mă-rĩ-ūs)
Marlborough (măr'l'bũr-ô; mòi'-
 brũ)
Marmara (măr'mă-ră)
Marne (mărn)
Marquette (măr'kēt')
Marseille (măr'să'y')
Masaryk (mă'să-rēk)
Maurice of Saxony (mô'rĩs)
Maximilian (măk'sĩ-mĩl'yăn;
 măk'sĩ-mĩl'yăn; *Ger.*, măk'sē-
 mē'lē-ăn)
Mazda (măz'dă)
Mazzini, Guiseppe (măt-sē'nē)
Medici (mēd'ē-chē)
Megara (mēg'ă-ră)
Melanchthon (mē-lăŋk'thũn; mē-
 lăŋk'tũn; *Ger.*, mē-lăŋk'tôn)
Melpomene (mēl-pôm'ē-nē)
Mensheviks (mēn'shē-vĩks; mēn'-
 shē-vēks')
Messines Ridge (mē'sēn')
Metaurus (mē-tô-rũs)

Metternich (mět'ēr-nīk)
Metz (mēts; *Fr.*, mēs)
Michaelangelo (mī'kēl-ān'jē-lō;
 mē'kēl-ān'jā-lō)
Mikado (mī-kā'dō)
Milan (mī'lān); *It.*, *Milano* (mē-
 la'nō)
Miletus (mī-lē'tūs)
Miliukov (mē'l'yōō-kōf)
Miltiades (mīl-tī'e-gēz)
Minnesingers (mīn'ē-sīng'ērzh)
Minorea (mī-nōr'kā)
Mirabeau (mīr'ā-bō; *Fr.*, mē'rā-
 bō)
Mithradates (mīth'ri-dā'tēz)
Modena (mō'dā-nā)
Mogul (mō-gūl')
Mohammed (mō-hām'ēd)
Mohammedans (mō-hām'ēd-ānz)
Moliere (mō'lyār')
Moltke, von (fōn mōlt'kē)
Mona Lisa (mō'na' lē'zā)
Mongols (mōŋ'gōlz)
Monsieur (mē-syā'; m'syā')
Montcalm, Louis Joseph de (mōnt-
 kām'; *Fr.*, dē mōn'kāl'm')
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Muscovy Company (mūs'kō-vī)
Mussolini (mōōs'sō-lē'nē)
Mustafa Kemal Pasha (mōōs'tā-
 fā kā'māl pā'shā')
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Mycenae (mī-sē'nē)
Mycenean Age (mī'sē-nē'ān)

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Naples (nā'p'lz); *It.*, *Napoli* (nā'-
 pō-lē)
Navarre (nā-vār')
Nebuchadnezzar (nēb'ū-kād-nēz'-
 ār)
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